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I 83.

TAYLOR INSTITUTION.

BEQUEATHED

TO THE UNIVERSITY

BY

ROBERT FINCH, M.A.,

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE.

2231 e 214

AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Accounts to the Preſent Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illuſtrated with

CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

AND

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ακόπως
ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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AN

Universal History,

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Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

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SECT. VIII.

The History of the Carthaginians, from the Taking of Capua by Hannibal, to the Destruction of Carthage by Æmilianus.

HANNIBAL had no sooner possessed himself of Capua, than he attempted to make himself master of Neapolis. But the Neapolitans being proof against all his efforts, he advanced to Nola, and summoned that city, threatening its inhabitants with the utmost extremities, if they did not immediately surrender. The senate were wholly in the Roman interest; but the Carthaginians being masters of the open country, and in high reputation by the advantages they had gained, the populace was entirely at Hannibal's devotion. The former, therefore, in order to carry their point, pretended to be in a disposition to surrender the city to Hannibal; but at the same time insinuated, that before this could be done, it would be proper to come to some terms of agreement with that general. By entering into a negociation with the Carthaginian, the se- *The transactions in Italy immediately after the battle of Cannæ.*

nate gained time to diſpatch an expreſs to Marcellus, the Roman prætor, who informed him of the abſolute neceſſity of marching inſtantly to their relief. Marcellus, leaving Caſilinum, where he was then poſted, advanced to Calatia; and, having paſſed the Vulturnus, moved with ſurpriſing celerity, through the diſtricts of Satricula and Trebia, in order to ſuccour Nola. Hannibal retired upon his approach, and made a freſh attempt upon Neapolis, but without effect. Afterwards he laid ſiege to Nuceria, and ſtarved it to a ſurrender. Then he again approached Nola, and encamped before it: but the town was ſecured by L. Bantius, whom the Romans had gained to their intereſt by a preſent of a fine horſe, and five hundred bigati (A). Hannibal laid Acerræ in aſhes, the inhabitants abandoning it upon his approach. From thence he moved to Caſilinum, which he ordered to be attacked by a body of Gætulians, under the command of their captain Iſalca: but they being repulſed, as well as a large Carthaginian detachment, headed by Maherbal, Hannibal was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade. After this diſpoſition, he left a ſmall body of troops to guard his lines, and put his army into winter-quarters at Capua [a].

The pleaſures of Capua prejudicial to Hannibal.

Here it was, according to Livy, that thoſe ſoldiers, who had long been inured to the greateſt fatigues, and braved the moſt formidable dangers, were vanquiſhed by luxury, and a ſucceſſion of pleaſures, with which the minds of the Capuans, who were immerſed in a profuſion of the moſt charming delights, had long been corrupted: but the frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the Romans, the ſeveral towns he reduced in ſight of the Roman armies, the bravery with which he maintained himſelf in Italy for fourteen years after this event, in ſpite of the continued efforts of the enemy, will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition. Livy himſelf points out a cauſe of the declenſion of the Carthaginian affairs in Italy, different from the delights of Capua [b].

We have before obſerved, that the ſenate and people of Carthage ordered four thouſand Numidian horſe, forty ele-

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. xxvi. in Excerpt. Valeſ. Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 14. 19. Plut. in Marcel. Paul. Oroſ. lib. iv. cap. 16. [b] Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 13. & cap. 32. Idem, lib. xxvi. Zonar. ubi ſup.

(A) The bigati, or nummi bigati, were ſilver pieces of money, with the figure of a chariot drawn by a pair of horſes ſtamped upon them; and the quadrigati, or nummi quadrigati, others with that of one drawn by two pair of horſes, as we learn from Pliny.

phants,

phants, and a conſiderable body of Spaniſh infantry, with a large ſum of money, to be ſent to Italy, in order to enable Hannibal to maintain and extend his conqueſts. Had this ample ſupply been remitted with an expedition equal to the ſpirit with which it was granted, the Romans would have had no opportunity of reflecting upon Hannibal, on account of his conduct at Capua. That general would, in all human probability, have obliged the haughty rival of the Carthaginian republic to ſubmit to the ſuperior force of his arms in the next campaign: but, notwithſtanding the influence of the Barcinian faction, Hanno, and his adherents, found means not only to retard the march of the intended ſuccours, but even to diminiſh their force. Mago, through the artifices of that infatuated party, could obtain an order for no more than twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe; and even with this body of troops he was ſent to Spain. Hannibal being deſerted by his country, through the intrigues of a profligate and abandoned faction, who had reſolved to ſacrifice the ſtate to their private reſentment, found himſelf obliged to act on the defenſive, his army being reduced to twenty-ſix thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe. As the Romans, therefore, notwithſtanding the difficulties to which they were reduced, ſent every year two conſular armies into the field, fully recruited, and in good order; as neither the Gauls nor Italians were natural allies of the Carthaginians, and conſequently would ſcarce fail of abandoning them, as ſoon as fortune began to declare againſt them; there is no occaſion to have recourſe to the pleaſures of Capua, in order to account for Hannibal's being driven from Italy.

The principal cauſe of the decay of Hannibal's affairs.

At the return of ſpring, Hannibal drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and reſumed the ſiege of Caſilinum. He did not, however, puſh it on with vigour, knowing that the place muſt ſoon ſurrender through want of proviſions. The famine raged ſo grievouſly amongſt the citizens, that they were obliged, for ſome time, to feed upon the moſt loathſome animals. Valerius Maximus relates, that one of them gave another a hundred Roman denarii for a ſingle mouſe; which ſupported him till Hannibal granted the garriſon a capitulation; but the perſon who ſold it, in the mean time, periſhed with hunger. Marcellus not being able to raiſe the ſiege, on account of an inundation of the Vulturnus, the troops in garriſon were forced to have recourſe to Hannibal's clemency; who, in conſideration of the gallant defence they had made, permitted them to march out of the town, upon every freeman's paying ſeven ounces of gold. He reſtored Caſilinum to the Campanians,

leaving a Carthaginian garriſon of ſeven hundred men to defend the place againſt the Romans, in caſe they ſhould attack it after his departure. To complete the reduction of that part of Italy, he beſieged Petelia, the only city of that nation which held out againſt him. The Peteliani immediately applied to the Romans for ſuccours in the moſt preſſing manner; but the perplexed ſtate of affairs would not permit the republic to yield them any aſſiſtance. Nevertheleſs, they defended themſelves for ſeveral months againſt the repeated attacks of the whole Carthaginian army with incredible bravery and reſolution [c].

The ſtate of affairs in Spain.

During theſe tranſactions in Italy the war was carried on with great vigour in Spain. For ſome time Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian general, kept himſelf upon the defenſive, not being in a condition to face either the Roman fleet under Publius Scipio, or the land forces commanded by Cneius. At laſt, receiving a reinforcement of four thouſand foot and five hundred horſe from Carthage, he ventured to move out of the fortreſſes wherein he had poſted himſelf, and advanced towards the enemy's camp. He likewiſe gave orders to have his fleet refitted, to protect the maritime parts of the Carthaginian provinces, and the adjacent iſlands, from all inſults of the enemy; but before this was in a condition to put to ſea, he received intelligence, that ſeveral captains of ſhips had deſerted to the Romans. Theſe captains, it ſeems, had been ſeverely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet upon the Iberus, through cowardice, laſt year; which reproof they not being able to brook, had from that time meditated a revolt from the Carthaginians. They endeavoured alſo to excite the Carthefians to a defection; in which attempt they ſo far ſucceeded, that ſeveral towns withdrew their obedience to the Carthaginians, and another, that refuſed to join them, was reduced by force. This unexpected rebellion proved very prejudicial to Aſdrubal, and a ſeaſonable diverſion in favour of the Romans; for the Carthaginian general advanced, at the head of his whole army, into the enemy's territories, with a deſign to attack Galbus, the Carthefian general, who lay encamped under the walls of the town he had lately poſſeſſed himſelf of. He therefore firſt ordered his light-armed troops to reconnoitre the rebels and draw them to an engagement, detaching immediately afterwards part of his infantry to ravage the neighbouring country, and cut off all the ſtraggling parties of the enemy. By which means many of the Carthefians were

[c] Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 20 Appian. in Hannib. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. iv. cap. 5. ex 20. Plut. in Marcel. & Hannib.

killed,

killed, others put to flight, and their camp aſſaulted at the ſame time. However, their forces being very numerous, they were ſo far from being terrified at this motion, that they inſtantly iſſued out of their camp in a body, dancing after their manner, with an intention to fall directly upon the Carthaginians. This ſudden impulſe of courage ſo damped the ſpirits of Aſdrubal's main body, with which he was advancing to attack Galbus's camp, that he thought proper to take poſt on an eminence of difficult acceſs, and rendered more ſo by a river, which ſecured him from the enemy. Here he was rejoined by the above mentioned detachments, equally intimidated at the enemy's approach. And, under ſuch terrible apprehenſions were the Carthaginians at this juncture, that, although their camp might have been conſidered as inacceſſible, Aſdrubal fortified it with an entrenchment, in order to ſecure it the more effectually from all attempts of the Barbarians. Some ſkirmiſhes happened whilſt the two armies lay ſo near one another; but without any conſiderable loſs on either ſide. Livy ſays, that the Numidian cavalry were not ſo good as the Carthefian, nor the Mauritanian dartmen ſo expert as the Carthefian targetteers; who in activity were equal to, and in ſtrength, as well as courage, excelled them. Galbus, finding it impoſſible either to draw the enemy out of their camp, or force the entrenchment, ſeized upon Aſena, a town where Aſdrubal had fixed his principal magazine, when he firſt entered upon the Carthefian frontiers, and eaſily made himſelf maſter of the open country. Aſdrubal, finding that the enemy, elated with their ſucceſs, ſoon after diſperſed themſelves in ſmall parties over the country, and neglected all diſcipline, both in their detachments and their camp, advanced from his trenches, with his army drawn up in order of battle, and immediately fell upon them. The Carthefians, not expecting ſo ſudden an attack, and having a great part of their forces then ſtraggling about the country, were eaſily routed by the Carthaginians, who continued the ſlaughter great part of the day. In ſhort, the whole body of the Barbarians in the camp, except a ſmall party, that eſcaped by a vigorous effort to the mountains and woods, was put to the ſword; a diſaſter which threw the Carthefians into ſuch conſternation, that the next day the whole nation ſubmitted to Aſdrubal. Soon after this action a courier arrived from Carthage, with orders to Aſdrubal to begin his march for Italy without delay. The Spaniards, upon the publication of this order, conſidered the Carthaginians as not in a condition to protect them; and of courſe turned their eyes towards the Romans. Aſdrubal, therefore, diſpatched an

expreſs to Carthage, giving the republic an account how prejudicial the bare rumour of his departure had been; at the ſame time adding, that if the late orders were put in execution, the Romans would be maſters of Spain before he had paſſed the Iberus. Notwithſtanding which remonſtrance the ſtate of Carthage perſiſted in its former reſolution, eſteeming it a matter of the utmoſt conſequence to ſupport Hannibal. However, it ſo far complied with Aſdrubal's requeſt, as to ſend Himilco, with a powerful army, and a conſiderable naval reinforcement, into Spain, to watch the motions of both the natives and the Romans [d].

Before Aſdrubal began his march for Italy, he furniſhed himſelf with large ſums of money, which he exacted from the Spaniards ſubject to Carthage, being ſenſible that Hannibal could never have reached the Alps had he not been powerfully ſupported by gold. At laſt, having got all things in readineſs for the enterprize, he aſſembled all his forces, and advanced to the Iberus. In the mean time he received intelligence that the Romans, appriſed of his approach, had inveſted Ibera, a town deriving its name from the river on which it ſtood, and the richeſt in all that part of Spain. To oblige them, therefore, to raiſe that ſiege, he ſat down before another town, which had lately ſubmitted to the Romans. This expedient had the deſired effect; for the Romans, leaving Ibera, encamped on a ſpot about five miles diſtant from him. The conſequence of this action was a deciſive battle, wherein Aſdrubal gave proofs of extraordinary military genius, though fortune declared againſt him. The Spaniards in his army diſliking an Italian expedition, fled at the firſt onſet; the Mauritanian and Numidian horſe made but a faint reſiſtance; ſo that the rout was general, and the ſlaughter dreadful. Aſdrubal performed all that could be expected from the moſt conſummate general; he continued to give his orders with the greateſt preſence of mind, and to animate his men by his example; but not being able to rally his troops, he found himſelf obliged to abandon the field of battle and his camp to the enemy, together with the vaſt ſums of money he had amaſſed for the Italian expedition. According to Eutropius and Oroſius, the Carthaginians had twenty-five thouſand men killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners in the action. Zonaras intimates, that Cneius was ſo poſted with his army, that very few of the Carthaginians found it poſſible to eſcape. After this blow, all the Spaniards, who had before been wavering

[d] Polyb. lib. viii. Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 26—29. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6. Appian. in Iberic. Zonar. ubi ſupra.

in their fidelity to Carthage, declared for the victors. Aſdrubal, in the mean time, collecting the remains of his ſhattered army, was ſo far from being in a condition to attempt ſucouring Hannibal, that he found it difficult to maintain himſelf in Spain [e].

The Carthaginians reduce Petelia.

Himilco, who commanded the Carthaginian forces before Petelia, puſhed on the ſiege of that place with great vigour, battering the walls with the utmoſt fury, and haraſſing the garriſon by continual aſſaults. However, the Peteliani defended themſelves in a very gallant manner, deſtroying great numbers of the beſiegers, though they were but a handful of men: but what greatly contributed to the defence of the place was the bravery of the women, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much as the men on this occaſion. They made frequent ſallies, burnt the enemy's works, and then retired triumphantly into the town. Notwithſtanding theſe efforts, Hannibal having cut off all communication betwixt them and the neighbouring country, they were ſo greatly preſſed by famine, that they found themſelves obliged to ſend all the uſeleſs people out of the city, who were immediately butchered by the Carthaginians in ſight of the garriſon. At laſt they made a ſally with their whole force; but the greateſt part, through hunger and fatigue, not having ſtrength enough either to uſe their arms, or retire into the town, were put to the ſword. However, eight hundred cut their way through the enemy, and eſcaped in a body to the Romans; who, after the concluſion of this war, reinſtated them in their former poſſeſſions, and always took care to diſtinguiſh them by particular marks of eſteem [f].

As likewiſe Conſentia, Croton, Locri, and other cities.

After the reduction of Petelia, Hannibal, being rejoined by Himilco's detachment, advanced to Conſentia, which ſoon ſurrendered. Locri opened its gates upon the firſt ſummons, the principal citizens having for ſome time kept a ſecret correſpondence with the Brutii, who had joined the Carthaginian army. Croton, which was in a manner deſerted by its inhabitants, and ſeveral other cities of Magna Græcia, followed their example. Rhegium, though attacked by Hannibal with all his forces, baffled all the efforts of the Carthaginians. Sicily, in the mean time, wavered in its fidelity to the Romans, the defeat at Cannæ giving ſuch an idea of the Carthaginian power, that it could not avoid diſcovering an inclination to follow the example of

[e] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 29. Diod. Sic. lib. xxvi. in Excerpt. Valeſ. Appian. Flor. Eutrop. Oroſ. Zonar. &c. ubi ſupra. [f] Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 35. Appian. in Iberic. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 6. Plut. ubi ſupra.

the Italians. Even the family of Hiero was not entirely free from this diſpoſition: for Gelon, the heir apparent to the crown of Syracuſe, deſpiſing Hiero's old age, declared for Hannibal; and had not death taken him off ſo ſuddenly, that Hiero himſelf was ſuſpected of haſtening his fate, he might have made a powerful diverſion in favour of the Carthaginians [s].

The Carthaginians prepare to invade Sardinia.

In the mean time a courier arrived at Carthage from the army in Spain, with letters from Aſdrubal, importing, that he had ſuffered a total defeat, and that the greateſt part of Spain had revolted to the Romans. The ſenate and people were thunder-ſtruck at this melancholy advice, which, for the preſent, diſconcerted all their meaſures. Mago was upon the point of ſetting out for Italy, with a reinforcement of twelve thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, twenty elephants, and a thouſand talents of ſilver: but his departure, upon the reception of this mortifying intelligence, was countermanded, and he was ordered to hold himſelf in readineſs to embark for Spain at a minute's warning. Whilſt matters were in this agitation at Carthage, ambaſſadors arrived from Sardinia, inviting the Carthaginians, in the name of Hampſicora, who at that time bore the chief command, and the other Sardinian prime nobility, to ſend over a body of troops, in order to take poſſeſſion of that iſland. Theſe ambaſſadors inſinuated, that the Romans had ſcarce any forces there; that the old prætor Cornelius had left the iſland; that a new one, unacquainted with the genius of the Sardi, was expected; that the Sardi were tired of the Roman government, and extremely incenſed againſt their imperious and avaricious maſters, for their grievous exactions; in ſhort, that nothing was wanting to induce them to ſhake off the Roman yoke, but an encouragement from ſome powerful ſtate, that would take them under its protection. This embaſſy revived the drooping ſpirits of the Carthaginians, who immediately ſent Mago to Spain with the aforeſaid ſuccours, and diſpatched Aſdrubal, ſurnamed Calvus, with the like number of forces, to ſupport the Sardi.

Hannibal concludes a treaty with Philip king of Macedon.

Whilſt the two potent republics of Carthage and Rome were thus contending for ſuperiority, the eyes of all the neighbouring ſtates were fixed upon them. Amongſt the reſt, Philip king of Macedon had obſerved, with great attention, the progreſs of this war. At firſt he was equally inclined to both parties; but, finding Hannibal the favourite of fortune, he reſolved to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the Carthaginians. He ſent an em-

[s] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 39. Diod. Sic. lib. xxvi. in Excerpt. Valeſ.

baſſy,

baſſy, with Xenophanes, one of his miniſters, at the head of it, to Hannibal's camp in Campania. Theſe ambaſſadors happened to fall into the hands of the Romans, and were conducted to the prætor Valerius Lævinus, in his camp at Nuceria: but Xenophanes, by his addreſs, pretending he came to propoſe a treaty of friendſhip to the Romans, found means to purſue his route; and, upon his arrival at Hannibal's head-quarters, concluded a treaty with him, which, together with the preamble, was couched in the following terms. "Copy of the treaty concluded between Hannibal, general of the Carthaginian army, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar, all the ſenators of Carthage, together with the whole body of forces then preſent, on the one ſide; and Xenophanes, ſon of Cleomachus, an Athenian, miniſter plenipotentiary of Philip, ſon of Demetrius, king of Macedon, in his own name, and that of the Macedonian nation and their allies, on the other. The articles of this treaty are agreed upon in the moſt ſolemn manner by both the contracting powers, in the preſence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; of the Dæmon of Carthage, Hercules, and Iolaus; of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; of thoſe divinities who are confederates with Carthage; of the Sun, Moon, and Earth; of the Rivers, Meadows, and Waters; of the tutelary deities of Carthage, Macedon, and Greece; and, laſtly, of thoſe deities who, preſiding in war, aſſiſt at, and ſuperintend, the ſigning of the preſent treaty. Hannibal, general of the Carthaginian forces, the ſenators above mentioned, and the whole Carthaginian army, declare this, according to the mutual intention of both parties, to be a treaty of amity, by virtue of which the contracting powers are, from henceforth, obliged to treat each other as friends and brethren. In conſequence, therefore, of this convention, king Philip, the Macedonian nation, and the Greeks their allies, engage to defend and ſupport, to the utmoſt of their power, the lords the Carthaginians, Hannibal their general, all the ſenators and forces with him, all governors of provinces under the dominion of Carthage, who govern by the ſame laws, the people of Utica, and all other cities and nations ſubject to the Carthaginian empire; all who bear arms in their ſervice; all cities in alliance with them in Italy, Gaul, and Liguria; and all that ſhall hereafter become their allies in thoſe countries. On the other hand, the Carthaginian armies, the inhabitants of Utica, all the cities and ſtates ſubject to Carthage, all the Carthaginian allies, and their troops, all the nations of Italy, Gaul, and Liguria, that are in a ſtate of amity with the Carthaginians, or that ſhall hereafter enter into an alliance with them, ſolemnly oblige them-

themſelves to preſerve from all injuries and inſults, and ſtrenuouſly to ſupport, Philip king of Macedon, the Macedonian nation, together with the Greeks their allies. No clandeſtine deſigns ſhall be formed by either party againſt the other. Both powers ſhall, with the utmoſt ſincerity and alacrity, act againſt the enemies of Carthage and king Philip, except ſuch kings, cities, or ports, as ſhall have contracted a friendſhip with either of them. The Romans ſhall be conſidered as a common enemy, till the gods ſhall be pleaſed happily to terminate the war already commenced. King Philip, the Macedonian nation, and the Greeks their allies, ſhall ſupply the Carthaginians with all neceſſaries, in order to carry on this war, in ſuch manner as ſhall be hereafter ſettled by a particular convention. If Heaven ſhould not vouchſafe ſucceſs to the arms of the high allies, but they ſhould be obliged to enter into a negotiation with the enemy, and even conclude a peace with them, they ſhall all be comprehended in that treaty. The Romans ſhall never be permitted to have any footing in the iſland of Corcyra, nor to exerciſe any dominion over the inhabitants of Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharus, Dimales, Parthenia, with its territories, and Atintania. They ſhall be obliged to deliver up to Demetrius Pharius all his friends and relations, who ſhall be found in any part of their dominions. If the Romans ſhall hereafter declare war againſt either of the contracting powers, they ſhall mutually aſſiſt each other, as occaſion ſhall require. The ſame thing ſhall be done by both parties, if any other power comes to a rupture with either of them, except it be a king, ſtate, or city, with which the other was before in alliance. It ſhall be lawful either to cancel any of the articles of this treaty, or add new ones to it, by the mutual conſent of both parties, if it ſhall hereafter be judged expedient ſo to do [h]."

Philip's ambaſſadors intercepted by the Romans.

When the Macedonian ambaſſadors returned, Hannibal ſent three miniſters with them; namely, Giſco, Boſtar, and Mago, in order to bring him king Philip's ratification of the treaty. They had a veſſel waiting for them, privately ſtationed near the temple of Juno Lacinia, in Calabria; but were ſcarce got to ſea, when they were deſcried by the Romans. Some light veſſels being detached from the Roman ſquadron, then cruizing off the coaſts of Calabria, ſoon came up with them, and obliged the veſſel they were on board immediately to ſurrender. In this emergency, Xenophanes had recourſe to another falſhood, aſſerting, that all the paſſes and highways in Campania were ſo guarded by

[h] Polyb. lib. vii.

the

the Carthaginian parties, that he found it impoſſible to go to Rome: but this artifice did not ſucceed. The Carthaginian miniſters were betrayed by their language and habits, by which means the Romans diſcovered the whole ſecret, ſent both the Carthaginian and Macedonian ambaſſadors priſoners to Rome, and took meaſures to avert the ſtorm with which they were threatened from this formidable alliance [1].

The Carthaginian affairs go to decay both by ſea and land.

About this time Hannibal received intelligence, that the Campanians, who had aſſembled an army of fourteen thouſand men to act in favour of the Carthaginians, had been entirely defeated by Gracchus at Hamæ; to which place they had advanced, in order to ſeize upon Cumæ. They loſt on this occaſion above two thouſand men, together with Marius Alfius their commander, and thirty-four ſtandards. He, therefore, immediately, marched to Hamæ; but upon his arrival, found only the carcaſes of the Campanians, who fell in the laſt action, with which the ground was ſtrewed, the enemy having retired, immediately after the battle, to Cumæ. Hannibal reoccupied his former camp upon Mount Tifata; but, at the ſolicitation of the Campanians, after having ravaged all the country about Cumæ, he laid ſiege to that city. Having applied a huge wooden tower to the walls of the place, he made a vigorous aſſault: but the Roman conſul, who had thrown himſelf into the town, erected one that was higher, and poſted men in it, who diſcharged a great number of flaming torches, beſides a vaſt quantity of other combuſtible materials, upon the beſiegers. Theſe efforts put the Carthaginians into diſorder; which being obſerved by the garriſon, a ſtrong party ſallied out of the town, routed and purſued them to their camp, at the diſtance of a mile. Next day the Carthaginian drew up his army betwixt his camp and the town, in order to draw the Romans to an engagement; but the conſul declining a battle, he immediately decamped, and took poſt again upon Mount Tifata. During theſe tranſactions, Hanno was defeated at Grumentum in Lucania by T. Sempronius Longus, and loſt four thouſand men, beſides forty-one military enſigns. After this check, Hanno abandoned Lucania to the enemy, and retreated into the country of the Brutii. Upon theſe repeated inſtances of ill ſucceſs, three towns of the Hirpini revolted from the Carthaginians to the Romans, who took a thouſand priſoners, and cauſed them all to be ſold unde the ſpear. A little before theſe diſaſters happened, Aſdrubal, ſurnamed Calvus, ſailed from Carthage, with the

[1] Juſtin. lib. xxix. cap. 4. Liv. ubi ſupra. cap. 34.

armament

armament under his command, for Sardinia; but received great damage from a ſtorm in his paſſage, and was obliged to put in at one of the ports of the Balearic iſlands. Here he ſtaid ſome time, in order to refit his fleet; a delay which gave the Romans an opportunity to make head againſt the Carthaginians in Sardinia, and conſequently contributed to the overthrow Aſdrubal ſoon after received in that iſland [k].

Philip, king of Macedon, being informed, that his ambaſſadors, together with the Carthaginian miniſters ſent by Hannibal, had fallen into the hands of the Romans, ſent Heraclitus Scotinus, Crito Berræus, and Soſitheus Magnes, three noblemen he could confide in, to conclude a freſh treaty with that general. This ſervice they happily performed; but as the ſummer was ſpent in this negotiation, Philip could not put himſelf ſoon enough in motion to make any diverſion in favour of the Carthaginians. Hannibal therefore now began conſiderably to loſe ground. Fabius, having paſſed the Vulturnus, in conjunction with his colleague, took the cities of Combulteria, Trebula, and Saticula, by aſſault, making the Carthaginian garriſons priſoners of war. In the mean time Hannibal kept up a ſecret correſpondence with the populace of Nola, engaging them to deliver the city into his hands. This being communicated to Fabius, he detached the proconſul Marcellus with a body of troops to garriſon the place, and protect the nobility in the Roman intereſt; and poſted himſelf betwixt Nola and the Carthaginian camp upon Mount Tifata, in order to cut off all communication betwixt them. Marcellus likewiſe made frequent incurſions into the territories of the Hirpini, and the Samnites Caudini, where he committed great depredations. Theſe hoſtilities induced the Hirpini and the Samnites to reproach Hannibal with his indolence, telling him, that Marcellus ſeemed rather to be the conqueror at Cannæ than Hannibal. To whom the Carthaginian replied, that as the blow given the Romans at Cannæ had eclipſed all his other victories, ſo they ſhould ſoon ſee the glory of that obſcured by another more illuſtrious atchievement. Then diſmiſſing them with magnificent preſents, he advanced towards Nola, after having left a ſufficient body of troops to guard his camp on Mount Tifata. Upon his approach, he ſent Hanno, with a detachment of forces, to perſuade the Nolans to ſurrender their city to the Carthaginians. By permiſſion of Marcellus, he had a conference with Herennius Baſſus, and Herius Petrius, two perſons of the firſt diſtinction in the place; but without ef-

Marcellus gains another conſiderable advantage over Hannibal.

[k] Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 35, & ſeq. Plut. in Hannib.

fect.

fect. Hannibal therefore, ſurrounding the city, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking it with the utmoſt vigour; which Marcellus obſerving, ſallied out upon his forces with ſuch fury, that the action muſt have become general, had not the combatants on both ſides been obliged to retire by a violent ſtorm. Two days after this tranſaction a bloody engagement happened within a mile of Nola, wherein the Carthaginians were driven from the field. They loſt, on this occaſion, fifty thouſand men killed upon the ſpot; and had ſix hundred taken priſoners. A body of near thirteen hundred Spaniſh and Numidian horſe, immediately after this defeat, deſerted to the Romans. Fabius, now laying aſide his uſual caution, penetrated into the very heart of Campania; and hearing of Hannibal's retreat into Apulia, moved towards Capua, deſtroying all the country, as he advanced, with fire and ſword [1].

The Carthaginians once more driven out of Sardinia.

In the mean time, Aſdrubal being detained in one of the ports of the Baleariс iſlands, Manlius landed his forces at Caralis; and, upon a review, found them to conſiſt of twenty-two thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe. At the head of this army he marched into the enemy's territories, and encamped near Hampſicora, the Sardinian general, who, being gone into the diſtrict of the Pelliti Sardi, to aſſemble all the youth able to bear arms, in order to reinforce his troops, had left his ſon Hioſtus to command in his abſence. Hioſtus, being an impetuous youth, ventured an engagement with Manlius, wherein he had the misfortune to be defeated, leaving three thouſand of his men killed upon the ſpot, and three hundred were taken priſoners. The body aſſembled by Hampſicora, upon this diſaſter, immediately diſperſed into the woods and fields; but at laſt retired to a city called Cornus, the capital of the aforeſaid diſtrict. Sardinia now muſt have been totally loſt, had not Aſdrubal arrived in the critical moment with the forces ſent from Carthage for the ſupport of the Sardi. Hampſicora joined him with all the Sardinian troops he could aſſemble: and, immediately after this junction, the confederates advanced into the territories of the Roman allies, plundering the country through which they moved. Their intention was to have marched directly to Caralis, and ſeize upon that capital; but Manlius intercepted them before they could put their deſign in execution. After ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes betwixt the advanced guards of the two armies, a general action enſued, wherein the Sardi were

[1] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 38—48. Appian. in Hannib. Plut. in Hannib. in Fab. & in Marcell. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6. Luc. Ampel. in lib. Memorial. cap. 46.

ſoon

soon put to the rout; but the Carthaginians continued the fight with extraordinary bravery, insomuch that the victory hung long in suspense. However, they were at last entirely defeated, and dispersed beyond a possibility of rallying. Twelve thousand of the Sardi and Carthaginians fell in this battle; and seven hundred of both nations were taken prisoners. Mago, a near relation of Hannibal; Hanno, another Carthaginian nobleman, the chief promoter of all the troubles in Sardinia; and Asdrubal the general, were in the number of the latter: but Hiostus, the son of Hampsicora, was killed; a circumstance which threw his father into such an excess of grief, that he laid violent hands on himself. The shattered remains of the Carthaginian and Sardinian army fled to Cornus, and, almost upon the first summons of the conqueror, surrendered at discretion. All the cities and fortresses likewise, either in the Carthaginian jurisdiction, or that of Hampsicora, in a few days submitted to Manlius; who soon set sail from Caralis for the coast of Italy, with the prisoners, as well as the vast booty, he had acquired in this successful expedition [m].

The Carthaginians worsted at sea.

Asdrubal had no sooner landed his troops in Sardinia, than he sent the fleet back to Africa, the admiral of which, in his passage, was attacked by a Roman squadron of fifty sail, under the command of T. Otacilius the prætor; who, having ravaged the maritime part of the territory of Carthage, was steering his course towards Sardinia, in quest of this very fleet. The Romans took seven Carthaginian gallies, with their crews, the rest escaping by setting all their sails and bearing away. About this time Bomilcar arrived at Locri, with a reinforcement of troops, forty elephants, and a considerable supply of provisions and military stores, from Carthage. After a short stay, he joined Hanno, who lay encamped in the country of the Brutii. This general had escaped being taken by Appius, who suddenly passed the Streights of Reggio, and advanced to the gates of Locri, in order to surprise him. Appius took post in the neighbourhood of Locri, immediately after Bomilcar's departure; so that the city, being abandoned by the Carthaginians, opened its gates to him. However, he missed his principal aim, and, without making any new attempts, soon after returned to Messana.

State of affairs in Spain.

The Carthaginians sustained this year a very considerable loss in Spain. Asdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar, the son of Bomilcar, three Carthaginian generals, besieged Illiturgis,

[m] Liv. ubi supra, cap. 40—42. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 16. Sil. Ital. lib. xii. Eutrop. lib. iii. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 5.

which

which had revolted. The Romans, with much difficulty, forced their way through the enemy's three camps, and relieved their allies when they were upon the point of ſurrendering for want of a ſupply. This encouraged the Scipios to hazard a battle with the Carthaginians, whoſe army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand men, though their's did not amount to above ſixteen thouſand. Aſdrubal's camp, being by far the moſt conſiderable, was firſt attacked by the Romans. Mago and Hamilcar advanced, each of them at the head of his reſpective corps, to ſupport him: but notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, the Carthaginian camps were forced, and their army routed, with the loſs of above ſixteen thouſand men upon the ſpot, three thouſand made priſoners, five elephants ſlain, beſides a thouſand horſes, ſixty military enſigns, and five elephants taken. The conſequence of this defeat was the raiſing the ſiege of Illiturgis, from whence the Carthaginians retired with precipitation to Indibilis, and in a ſhort time found means to recruit their forces out of the Spaniſh provinces ſo effectually, that they ventured another engagement with the Scipios. But their unhappy fate ſtill attending them, they were vanquiſhed again, and driven out of the field of battle, with the loſs of thirteen thouſand men killed in the action and the purſuit. Three thouſand priſoners, above forty ſtandards, and nine elephants, fell into the hands of the victors. After this battle, adds Livy, almoſt all the different nations of Spain revolted to the Romans [n].

The troops in Italy on both ſides go into winter-quarters.

No conſiderable events happened during the time the troops on both ſides lay in winter-quarters. The citadel of Croton, however, was abandoned to the people of Locri, allies of the Carthaginians, after the concluſion of the campaign. Hannibal took up his winter-quarters at Arpi, and the conſul Sempronius fixed his at Luceria. Each commander kept a watchful eye upon his antagoniſt, and endeavoured to animate his men, the Carthaginian and Roman parties frequently ſkirmiſhing with one another [o].

Hannibal raiſes commotions in Sicily.

About this time Hannibal found means to raiſe commotions in Sicily, which turned out greatly to his advantage. After the death of Hiero, by ſeveral artful ſteps, he fixed his grandſon Hieronymus, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Syracuſe, in the intereſt of the Carthaginians. Some authors relate, that this young prince reigned only thirteen months; that after he came to the crown, he ſhewed a

[n] Idem. ibid. Vide & Flor. Eutrop. Oroſ. & Zonar. ubi ſupra, nt & in Not. Oudendorp. in S. Jul. Front. Strat. lib. ii. cap. 3. ex. 1.
[o] Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 1—4.

moſt

moſt abandoned diſpoſition; and that many prodigies at Syracuſe preceded his acceſſion. Polybius, however, differs from theſe authors in relation to his character; though he allows that he was a weak and unjuſt prince. Soon after he had entered into a league with Hannibal, and the ſtate of Carthage, he was aſſaſſinated by the direction of Indigimines, one of the officers of his guards [p].

The Romans gain ſome advantages over Hannibal.

The Capuans, hearing of the great preparations made in all the Roman provinces for the vigorous proſecution of this war, no leſs than eighteen legions being deſtined for the ſervice of the current year, were thrown into a great conſternation, eſpecially as they knew themſelves to be extremely obnoxious to the Romans. They, therefore, in the moſt preſſing terms, intreated Hannibal to march immediately to their aſſiſtance, and prevent the Romans from inveſting their city. Hannibal, in compliance with their requeſt, advanced with all expedition to Mount Tifata, near Capua, where he had encamped the former year. Here he left a body of Spaniards and Numidians to defend the advantageous ſpot of ground he poſſeſſed, and ſent a detachment to reinforce the garriſon of Capua. Then he marched to the lake Avernus, under pretence of ſacrificing to the gods, but in reality to attempt ſurpriſing Puteoli, into which Fabius had ſome time before thrown a body of troops. Having ravaged the territory of Cumæ, as far as the promontory of Miſenum, he preſented himſelf before Puteoli, and ſummoned the garriſon, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, to ſurrender: but finding the Romans determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, and that the place was almoſt impregnable, he thought proper to retire. Soon after this diſappointment, the populace of Nola, upon his approach towards their city, deſired Hannibal to ſend ſome forces to defend them againſt the ſenate, who were friends to the Romans: but Marcellus having with great difficulty paſſed the Vulturnus, reinforced the garriſon of Nola with ſix thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, thereby prevented the Carthaginian from being admitted into the place. In the mean time Hanno, marching out of the country of the Brutii, encamped within three miles of Beneventum, upon the river Calor: Gracchus being informed of this motion, advanced at the head of a large detachment, conſiſting chiefly of ſlaves, and pitched his tents within a mile of him. The vicinity of the two camps ſoon brought on a general action, wherein the Carthaginians were defeated with very conſiderable loſs. During theſe

[p] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 4—8. Polyb. lib. vii. in Excerpt.

tranſ-

tranſactions in the neighbourhood of Beneventum, Hannibal appeared again before Nola; but Marcellus, having joined the proprætor Pomponius, and ordered Claudius Nero, with a ſtrong body of horſe, to aſſault the enemy's rear, attacked him without heſitation. After a warm diſpute, the Roman gained the advantage, and might have entirely overthrown the Carthaginian, could Nero have executed his orders: but that commander having, by ſome unforeſeen accident, been hindered from coming up with the enemy in time, nothing deciſive happened on either ſide. Hannibal ſoon after drew off his forces from before Nola, and retreated towards Tarentum [q].

Hanno defeats Gracchus.

Hanno, after the diſgrace he had received near Beneventum, retired into Lucania, where meeting with a body of Roman troops, ſent by Gracchus to ravage the country, he ſoon diſperſed them, putting a great number to the ſword. Fabius and Marcellus now jointly carried on the ſiege of Caſilinum, which they puſhed ſo vigorouſly, that it was at laſt obliged to capitulate. Fabius granted them a capitulation, the chief article of which was, that they ſhould have leave to retire to Capua; but Marcellus, in violation of this agreement, maſſacred many of them, and ſent all the reſt, except fifty that eſcaped to Fabius, priſoners to Rome. The Romans afterwards deſtroyed with fire and ſword the whole country of the Caudine Samnites, carried off an immenſe quantity of plunder, and took by ſtorm the cities Compulteria, Teleſia, Compſa, Melæ, Fulfulæ, and Orbitanium. Blandæ in Lucania, and Ancæ in Apulia, likewiſe ſuffered the ſame fate: but Hanno, with the booty he gained in the late action, arrived ſafe in the country of the Brutii [r].

Hannibal advances to Tarentum, but without any effect.

Whilſt Hannibal was encamped on the lake Avernus, five young Tarentine noblemen, who had been taken priſoners in the battles of the lake Thraſymenus and Cannæ, and diſmiſſed with great generoſity by that general, arrived as ambaſſadors from the city of Tarentum. They told him, that in return for his kindneſs, they had prevailed upon the Tarentines to prefer his friendſhip to that of the Romans; and that they would open their gates upon his preſenting himſelf before the town. Hannibal relying upon this aſſurance, ſoon after advanced into the neighbourhood of Tarentum; but finding that no perſon offered to ſtir, he bent his march to Salapia, ordering vaſt quantities of proviſions, collected in the territories of Metapontum and He-

[q] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 11—13. Vide & Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 13,
[s] Appian. & Plut. in Hannib. [r] Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 19—21.

raclea, to be brought thither. Having an intention to fix his winter-quarters there, he likewiſe ſent detachments of Moors and Numidians to carry off every thing valuable that could be found in the diſtrict of Salentum, and the adjacent woody parts of Apulia. Amongſt other things which were the produce of the country, they brought off a large number of wild horſes, four thouſand of which being broke, were very ſerviceable to Hannibal in the remounting of his cavalry.

The tranſactions in Spain.

Notwithſtanding the loſſes the Carthaginians ſuſtained the laſt year in Spain, Aſdrubal and Mago, in the beginning of this campaign, defeated a ſtrong body of Spaniards; a circumſtance which would have been of bad conſequence to the Romans, had not Publius advanced with great expedition to the Iberus, in order to ſupport his confederates. The Romans encamped at Caſtrum Altum, a place remarkable for the death of the great Hamilcar. Though this was a fortreſs of great ſtrength, and abundantly ſtored with proviſions, Publius, finding all the adjacent country poſſeſſed by the enemy, and his troops greatly haraſſed by their horſe, ſoon decamped, and poſted himſelf on a ſpot not ſo much expoſed to their inſults. Publius, ſoon after his arrival in his new camp, went with a detachment of light-armed troops to reconnoitre ſome of the neighbouring places. This excurſion being obſerved by the Carthaginian general, he advanced at the head of his forces, to attack him; and muſt have ſurpriſed him in a plain, had he not retired in time to an eminence, where he defended himſelf till his brother Cneius came to his relief. Caſtulo, a ſtrong and noble city of Spain, and ſo ſtrictly allied with the Carthaginians, that Aſdrubal had taken him a wife from thence, now revolted to the Romans. The Carthaginians, not diſcouraged at this defection, laid ſiege to Illiturgis, defended by a Roman garriſon, which was in great danger of ſurrendering for want of proviſions. Cneius hearing of their diſtreſs, forced his way through the enemy's camp into the town, ſupplied it plentifully with every neceſſary, and the next day ſallied out upon the enemy. In the two actions the Carthaginians had twelve thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. Being obliged to abandon the ſiege of Illiturgis, they marched from thence to attack Bigerra, another city in alliance with Rome; but Cneius forced them to raiſe this likewiſe, without ſtriking a ſtroke. Afterwards the Carthaginian general retreated to Munda, whither he was followed by the Romans. Here both armies engaged for four hours, when the Romans would have been victorious, had not Scipio been wounded

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in the thigh by a javelin; an accident which ſo diſpirited his troops, that he was obliged to ſound a retreat. In this action the Carthaginian troops, according to Livy, as well as the elephants, were driven back to their retrenchments, where thirty-nine of thoſe huge animals periſhed by the enemy's darts. Twelve thouſand Carthaginians loſt their lives on the field of battle, and three thouſand, with fifty-ſeven military enſigns, fell into the enemy's hands. Then the Carthaginians retreated with great precipitation to Aurinx, and were purſued by the Romans. There Cneius, being carried in a litter, again attacked Aſdrubal, and entirely routed him; but did not make ſuch a carnage as in the former engagements, becauſe the Carthaginian forces were not at that time ſo numerous. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſaſters, Mago ſpeedily raiſed ſuch a number of recruits as enabled his brother to face the Romans once more. Another battle enſued, wherein the Romans experienced their uſual ſucceſs. Above eight thouſand Carthaginians, with eight elephants, were ſlain, and about one thouſand, with fifty-eight military enſigns, and three elephants, taken. Mænicapto and Civiſmaro, two kings of the Gauls, who came to aſſiſt their allies the Carthaginians, likewiſe fell in this battle. A vaſt number of gold rings, chains for the neck, bracelets, and other Gallic ſpoils, alſo fell into the poſſeſſion of the victors. The Romans, having driven the enemy out of the field, advanced to Saguntum, forced the Carthaginian garriſon to abandon the city, and then reſtored it to the ancient inhabitants that had ſurvived the calamities of their country. Cneius cauſed the Turdetani, who had been the occaſion of this bloody war, to be ſold by auction, and afterwards raſed their city. Such is the account Livy has given us of the military operations this year in Spain; in which, however, he ſeems to have deſervedly incurred the imputation of partiality to his own countrymen [s].

The campaign in Italy.

In the following ſpring Hannibal received intelligence, that Caſſius Altinius, who abandoned the Roman intereſt after the battle of Cannæ, had offered to deliver Arpi into the hands of the Romans for a ſum of money. This intelligence did not diſpleaſe the Carthaginian, who had long ſuſpected Altinius of holding a correſpondence with the enemy; ſince ſuch a conduct could not fail of giving him an opportunity of ſeizing upon the immenſe treaſures that wealthy citizen poſſeſſed. But, that he might appear not ſo much influenced by avarice as reſentment, as ſoon as he got Alti-

[s] Philinus apud Polyb. lib. i. ſub init. Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 41—43.

nius's riches into his coffers, he burnt his wife and children alive. Hannibal immediately put a garriſon of five thouſand Carthaginians into the city above mentioned, who were joined by a body of three thouſand citizens, in order to ſecure it againſt any attack of the Romans. However, the Fabii, having ſeized all the avenues, ſurpriſed it in the manner already related. About a thouſand Spaniards, at the beginning of the attempt, went over in a body to the Romans, and prevailed upon them ſo permit the Carthaginian garriſon to retire. In purſuance of the capitulation, thoſe troops were conducted by a Roman eſcorte to Hannibal's camp at Salapia, without the leaſt injury. This is Livy's account. But Appian relates, that the Fabii did not reduce Arpi by force, but by means of ſome traitors; and that they put all the Carthaginians to the ſword [t].

Some motions in Africa.

The Romans at this period entered into an alliance with Syphax, a Numidian prince, who had ſuddenly conceived an averſion to the Carthaginians. In conſequence of the treaty concluded between the two powers, the Romans ſent Q. Statorius into Africa, to diſcipline a body of Numidian infantry after the Roman manner. Statorius, upon his arrival in Numidia, ſoon inrolled a conſiderable body of foot out of Syphax's youth. Theſe he taught to keep their ranks, follow their colours, advance or retreat with order and celerity, and to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art after the Roman model; ſo that in a ſhort time Syphax had a body of infantry, which he could entirely depend upon. The Carthaginians, finding their Numidian forces beginning to deſert in great numbers, and fearing the fatal effects ſuch a formidable union might produce, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Gala, king of the Maſſyli, another Numidian prince, to propoſe an offenſive and defenſive alliance. Gala, at the perſuaſion of his ſon Maſiniſſa, then only ſeventeen years of age, cloſed with the propoſal, and ſent an army to aſſiſt his new allies. Maſiniſſa, to whoſe conduct that army was committed, gave Syphax two ſuch overthrows, the firſt in conjunction with the Carthaginians, and the ſecond with the Maſſylian forces only, that this prince found it impoſſible to make a diverſion afterwards in favour of the Romans [u].

Though Hannibal ſtood upon the defenſive the laſt campaign, towards the cloſe of it, ſome inconſiderable cities of the Salentines ſurrendered to his arms. However, to balance this advantage, the Thurians and Conſentini revolted

[t] Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 45—47. Appian. in Hannib. [u] Appian. in Iberic. Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 48, 49.

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to the Romans. This revolt might have been attended with more fatal conſequences, had not Hanno vanquiſhed a body of Roman forces under the command of L. Pomponius Veientanus in Lucania, after they had made dreadful incurſions into the country of the Brutii. The commander himſelf was taken priſoner in the action, and a great part of his men were cut off; an event which prevented ſeveral petty ſtates from abandoning the Carthaginian intereſt, though a few ſmall towns of Lucania, after that defeat, opened their gates to Sempronius. In the mean time Phileas, who had a long time reſided at Rome as miniſter from Tarentum, a man of a turbulent and reſtleſs diſpoſition, retired privately from Rome, with ſome Tarentine hoſtages, whom he had aſſiſted to make their eſcape. But being cloſely purſued, they were all taken near Tarracina, brought back to Rome, ſcourged publicly in the comitium, and afterwards thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. This barbarity extremely incenſed the Tarentines. Some of their young nobility therefore, the principal of whom were Nicon and Philemenus, formed a deſign to maſſacre the Roman troops in garriſon, and deliver the city to the Carthaginians. Theſe two young noblemen, with a party that they could confide in, went privately by night out of the city, under pretence of being engaged in a hunting-match. Nicon and Philemenus, as had been before concerted, rode up ſo near Hannibal's lines, that they were ſeized by one of his advanced guards, their aſſociates having before diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring woods. At firſt they refuſed to give any account of themſelves; but only intimated, that they had ſomething of moment to impart to the general. Being conducted to him, they deſired to have a private conference; which was immediately granted. They then gave him a full account of the diſpoſition of the Tarentines, exclaiming bitterly at the ſame time againſt the Romans. Hannibal received them with great kindneſs, loaded them with promiſes, and then diſmiſſed them. At the ſecond conference, Nicon and Philemenus concluded a treaty with Hannibal on the part of the Tarentines, upon the following terms: 1. When the Carthaginians ſhall have poſſeſſed themſelves of Tarentum, the citizens ſhall enjoy their laws, liberties, and eſtates, without infringement: 2. They ſhall not be obliged to pay any tribute, or receive a Carthaginian garriſon, without their own conſent: 3. All the effects of the Romans in Tarentum ſhall be given up as free booty to the Carthaginian troops. Soon after this agreement, Hannibal, by the aſſiſtance of the conſpirators, and the negligence of Livius, the Roman governor, ſurpriſ-

Yr. of Fl. 2149. Ante Chr. 199.

Hannibal has Tarentum delivered up to him.

ed the town; and the Roman garriſon retired into the citadel. In order to cover the town from the inſults of this garriſon, he ſecured that ſide of it next to the citadel with walls. A ſtrong party of the Roman troops made a ſally upon the workmen; but Hannibal drawing them into an ambuſcade, put moſt of them to the ſword. Then he built ſeveral works, that rendered the city impregnable on the ſide of the citadel; which he at laſt beſieged: but, after he had advanced his military machines, and his line of circumvallation was formed, the Romans received a reinforcement by ſea from Metapontum; which ſo excited their courage, that the next night they made a ſally, ruined the works of the beſiegers, and burnt their machines. This repulſe forced Hannibal to abandon the enterprize; but, by making carriages of ſeveral carts joined together, upon which he raiſed ſhips, he drew gallies with their rigging over land, from one part of the ſea to another. This contrivance ſecured the Tarentines a free paſſage to the ſea, of all communication with which they had been before deprived by the garriſon in the citadel. He then returned to the banks of the Galeſus, where he had before encamped; and left the citadel blocked up, both by ſea and land [w].

Hanno defeated by the Romans.

Whilſt Hannibal lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, the conſuls threatened Capua with a ſiege. This deſign greatly alarmed the Capuans, who were under dreadful apprehenſions of a famine, as the Romans had prevented them from cultivating their lands the preceding year. They therefore intreated Hannibal to ſend them a ſupply of proviſions, before the Romans ſhould have cut off the communication betwixt their city and the places where the Carthaginians, and their allies, had erected magazines. Accordingly Hanno, in purſuance of an order received from Hannibal, marching out of the country of the Brutii, encamped upon an eminence about three miles from Beneventum; and, having amaſſed a great quantity of corn, appointed a day for the Capuans to ſend a proper number of waggons to carry it off. The conſuls being informed of this intention, Fulvius marched with great expedition to Beneventum, and from thence to the Carthaginian camp, which he immediately attacked, and, by the bravery of Vibius, a centurion of the Pelignian troops, Valerius Flaccus, tribune of the third legion, and T. Pedanius, a centurion, carried, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. Above ſix thouſand

[w] Polyb. lib. viii. Liv. lib. xxv. cap. 7—12. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. iii. cap. 3. ex. 6.

Cartha-

Carthaginians were ſlain, and ſeven thouſand taken priſoners. A great number of Campanian peaſants, together with their waggons, and the corn Hanno had collected for the uſe of the Capuans, as well as an immenſe quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the Romans. Hanno himſelf was not in the action, but at ſome diſtance from the camp, when it happened; but, being informed of it at Cominium Ceritum, he retired, with great precipitation, into Brutium. This blow ſo terrified the Capuans, that the principal perſons among them ſeemed afraid the enemy would as eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of Capua as they had before reduced Arpi. However, in order to animate them to a vigorous defence, and protect their territory from the incurſions of the Roman parties, Hannibal ſent the garriſon a reinforcement of two thouſand men. In the mean time the Carthaginian garriſon at Tarentum, in conjunction with the inhabitants, continued the blockade of the citadel, Hannibal, with his army, purſuing all the neceſſary meaſures, to facilitate the reduction of that place [x].

The body of troops left to defend Metapontum being ſo weakened by the large detachment ſent to the citadel of Tarentum, that the Romans were not in a condition to make head againſt the citizens, who were well affected to the Carthaginians, Hannibal found means to make himſelf maſter of that city. Appian writes, that the Metapontini put all the Romans to the ſword; and that Heraclea, a town ſituated between Metapontum and Tarentum, followed the example of thoſe cities. The Thurians likewiſe, being nearly related to the people of the two laſt mentioned cities, as deſcended from the Achaians, and highly reſenting the cruel treatment of the Tarentine hoſtages, meditated a revolt from the Romans. They therefore ſent a deputation to Hanno and Mago, who commanded a Carthaginian army in Brutium, inviting them to take poſſeſſion of Thurium. Atinius, the commandant, had but a ſmall garriſon, his chief dependence being upon the citizens, whom he had armed and diſciplined, that they might be enabled to ſupport him, in caſe of a viſit from the enemy. Hanno firſt preſented himſelf before the town with a body of infantry, whilſt Mago, with the cavalry, lay in ambuſcade by favour of ſome eminences, which concealed him from the enemy's parties, that were ſent to reconnoitre the Carthaginians. Atinius, therefore, imagining that he ſhould be attacked only by a body of foot, and being ignorant of the conſpiracy the Thurians had entered into, did not in the leaſt doubt but

The Carthaginians admitted into Thurium.

[x] Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 13—15. Appian. in Hannib.

that he ſhould eaſily repulſe the enemy. Hanno, as matters had been before concerted, retired upon the approach of the Romans, drawing both them and the Thurians inſenſibly to the foot of the eminences poſſeſſed by the Carthaginian horſe; who immediately ruſhing upon them with a great ſhout, the Thurians, according to agreement, fled, and were received by the conſpirators into the city. The Romans, in the mean time, notwithſtanding they were charged in front, in flank, and in rear, behaved with great bravery; but, being at laſt put to flight, upon their arrival at the town, they were denied admiſſion, the conſpirators on the walls exclaiming, "That the Carthaginians, being mixed with the Romans, would certainly enter, unleſs the gates were immediately ſhut." They were all therefore cut to pieces, except Atinius, with a few of his principal officers, whom the Thurians ſaved from the general carnage, from the great perſonal regard they had for that commandant, on account of his mild and juſt government. After they had ſent them, on board ſome gallies, to the next port belonging to the Romans, the conſpirators delivered Thurium into the hands of the Carthaginians. In the mean time the conſuls proceeded towards Capua, in order to form the ſiege of that important place [y].

The proconſul Sempronius betrayed and killed.

Whilſt the Romans were preparing to attack Hannibal in the moſt ſenſible part, they ſuſtained an almoſt irreparable loſs by the death of Sempronius Gracchus. That excellent commander, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching out of Lucania into the neighbourhood of Capua, with a body of Volones, to prevent the enemy from throwing any ſuccours into the place, was, by the treachery of Flavius Lucanus, drawn into an ambuſcade, and cut off, with the ſmall party that attended him. Livy tells us, that authors do not entirely agree in their accounts of that general's death, ſome affirming that he was maſſacred by two troops of Numidians, as he repeated a ſacrifice, which had been attended by a very bad omen, at ſome diſtance from the camp, before he left Lucania; others, that a Carthaginian detachment put him, and a few lictors, with three ſlaves attending them, to the ſword, near the river Calor, in the territory of Beneventum, as they were bathing themſelves; and others again, that he fell in the manner firſt related. The Roman writers differ likewiſe as much in the accounts they give us of his interment; ſome intimating, that Hannibal celebrated his funeral obſequies with great pomp and magnificence; and others, that he ſent the body to the Roman

[y] Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 15. Appian. in Hannib.

camp

camp to be interred. Be that as it may, Hannibal probably reaped conſiderable advantage from this accident, ſince it, for ſome time, ſeems to have retarded the attack of Capua[z].

However, the conſuls at laſt approached that city with an intention to inveſt it; and the Capuans ordered a detachment of foot to make a ſally upon the enemy. As the Romans plundered all the country though which they marched, that detachment, ſupported by a body of Carthaginian cavalry under the command of Mago, fell in with a numerous party, ravaging the adjacent territory without any order or diſcipline: theſe troops Mago routed at the firſt attack, killed fifteen hundred upon the ſpot, recovered a vaſt quantity of booty, and diſperſed the reſt. This action ſo much dejected the conſuls, that at preſent they thought proper to ſtand upon the defenſive, and ſo encouraged the Carthaginians and Capuans, that they haraſſed the Romans in their turn. Hannibal, upon advice of what had happened, immediately marched to Capua and attacked the Romans. Soon after the beginning of the engagement, the quæſtor Cornelius appeared with a body of troops, formerly commanded by Sempronius, to the terror of both parties, each looking upon them as enemies. Under this apprehenſion both armies retired from the field of battle to their reſpective camps. The conſuls, after the action, in which the Romans ſuffered moſt, divided their forces into two bodies, in order to oblige Hannibal to leave the territory of Capua. Fulvius retreated into the diſtrict of Cumæ, whilſt Claudius took his march into Lucania. Hannibal purſued the latter, but was not able to come up with him: however, he met with a Roman corps of ſixteen thouſand men, under the conduct of M. Centenius Penula, who had ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions as a centurion. This officer, being introduced to the ſenate by P. Cornelius Sulla the prætor, had the confidence to tell the conſcript fathers, that, if they would truſt him with only a body of five thouſand men, he would check the career of the Carthaginians, and give a good account of Hannibal. Inſtead of five, they aſſigned him eight thouſand, which, by the acceſſion of volunteers in his march to Lucania, and many of the natives on his arrival, he increaſed to double the number. Being a man of aſtoniſhing reſolution, he engaged the Carthaginians upon Hannibal's firſt offering him battle; but not being able to withſtand that general, after a fight of two hours, he was entirely defeated. As Hannibal, by blocking up all the paſſes with detachments of his cavalry, had cut off

Hannibal gives Centenius Penula a great defeat.

[z] Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 2. Oroſ. lib. iv. cap. 17.

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their retreat, all the Romans, except a thouſand men, together with their general, were ſlain. Notwithſtanding which defeat, Claudius, having taken a large compaſs in order to get clear of Hannibal, arrived once more before Capua, and, in conjunction with his colleague, blocked up that city [a].

as likewiſe the prætor Fulvius.

Hannibal, ever mindful of taking advantage of the foibles of the Roman generals, receiving intelligence from his ſpies in Apulia, that Cn. Fulvius the prætor, elated with ſome late inſtances of ſucceſs, deſpiſed the enemy, and permitted a total relaxation of diſcipline amongſt his troops, advanced to Herdonia, where the Romans lay encamped. Upon his arrival he poſted three thouſand light-armed troops in the neighbouring houſes, and amongſt the ſhrubs and buſhes, which concealed them from the enemy; and detached Mago with two thouſand horſe to ſecure all the avenues through which it was probable the routed enemy would attempt to eſcape. The prætor, being a man of a fiery temper, was eaſily drawn by Hannibal into the ambuſcade; where being attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, and his retreat cut off, the whole Roman corps, conſiſting of eighteen thouſand men, except the prætor and two hundred horſe, who fled as ſoon as they ſaw victory incline to the Carthaginians, was almoſt entirely put to the ſword. The two laſt diſaſters immediately ſucceeding each other, threw the Roman ſenate into the utmoſt conſternation, and obliged them to ſend M. Metilius and C. Lætorius to the conſuls with freſh inſtructions [b].

Hannibal in vain attempts to excite the citizens of Brunduſium to a revolt.

Notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, the conſuls, purſuant to an order received from the ſenate, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for forming the ſiege of Capua. Hannibal, after the defeat of the enemy at Herdonia, returned to Tarentum, where he attempted both by force and perſuaſion, to bring the Roman garriſon in the citadel to a capitulation: but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he turned off to Brunduſium, to excite the citizens to a revolt. Being diſappointed in this view, he entertained ſome thoughts of moving towards Capua, at the earneſt deſire of the inhabitants, who ſent a deputation to him for that purpoſe.

Otacilius ravages the coaſts of Africa.

About the time of the reduction of Syracuſe, Otacilius ſailed with eighty quinqueremes from Lilybæum to Utica, where, entering the port in the night, he captured a great number of veſſels laden with corn. After which he landed a body of forces, which ravaged all the adjacent territory,

[a] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 18—22. [b] Idem ibid. cap. 22. Plut in Hannib.

and

and then returned on board with a very conſiderable booty. The Carthaginians giving him no obſtruction in this excurſion, either by ſea or land, he arrived ſafe at Lilybæum, three days after he left the harbour of Utica, with a hundred and thirty tranſports, that conveyed the corn and other ſpoils he had acquired, into that harbour. By ſuch a ſeaſonable ſupply he was enabled to relieve the people of Syracuſe, who, as well as the Romans reſiding there, were at that time threatened with a famine [c].

The tranſactions in Spain.

The Carthaginians had this year three armies in Spain; one commanded by Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco, another by Mago, and the third by Aſdrubal the brother of Hannibal. The two former generals encamped cloſe together, about five days march from the Romans; and the latter poſted himſelf at Anitorgis, a city much nearer the enemy. This diſpoſition obliged the Romans to divide their forces alſo. Cneius, with one third of the Roman troops, and a body of thirty thouſand Celtiberian auxiliaries, advanced into the neighbourhood of Anitorgis, to obſerve the motions of Aſdrubal the ſon of Hamilcar. The two armies encamped on oppoſite banks of the ſame river, with an intention to come to an engagement. Aſdrubal, having a perfect knowlege of the Spaniſh perfidy, and being beſides well ſkilled in the Celtiberian tongue, eaſily found means to bribe the Celtiberian troops to deſert; which obliged Cneius to retire with great precipitation before the Carthaginians. In the mean time Mago, and the other Aſdrubal, by the aſſiſtance of Maſiniſſa, and Indibilis, regulus of the Lacetani, gave the Romans a complete overthrow, and killed Publius. The ſame generals and princes, with their united forces, afterwards purſuing Cneius, attacked him on the top of an eminence, where, after a bloody action, they defeated him, put him to the ſword, with a great number of his legionaries, and forced the reſt to fly to Publius's camp, which was guarded by a ſmall body, under the command of T. Fonteius, one of his lieutenants. However, the Carthaginians, towards the cloſe of the campaign, were unexpectedly overthrown by a young Roman knight, named C. Martius, who had collected the remains of the Roman army, as we have related in another part of this work. According to Claudius, who tranſlated the Annales Aciliani out of Greek into Latin, two Carthaginian camps were forced in twenty-four hours by Martius, thirty-ſeven thouſand Carthaginians killed, eighteen hundred made priſoners, beſides many ſpoils taken, amongſt which was a ſilver ſhield, weighing a hun-

[c] Liv. ubi ſupra.

dred

dred and thirty-eight pounds, with the effigies of Aſdrubal the ſon of Hamilcar upon it. Valerius Antias relates, that when Mago's camp was taken, ſeven thouſand of the enemy were put to the ſword; and that, in a pitched battle, Martius defeated Aſdrubal, killing ten thouſand of his troops, and making four thouſand three hundred and thirty priſoners. Piſo affirms, that the Romans drew the Carthaginians into an ambuſcade, and by that ſtratagem cut off five thouſand of them; but the accounts of theſe authors are ſo improbable and contradictory, that we ought to read them with caution.

The Roman generals puſh on the ſiege of Capua.

In the mean time the Romans puſhed on the ſiege of Capua with the utmoſt vigour. The Capuans made ſeveral ſallies with ſucceſs; but Hannibal was at laſt informed by a Numidian horſeman, who had paſſed through the Roman camp undiſcovered in the night, that Capua was reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions; and then, though not without regret, he moved from his camp upon the Galeſus near Tarentum, to the relief of his favourite city. Though for ſome time after the arrival of the Numidian, he remained in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe, not knowing whether the reduction of the citadel of Tarentum, or the relief of Capua, would turn out moſt to his advantage; yet, from the ſingular affection he bore the Capuans, he at laſt came to a reſolution to prefer their ſafety to the other conſideration It is probable likewiſe that he took this ſtep in order to preſerve his reputation amongſt his allies. Leaving, therefore, his baggage in Brutium, he advanced, with a ſtrong body of light-armed troops, together with thirty-three elephants, towards Capua, emcamping in a valley behind Mount Tifata. Here he did not continue long inactive; for he firſt took a fort called Calatia, and then attacked the Roman lines, the Capuans at the ſame inſtant, as had been concerted betwixt them and Hannibal, making a vigorous ſally with their whole garriſon; but after a warm diſpute, both the Carthaginians and Capuans were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Livy aſſerts, that in the heat of the action the Spaniards and Numidians, together with the elephants, broke into the enemy's camp; that thoſe animals, by overturning the Roman tents, and frighting the beaſts of burden, diffuſed terror wherever they moved; and that Hannibal, taking advantage of this confuſion, ordered ſome of his men, who could ſpeak Latin, to cry out, that ſince the Roman camp was taken, every ſoldier was at liberty to ſhift for himſelf as well as he could, and to fly to the neighbouring mountains. However, the elephants being ſoon driven out of the camp by fire, and Hannibal's artifice

artifice defeated, the Romans recollected themſelves, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this action Hannibal, unable either to draw the enemy to a battle, or force a paſſage through their camp into the town, laid aſide all thoughts for the preſent of relieving Capua [d].

Hannibal advances to Rome.

However, that general, ever active in forming ſchemes for the annoyance of his enemies, at laſt deviſed an expedient which, he doubted not, would infallibly anſwer his purpoſe. He propoſed to march with ſuch expedition to Rome, as to preſent himſelf at the walls of that metropolis, before the Romans could have any notice or ſuſpicion of his deſign. In order to facilitate the execution of this project, Hannibal ordered his troops to ſupply themſelves with proviſions for ten days, and prepared as many tranſports as would waft them over the Vulturnus in one night; but, notwithſtanding the privacy with which this affair was tranſacted, Fulvius, by means of Carthaginian deſerters, received intelligence of Hannibal's intended motion, and diſpatched a courier to Rome, to give the ſenate early notice of his approach. As the Carthaginian did not march directly to Rome, but took a compaſs, and ſtaid to ravage the countries through which he moved, the Romans had time to make proper diſpoſitions for the defence of their capital. Hannibal, having marched by Sueſſa, Allifæ, Aquinum, Interamna, Fregellæ, Labicum, Tuſculum, and Gabii, encamped on a commodious ſpot of ground within eight miles of Rome. The Numidian cavalry in the advanced-guard filled all places with ſlaughter, and took many priſoners. He then advanced to the banks of the Anio, about three miles from the enemy's capital, from whence, eſcorted by a choice detachment of two thouſand horſe, he proceeded to the very gates of Rome, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, and take a view of the ſituation of the city; but not meeting with the deſired ſucceſs, either in this excurſion or in the attempts he afterwards made, he retired ſix miles from Rome, and poſted himſelf upon the Tutia. From hence he went to the grove of the goddeſs Feronia, where ſtood a temple ſacred to that divinity, enriched with the valuable oblations and preſents of the Capenates, a people inhabiting that diſtrict; which he plundered. Livy affirms, that after Hannibal's departure, great heaps of braſs were found in this grove, which his ſoldiers had left in the room of the treaſure they had carried off. According to Strabo, a ſacrifice was offered annually to the goddeſs Feronia, in the grove where ſhe was worſhipped, at the foot of the

[d] Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 4—7.

mountain

mountain Soracte, where her votaries walked unhurt over burning coals. Hannibal, finding himſelf diſappointed in his views, is ſaid to have exclaimed, that at one time his own will, at another fortune, would not permit him to take Rome.

Capua ſurrenders to the Romans.

Hannibal, finding that he could not relieve Capua, marched with ſuch expedition to Rhegium, that he had nearly ſurpriſed that city. This expedition was by no means pleaſing to the Capuans, who prevailed upon Boſtar and Hanno, the commanders of the Carthaginian forces in Capua, to preſs Hannibal, in the moſt moving terms, to attempt raiſing the ſiege of that city. Their letters, however, had no effect; for Hannibal either being unable or unwilling to relieve the place, it was obliged to ſurrender to the Romans, Seppius Læſius being at that time the mediaſtuticus, or chief magiſtrate. Vibius Virius, who had been the chief author of the late revolt, put an end to his life by poiſon, as did twenty-ſeven other ſenators. In what a ſhocking and inhuman manner Fulvius treated the Capuan ſenators, both before and even after the conſcript fathers at Rome had granted them mercy, may be ſeen in a former part of this work. The ſucceſs of this ſiege gave the Romans a viſible ſuperiority over the Carthaginians, and diſpoſed the Italian ſtates in general to declare for their former maſters [e].

State of affairs in Spain.

Some time after the reduction of Capua, Aſdrubal the ſon of Hamilcar being encamped at Lapides Atri, in the country of the Auſetani, between Illiturgis and Mentiſſa, was informed that Claudius Nero, who had been employed before Capua, was arrived in Spain with a ſtrong reinforcement. That general had taken upon him the command of the army deſtined to act againſt the Carthaginians in Spain, in the room of L. Marcius, and T. Fonteius. Aſdrubal ſoon after, through want of conduct, ſuffered himſelf to be encloſed in an iſthmus in ſuch a manner, that he lay at the mercy of the enemy. However, he found means to extricate himſelf from the difficulties in which that error had involved him, though not by the moſt honourable methods. This event ſo changed the face of affairs in Spain, that no perſon of diſtinction, except P. Cornelius Scipio, the ſon of Publius, who had lately loſt his life in Spain, offered himſelf a candidate for the proconſulate in that province. He was therefore choſen proconſul for Spain, and ſent, with an additional body of troops, to carry on the war in that country. Soon after his arrival, he received deputations from moſt of

[e] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 12—17. Polyb. ubi ſupra.

the

the Spaniſh nations, who diſcovered a great inclination to come to a cloſe union with the Romans. When Scipio, amidſt the applauſe and acclamations of all ranks and degrees of men at Rome, undertook the command of the army in Spain, he was ſcarce twenty-four years of age.

Hannibal's affairs go to decay in Italy, Sicily, and Spain.

Nothing of conſequence, except what has been already related, happened farther this year in Spain. At the end of it Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſco, extended his winter-quarters as far as Gades, and the ocean. Mago occupied his, above the Saltus Caſtulonenſis; and Aſdrubal, the ſon of Hamilcar, cantoned his body of troops in the neighbourhood of Saguntum. About this time the Carthaginians ſent a ſquadron to Tarentum, to cut off all ſupplies from the Roman garriſon in the citadel; but they incommoded their allies the Tarentines more than they diſturbed the enemy; for it was found impoſſible to convey, either by ſea or land, a quantity of proviſions ſufficient to ſupport both the people of Tarentum, and the forces on board the Carthaginian gallies. Though the latter, therefore, for ſome time blocked up the citadel by ſea, they could not carry their point, the Romans being plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, and having a large train of military engines. Hannibal, now finding the Carthaginian affairs going ſwiftly to decay in Italy, as well as Sicily and Spain, could not forbear exclaiming againſt Hanno, and his faction, for the detention of thoſe ſuccours which would have enabled him to finiſh the conqueſt of Italy.

The Romans take Salapia; but are defeated at ſea by the Tarentines.

In the next campaign the Romans recovered Salapia, by the aſſiſtance of Blaſius, a Salapian, who had always been a ſecret well-wiſher to the republic. As the particulars of this action have been already related, we ſhall not dwell upon them here; but only obſerve, that Hannibal loſt a body of his beſt horſe in it, which proved much more fatal to him than the fall of Salapia; for his cavalry could never, after this diſaſter, make head againſt that of the Romans, to which it had always been before ſuperior. About this time a Tarentine ſquadron defeated a Roman fleet ſent to ſupply the citadel with proviſions, under the conduct of Decimus Quintius, who was killed in the action: but to compenſate for this diſaſter, a Roman detachment, conſiſting of two thouſand men, fell upon four thouſand Tarentine foragers, and, through the conduct and bravery of their leader, C. Perſius, entirely defeated them, putting the greateſt part of them to the ſword [f].

[f] Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 59. Plut. in Marcel. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 7.

Scipio,

Scipio takes New Carthage.

Scipio, having got his naval force in readineſs for ſea early in the ſpring, appointed Tarraco the place of rendezvous for his Spaniſh allies. Upon their aſſembling, he ordered the main body of the army to defile from thence towards the Iberus, himſelf following at the head of five thouſand Spaniards. Here he harangued the ſoldiery, inſiſting upon thoſe topics that he thought would be the moſt proper to inſpire them with reſolution. Then leaving M. Silanus, with three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, to prevent diſorders in thoſe parts of Spain, he paſſed the Iberus, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe. As almoſt all the riches of Spain were depoſited in New Carthage, a city ſituated, like Old Carthage, upon a peninſula, betwixt a noble port and a lake, which laſt ſerved as a fence to the weſtern and northern parts of the wall, he formed a deſign to reduce it. He was likewiſe further excited by the commodiouſneſs of its harbour, which was capacious enough to receive the largeſt fleet, and ſo near the coaſt of Africa, that the Romans, when in poſſeſſion of it, might eaſily make a deſcent on the Carthaginian territories. Mago, who, according to ſome authors, commanded in the town, or, as Valerius Antias maintains, Arme, upon Scipio's approach, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a vigorous defence. The Romans, however, not only repulſed the enemy in a ſally, but likewiſe purſued them with ſuch ardour, that had not Scipio ordered a retreat, they would have entered the place pell-mell with the Carthaginians. Their bravery and reſolution ſo intimidated the troops in garriſon, that they abandoned many of their poſts, and deſerted the ramparts. Scipio, therefore, immediately commanded a vigorous attack to be made on thoſe parts of the wall which were moſt expoſed; his fleet at the ſame time forwarding the operations of the land-forces, by aſſaulting the town on the ſea-ſide. After a bloody and obſtinate diſpute, the Romans carried the place ſword in hand. The commandant retired into the citadel; but was ſo vigorouſly preſſed by the Romans, that he ſoon found himſelf obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Till the ſurrender of the citadel the ſlaughter was general; but afterwards quarter was granted, the ſoldiers being chiefly intent upon plunder. The Romans made ten thouſand freemen priſoners, beſides a prodigious number of women, children, and ſlaves; together with three hundred, or, according to others, ſeven hundred twenty-five Spaniſh hoſtages, whom the Roman general immediately diſmiſſed. They found in the place a hundred and twenty of the greater catapults,

catapults, two hundred eighty-one of the leſſer ſort; twenty-three of the larger baliſtæ, fifty-two of the ſmaller; an inconceivable number of ſcorpions, arms, and darts of all kinds, together with ſeventy-four military enſigns. An immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, both in money and plate, fell into Scipio's hands [z].

The Carthaginians, for ſome time, endeavoured to ſuppreſs the news of the ſevere ſtroke they had received in Spain by the reduction of New Carthage, being apprehenſive that, as ſoon as the Spaniards obtained intelligence of ſuch an unexpected event, they would, to a man, declare in favour of the Romans; but not being able long to conceal ſo remarkable a diſgrace, they were obliged at laſt to own it. However, in order to palliate their own ſhameful behaviour at the laſt attack, they pretended, that Scipio had ſtolen the town by ſurprize; that the conqueſt was of little importance, although the young commander affected to conſider it as equivalent to a ſignal victory; and that, upon the approach of three Carthaginian generals, at the head of three victorious armies, he would be thrown into a panic, and have his mind entirely occupied by the frightful idea of the havock lately made in his family. Notwithſtanding which ſuggeſtions, they were perfectly ſenſible of the great loſs they had ſuſtained, and of the fatal influence the reduction of ſo important a fortreſs muſt neceſſarily have upon their affairs.

Hannibal defeats the proconſul Cn. Fulvius at Herdonea.

Marcellus, after the reduction of Salapia, advancing into Samnium, took Maronea and Melæ, two cities of that country, by aſſault. Three thouſand Carthaginian ſoldiers, left there by Hannibal, were all put to the ſword. He found in the place two hundred and forty thouſand buſhels of wheat, together with a hundred and ten thouſand of barley. The plunder he diſtributed among the troops; but this could by no means be deemed a ſufficient compenſation for the terrible defeat Hannibal gave the proconſul Cn. Fulvius at Herdonea about the ſame time. The Roman general, being informed, that the citizens of Herdonea ſhewed a diſpoſition to abandon the Carthaginian intereſt, moved that way, to encourage them to declare themſelves. Hannibal, by his ſpies, receiving intelligence of this motion, advanced likewiſe into the neighbourhood of that city, with ſuch celerity, that Fulvius had no intimation of his approach. However, upon Hannibal's offering battle to the Romans, an engagement enſued, wherein the legionaries behaved

[z] Polyb. lib. x. ſub init. Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 43, & ſeq. Appian. in Iberic. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6.

with great bravery, till the Carthaginian found means to overpower them with his horſe. Then they were thrown into confuſion, and driven out of the field, with the loſs of thirteen thouſand men, the reſt flying to Marcellus in Samnium by different routes. After this victory, Hannibal burnt the city of Herdonea, put to death as many of the nobility, who had kept a ſecret correſpondence with Fulvius, as he could diſcover, and tranſported moſt of the citizens to Metapontum and Thurii. Upon the firſt news of Fulvius's overthrow, Marcellus marched from Samnium into Lucania, to check the progreſs of the Carthaginian arms, and came up with Hannibal near the town of Numiſtro. Both ſides immediately ſhewed a diſpoſition to fight, and drew up their armies in order of battle. Hannibal poſted his right wing on an eminence, and Marcellus placed his left cloſe by the town. The action was very ſharp, but not deciſive, night obliging both ſides to retire. Hannibal not judging it expedient to renew the attack next morning, decamped in the night, purſuing his march to Venuſia, where, in a few days, the Roman army arrived. Some ſlight ſkirmiſhes happened betwixt the advanced-guards of both parties; but nothing of importance was undertaken by either of the generals, they being wholly employed in watching one another's motions. A conſpiracy, formed againſt the Roman troops in Capua, being detected, the conſpirators received condign puniſhment. Syphax, about this time, ſent an embaſſy to Rome, informing the ſenate of the advantages he had lately gained over the Carthaginians. Towards the cloſe of this campaign, Hamilcar, with a Carthaginian ſquadron, conſiſting of forty gallies, hovered upon the coaſts of Sardinia, and ravaged all the country about Olbia and Caralis. The Sicilian banditti, about this time, not only deſtroyed with fire and ſword a great part of Brutium, but likewiſe laid ſiege to the city of Caulonia [h].

Various engagements betwixt Hannibal and Marcellus.

Hannibal, having taken up his winter-quarters near Canuſium, endeavoured to excite the people of that city to revolt from the Romans. Theſe intrigues reaching the ears of Marcellus, he advanced to Canuſium, encamped oppoſite Hannibal, and ſoon found means to draw him to a battle. The two armies, being ſeparated by night, at firſt parted upon equal terms; but the next day, the encounter being renewed, Hannibal worſted the Romans. This event extremely chagrined Marcellus, who hitherto had never received any repulſe from the Carthaginians: but now, be-

[h] Polyb. lib. x. Liv. lib. xxvii. ſub. init. Appian. in Hannib. Plut. in Marcel. Oroſ. lib. iv. cap. 18.

ſides

ſides the field of battle, he loſt near three thouſand men; amongſt whom were four centurions, and two military tribunes, together with ſix ſtandards taken by the enemy. Being therefore fired with indignation and reſentment, he reſolved to venture another engagement with Hannibal, who, on his part, ſeemed determined not to decline the challenge. Marcellus poſted the left wing, and thoſe cohorts, that, in the laſt action, had loſt their colours, in front; the twentieth legion he placed on the right; and appointed Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Nero to command both wings, whilſt he himſelf conducted the main body. Hannibal poſted the Spaniards in front, and diſpoſed his other forces in the uſual manner. The fight was obſtinate and bloody, the Carthaginian elephants overthrowing many of the Roman ſtandards, breaking the enemy's ranks, and treading a great number under foot: but by the bravery of Decimius Flavus, a military tribune, theſe furious animals were repulſed: a circumſtance which enabled the Romans to drive Hannibal to his camp, after they had laid eight thouſand Carthaginians dead upon the ſpot. Marcellus, however, loſt above three thouſand men in the action, and had almoſt all the reſt wounded; inſomuch that he found himſelf unable to purſue Hannibal, when his ſpies informed him, that he was retreating into Brutium. During theſe tranſactions, the Hirpini, Lucani, and Volſcentes, ſubmitted to the conſul Fulvius, delivering into his hands all the troops Hannibal had left in their cities for garriſons. Pactius and Vibius likewiſe, two of the principal noblemen amongſt the Brutii, endeavoured to procure for their countrymen the ſame terms that had been granted to their neighbours. Q. Fabius, the other conſul, about the ſame time, took Manduria, a city of the Salentines, by ſtorm, making four thouſand men priſoners of war After this exploit, Fabius inveſted Tarentum. As the Carthaginians had no fleet in thoſe ſeas, having ſent all their gallies to the iſland Corcyra, in order to aſſiſt king Philip, then at war with the Ætolians, he found no difficulty in making his approaches by ſea as well as by land. Mean while, Hannibal advanced with a ſtrong body of troops to Caulonia; and obliged the Sicilian robbers to retire to an eminence at ſome diſtance from the town [1].

Fabius takes Tarentum.

An accident, that could not be foreſeen, threw Tarentum into the hands of Fabius. The commandant of the Brutian garriſon, which Hannibal left for the defence of the place, fell deſperately in love with a young maiden,

[1] Polyb. Liv. Appian. Zonar. ubi ſupra.

whoſe brother was a ſoldier in the Roman army. This perſon being informed by his ſiſter, in a letter, of the great intereſt ſhe had with the commandant, he immediately communicated the matter to Fabius, who ordered him to go into the city as a deſerter, and to try whether he could not, by his ſiſter's influence, prevail upon her gallant to introduce the Romans into the town. This ſcheme was happily effected, the Tarentines not being able to oppoſe the Romans, after they had been deſerted by the Brutians. Nico and Democrates, two of the Tarentine leaders, died glorioufly, fighting for the liberties of their country; and Philemenus, by whoſe agency Tarentum had been betrayed to Hannibal, was ſuppoſed to have thrown himſelf headlong from his horſe into a well, after the action. Carthalo, who commanded the body of native Carthaginians in the place, was put to the ſword, together with a great number of his men, as well as the greateſt part of the Tarentines, and many even of the Brutians themſelves. All authors agree, that the plunder taken was immenſe, and even equal to what Marcellus found in Syracuſe. The number of ſlaves made priſoners amounted to thirty thouſand. Fabius diſmantled Tarentum, and demoliſhed the wall that ſeparated the town from the citadel. About this time Hannibal, having, for a conſiderable term, ſurrounded the body of Sicilian banditti poſted on the eminence near Caulonia above mentioned, forced them to ſurrender at diſcretion [k].

Aſdrubal defeated by Scipio in Spain.

The Carthaginians had this year three armies in Spain, commanded by three of their beſt generals, namely, Aſdrubal the ſon of Hamilcar, Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco, and Mago. Edeco, or Edeſco, a general of great reputation amongſt the Spaniards, abandoning the Carthaginian intereſt about the beginning of the ſummer, came over to Scipio. His wife and children had been, for ſome time, in the Roman camp; but a regard to their ſafety did not ſo much induce him to act this part, as that ſincere affection for the Romans, with which Scipio had inſpired all the Spaniards, by his humanity, politeneſs, and condeſcenſion. Indibilis, Mandonius, and moſt of the other Spaniſh reguli, charmed with the ſame amiable qualities, joined Scipio with all their forces. By this acceſſion of ſtrength, that general found himſelf enabled to hazard an engagement with Aſdrubal the ſon of Hamilcar, who lay encamped near the city of Bætula. Scipio was impatient of delay, fearing the junction of Aſdrubal and his colleagues. The Carthaginian diſcovered the ſame eagerneſs for a battle on his part,

[k] Plut. in Fab. Eutrop. Oroſ. Zonar. ubi ſupra.

finding

finding the Roman army was daily reinforced by the acceſſion of Spaniſh troops. Scipio, upon his approach to the Carthaginian camp, detached ſome parties of his velites to reconnoitre the enemy, who, having fallen in with ſome of their advanced-guards, defeated them, purſued them to their camp, and then retreated, without any loſs. Animated by this event, he next day attacked the Carthaginians, who, for ſome time, defended themſelves with great bravery, but were at laſt totally routed. According to Livy, they had eight thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, beſides ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe taken priſoners. Scipio gave the Carthaginian camp up to his ſoldiers to be plundered, and releaſed all the Spaniſh priſoners without ranſom; but ordered the Africans to be ſold for ſlaves. Aſdrubal, rallying the remains of his ſhattered army, purſued his march towards the Pyrenees, having ſent his elephants that way before. The Spaniſh princes, who had entered into an alliance with Scipio, received conſiderable preſents for their gallant behaviour in the late battle; Indibilis, in particular, being ordered by the Roman general to chooſe three hundred horſes out of thoſe taken from the enemy for his own uſe. Notwithſtanding the glorious victory Scipio had gained, he returned to Tarraco; a motion which gave the other two Carthaginian commanders an opportunity of joining Aſdrubal. At a council of war, each of theſe generals had his particular province aſſigned him. Aſdrubal the ſon of Hamilcar was to march into Italy, to aſſiſt Hannibal, with all the Spaniſh forces he could aſſemble; Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco was to command the troops lately committed to Mago's conduct, and to retire into Luſitania, in order to avoid an engagement; and Mago was ſent to the Balearic iſlands, with a large ſum of money, to make new levies. Maſiniſſa was placed at the head of a choice detachment of three thouſand horſe, being the flower of the cavalry, in order to ſupport the Carthaginian allies in Hiſpania Citerior, as well as to deſtroy the enemy's country with fire and ſword. As Scipio, by his generous and affable deportment, ſeemed to be in a fair way of winning the hearts of all the Spaniards, it was judged neceſſary to make theſe diſpoſitions, that the Spaniſh ſoldiery, in the Carthaginian ſervice, might be drawn immediately either into Gaul, or the remoteſt part of Spain, where the Romans had not, as yet, obtained any footing[1].

Next year, being the eleventh of the ſecond Punic war, the Carthaginians threatened to ravage the coaſts of Italy,

[1] Polyb. lib. x. Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 19—23. Appian. in Iberic.

A party of Numidians cut off the famous Marcellus, and diſperſe the eſcort that attended him.

Sicily, and Sardinia, with a fleet of above two hundred ſail; of which deſign Scipio being appriſed, he detached fifty gallies to cruiſe off the ports of Sardinia, and protect that iſland from the inſults of the enemy. The conſul T. Quinctius Criſpinus ſent for a large train of battering engines from Sicily, intending to form the ſiege of Locri, his fleet having already blocked up that city by ſea; but he abandoned that deſign on Hannibal's approach to Lacinium, and on receiving advice, that his colleague Marcellus had drawn his forces from Venuſia, in order to join him. Hannibal, informed that both the conſuls were encamped within three miles of one another, betwixt Bantia and Venuſia, marched that way, pitching his camp at a ſmall diſtance from them. Notwithſtanding the ſummer was ſo far advanced, the conſuls wrote to L. Cincius, ordering him to come with a fleet from Sicily to Locri, a body of Romans from Tarentum being commanded to inveſt that city by land at the ſame. This plan being diſcovered to Hannibal by ſome Thurians, he formed an ambuſcade for that corps; into which having drawn them, he put two thouſand to the ſword, took twelve hundred priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt. He afterwards decoyed the two conſuls into another ambuſcade of Numidian horſe, together with M. Marcellus, and A. Manlius, both of them legionary tribunes, attended only by an eſcort of two hundred and twenty horſe, of which forty were Fregellani, and the reſt Etruſcans. The brave Marcellus, who had acquired ſuch renown by the ſeveral advantages he gained over Hannibal, loſt his life, through the cowardice of the Etruſcans, who fled at the firſt attack; but Criſpinus, his colleague, and M. Marcellus, his ſon, eſcaped in the manner we have already related [m].

Hannibal obliges the Romans to raiſe the ſiege of Locri.

Mago, the Carthaginian commandant at Locri, found himſelf ſo preſſed by Cincius, that he was upon the point of ſurrendering; but receiving advice of the blow Hannibal had given the Romans by the death of Marcellus, he reſolved to defend the place to the laſt extremity. Soon after an expreſs arrived from Hannibal, with an account that the Numidian cavalry had already begun their march for Locri; and that himſelf, with the reſt of the army, would follow them with all poſſible expedition. Upon the approach of the Numidians, Mago ſallied with his whole force upon the beſiegers, and, after an obſtinate diſpute, the Numidians coming up in the point of time, forced them to aban-

[m] Polyb. ubi ſupra. Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 23—30. Plut. in Marcel. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 16, 17. Sex. Aurel. Vict. in Marcel.

don

don their works, and leave all their battering-engines, and other military machines, behind them: ſo that Hannibal, upon his arrival at Locri, found no enemy to oppoſe him. About this time, Valerius, the Roman admiral, after having ravaged the coaſt of Africa, attacked a Carthaginian ſquadron of eighty-three gallies off Clupea. The Carthaginians, unable to withſtand the efforts of the Romans, were ſoon obliged to ſheer off, with the loſs of eighteen ſhips. From thence ſteering for Sicily, he arrived in a ſhort time, with an immenſe booty, at Lilybæum.

Aſdrubal beſieges Placentia.

Aſdrubal, as we have lately obſerved, being obliged to abandon his camp near Bæcula, had afterwards a conference with the other two Carthaginian generals, wherein the operations of the campaign were ſettled. In purſuance of the plan then formed, Aſdrubal advanced towards the Pyrenees, at the head of the forces aſſigned him, with all poſſible expedition. He croſſed the Pyrenees without any great difficulty. As the ſilver-mines (A) near Bæcula had ſupplied him with a very conſiderable quantity of treaſure, upon his arrival in Gaul, he not only prevailed upon the Gauls to grant him a paſſage through their territories, but likewiſe furniſhed him with a proper number of recruits. The Ligurians received him in the ſame manner. Aſdrubal, therefore, meeting with little oppoſition, and many favourable circumſtances, to facilitate and expedite his march, arrived at Placentia ſooner than either the Romans, or even his brother Hannibal himſelf, expected: but, beſieging this place, contrary to the rules of ſound policy, he gave the Romans an opportunity of aſſembling all their forces to attack him. At the ſame time, by his too great ſecurity, as well as the ſiege he had undertaken, he prevented Hannibal from joining him, as he had propoſed, upon the firſt news of his having paſſed the Alps. Thus Aſdrubal not only loſt all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendſhip of the Averni, and other Gallic nations, who had ſo greatly expedited his paſſage to Italy, by this ſingle ſtep, but likewiſe totally ruined the Carthaginian affairs in that country, as will ſoon evidently appear [n].

[n] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 41—43.

(A) Polybius tells us, that, near New Carthage, there was a ſilver-mine ſo rich, that the Carthaginians extracted out of it every day twenty-five thouſand drachms of ſilver. Alcetes, the diſcoverer of this mine, was, according to the ſame author, deified by the Spaniards after his death, for the ſervice he thereby did his country.

Hannibal receives ſeveral blows.

As ſoon as Hannibal left his winter-quarters, he ordered a body of troops to march into the country of the Salentines, with an intention to ravage it, before the conſul Claudius could take the field: but this misfortune was prevented by the conduct and bravery of C. Hoſtilius Tubulus, who attacked the Carthaginians with a body of light-armed troops, and entirely defeated them, killing four thouſand upon the ſpot. After this diſaſter, Hannibal retired into Brutium, to prevent his being ſurrounded by the enemy, who began to advance againſt him from all parts. In the mean time Tubulus, with his forces, joined the conſular army under Claudius at Venuſia. Hannibal, having drawn all his garriſons out of Brutium, and by this expedient reinforced his army, marched to Grumentum in Lucania, in order to recover ſome towns that had revolted to the Romans. As, immediately after the late junction, Claudius had ſent a detachment, under the command of Tubulus, to reinforce the proconſul Fulvius at Capua, and, with the remaining corps, conſiſting of forty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, had himſelf gone in purſuit of Hannibal, he arrived at Grumentum ſoon after the Carthaginian, and encamped within five hundred paces of him. Claudius, by ſtratagem, and the bravery of C. Aurunculeius, tribune of the third legion, gave Hannibal another defeat in this place, cutting off eight thouſand of his troops, and taking ſeven hundred priſoners. Four elephants were likewiſe killed, and two taken, in the action: nine military enſigns, and ſome plunder, alſo fell into the hands of the Romans, who, according to Livy, loſt only five hundred men on this occaſion. Hannibal, ſoon after this misfortune, decamped in the night, and, by leaving a few Numidian horſe in his intrenchments to amuſe the enemy, made good his retreat to Venuſia; but here the conſul again attacked him. At this place the Carthaginians loſt two thouſand men; upon which diſaſter, Hannibal retired, with great precipitation, to Metapontum, where he was joined by Hanno, and from thence made the beſt of his way to Canuſium [a].

The conſul Claudius moves towards his colleague.

During theſe tranſactions, Aſdrubal, being forced to raiſe the ſiege of Placentia, began his march for Umbria. Of this the conſul Claudius being informed by a letter ſent from that general to his brother Hannibal, which was intercepted near Tarentum, he put himſelf at the head of a detachment of ſeven thouſand men, the flower of his troops, and marched with incredible celerity to join his colleague Livius. Though no general was allowed to leave his own province,

[a] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 43—45.

to

to go into that of another, by the Roman laws, yet, in a conjuncture of ſo delicate and important a nature as this, when the ſafety, and even the very being, of Rome lay at ſtake, he thought himſelf at liberty to diſpenſe with the eſtabliſhed rules of war, for the welfare of his country. He had no ſooner received the letter from L. Virginius, a legionary tribune, who had eſcorted the Carthaginian couriers with a Samnite detachment to him, and read it, than he ſent it to the ſenate, at the ſame time diſpatching his orders to the Larinates, Marrucini, Frentani, and Prætutiani, through whoſe territories he was to paſs, to procure a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and carriages for his troops, that he might purſue his march without the leaſt interruption. As he thought nothing could ſave Rome, after the junction of the two Carthaginian armies, in order to prevent this, he judged it proper to ſtrike ſuch a bold and unexpected blow, as would terrify the enemy. He reſolved to join his colleague, and charge Aſdrubal with their united forces; and with this view he began his march, after having left the command of the troops in the camp to Q. Catius, one of his lieutenants [p].

Claudius gave not the leaſt hint of his deſign to any of his officers, till he was at ſuch a diſtance from Hannibal, that the communication of it to the troops could not be of any ill conſequence. He then only in general told them, that he was leading them to certain victory; that his colleague wanted a reinforcement; that the bare rumour of their arrival would diſconcert all the meaſures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of the day would fall to them. He marched with incredible expedition, and arrived at Sena, where Livius lay encamped within half a mile of the Carthaginians. Soon after his arrival, Aſdrubal, reconnoitring the Roman army, perceived ſeveral ſhields of an ancient make, that he had never ſeen before, many thin, lean horſes, which had been greatly fatigued, and diſcovered that the Roman army was apparently more numerous than the day before. By theſe, and ſeveral other circumſtances, that able general ſuſpected Claudius to have joined his colleague with a body of troops. This ſuſpicion threw him into a ſort of melancholy, imagining that Hannibal had been overthrown, and conſequently that he came too late to ſupport his brother. *and joins him.*

Before the arrival of Claudius, the prætor L. Portius Licinus was encamped, with ſome forces, at a ſmall diſtance Yr. of Fl. 2154. Ante Chr. 194.

[p] Polyb. lib. xi. ſub init. Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 45—49. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. i. cap. 1. ex. 9.

from

The Romans defeat Aſdrubal upon the banks of the Metaurus.

from the conſul Livius. Immediately after that important event, a council of war was held, in which the three commanders preſided. Livius gave his opinion, that an action, for ſome days, ſhould be deferred, that Claudius's troops might have time to refreſh themſelves, after ſo tedious and fatiguing a march. Claudius himſelf entertained different ſentiments, imagining that nothing could prove more fatal to the republic, than the leaſt delay at this critical juncture. His advice was adopted, and the ſignal of battle accordingly given: however, Aſdrubal, under the apprehenſions above mentioned, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and his army began to march in great diſorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deſerting, he was uncertain which route to take. He marched at random along the banks of the Metaurus, now the Metaro, and was preparing to croſs that river, when the united forces of the enemy intercepted him. In this extremity, he ſaw it would be impoſſible to avoid an engagement; and therefore did all which could be expected from the preſence of mind and courage of a conſummate warrior. He ſeized an advantageous poſt, and drew up his forces on a narrow ſpot, which gave him an opportunity of poſting his left wing, compoſed of Gauls, and the weakeſt part of his army, in ſuch a manner, that it neither could be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving his main body, and right wing, conſiſting of Spaniards, all veteran troops, a greater depth than front. After this haſty diſpoſition of his forces, he placed himſelf in the centre, and firſt moved to attack the enemy's left wing, commanded by the conſul Livius, well knowing that all was at ſtake, and that he muſt either conquer or die. The battle continued a long time, and was obſtinately diſputed by both parties. Aſdrubal eſpecially ſignalized himſelf in this engagement. He led on his ſoldiers, who were trembling and diſpirited, againſt an enemy ſuperior to them both in numbers and reſolution. He animated them by his words and example, and, with entreaties and menaces intermixed, endeavoured to rally thoſe who fled in diſorder: but at laſt, finding that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to ſurvive the loſs of ſo many thouſand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he ruſhed at once into the midſt of a Roman cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the ſon of Hamilcar and brother of Hannibal [q].

This great victory was almoſt entirely owing to the bravery and activity of Claudius. That general, obſerving his men did not exert themſelves, cried out in an angry tone,

[q] Flor. ubi ſupra. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 18. Sil. Ital. lib. xv. Appian. in Hannib.

"To

"To what purpoſe have we made ſo long a march with ſuch expedition?" Then he made an effort to poſſeſs himſelf of an eminence that covered the Gauls, in order to penetrate to the enemy on that ſide; but finding this operation impracticable, he drew out a detachment of ſome cohorts from the right wing, with which wheeling about, in order to ſuſtain Livius, he charged the Spaniards and Ligurians in front, in flank, and in rear, almoſt at the ſame time. The Spaniards and Ligurians, unable to ſuſtain ſo violent a ſhock, were ſoon routed, and almoſt all cut to pieces; and then the Gauls were maſſacred without oppoſition. The leaders themſelves deſtroyed moſt of the elephants, to prevent the deſtruction they would have occaſioned amongſt their own troops, upon whom they turned all their rage, after they were wounded by the enemy. According to Livy, fifty-ſix thouſand of Aſdrubal's troops fell in this bloody action, and near ſix thouſand were taken priſoners; though Polybius ſays the whole loſs of the Carthaginians did not exceed ten thouſand men. Be that as it may, the Romans ſeemed to have been weary of killing, ſince when an officer told Livius, after the battle, that it would be an eaſy matter to cut off a body of Ciſalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who had either not been in the fight, or eſcaped out of it, then flying in great confuſion, with a ſmall detachment of horſe, he anſwered, "It is fit that ſome ſhould ſurvive, to carry the enemy the news of their defeat, and our bravery." Livy affirms, that the Romans carried off an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, as well as plunder of other kinds; but Polybius is ſilent on that head. This action proved deciſive, ſince we may juſtly affirm it determined the fate of Italy, as the battle of Zama a few years afterwards did that of Africa [r].

The victory chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of Claudius.

Hannibal received no intelligence of this calamity, till Claudius cauſed the head of his brother to be thrown into his trenches, immediately after the Roman general arrived at the camp near Canuſium: an inſult which cannot be excuſed even as a retaliation of Punic barbarity.

The inhumanity of Claudius cenſured.

The melancholy news imparted by Claudius, filled Hannibal with horror and deſpondency. He perceived, by this ſtroke, the fate of Carthage; and exclaimed, "It is done (A):" I will no longer ſend triumphant meſſages to Carthage! In loſing Aſdrubal, I have loſt at once all my hope, all my

Hannibal greatly affected at the news of his brother's defeat and death.

(A) According to Horace, in that ode where this defeat is deſcribed.

[r] Polyb. & Liv. ubi ſupra. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. iv. cap. 7. ex. 15. Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 7. ex. 4.

good

good fortune!" After this fatal event, he retired to the extremity of Brutium, where, aſſembling all his forces, he remained, for a conſiderable time, in a ſtate of inaction, the Romans not daring to moleſt him, ſo formidable did they deem him alone, though he was preſſed on every ſide, and the Carthaginian affairs ſeemed not far from the verge of deſtruction. Livy ſays, it was a difficult thing to determine, whether his conduct was more wonderful in proſperity or adverſity. Brutium being but a ſmall province, and many of its inhabitants being either forced into the ſervice, or forming themſelves into parties of banditti, ſo that a great part of it remained uncultivated, he found it a difficult matter to ſubſiſt, eſpecially as no ſupplies were ſent him from Carthage; the people being ſolicitous to preſerve their poſſeſſions in Spain, and as little concerned at the ſituation of affairs in Italy, as if Hannibal had met with an uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs, and not the leaſt diſaſter had befallen them ſince his firſt arrival in that country[a].

The Carthaginians worſted in Spain.

After Aſdrubal's departure for Italy, Hanno had been ſent to ſucceed him in Spain. The body of troops this general brought from Africa, in conjunction with that commanded by Mago, formed a conſiderable army. Theſe forces encamped at ſome diſtance from a ſpot where nine thouſand Celtiberians were poſted. Scipio ſent a detachment of ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, under the command of M. Silanus the proprætor, to attack the enemy, if an opportunity ſhould offer. The proprætor, receiving intelligence of the ſituation and diſpoſition of both camps from ſome Celtiberian deſerters, who conducted him to that of their countrymen, was enabled to gain a ſignal advantage over the enemy. He ſurpriſed the Celtiberians, putting many to the ſword, and obliging the reſt to diſperſe in the adjacent woods, from whence they retired to their reſpective habitations. Hanno and Mago, towards the end of the action, advancing to their relief, were likewiſe defeated, and Hanno was taken priſoner. Mago, with the cavalry, and a great part of the veteran infantry, made his eſcape, and, ten days afterwards, joined Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco. Theſe commanders, with their united forces, continued, for ſome time, in the neighbourhood of Gades.

Scipio no ſooner received intelligence of the enemy's defeat in Italy than he put himſelf in motion, and began to meditate the entire conqueſt of Spain. His brother, L. Scipio, being detached with a body of ten thouſand foot,

[a] Polyb. lib. x. Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 12. Appian. in Hannib.

and

and a thouſand horſe, to reduce the city of Aurinx, on the confines of Lower Bætica, executed his orders with great conduct and bravery, making the Carthaginian garriſon, and three hundred of the inhabitants, who ſhut the gates againſt him, priſoners of war, with the loſs only of ninety men. Livy ſays, that the Roman detachment killed two thouſand of the enemy in the attack; and that Lucius, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the Spaniards, left the citizens in poſſeſſion of the town, and all their effects. The territory of Aurinx was extremely fruitful, and abounded with ſilver-mines. In the city itſelf, Aſdrubal had quartered a great number of troops, who had greatly haraſſed the Romans and their allies, by their frequent incurſions into the interior parts of the country. The Carthaginians therefore ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by the reduction of that place. Scipio is ſaid to have complimented his brother highly upon this conqueſt, telling him, that it was equal to the taking of New Carthage. That general, finding the ſeaſon far advanced, and that he could make no impreſſion upon the province in which Gades was ſeated, ſince Aſdrubal had placed numerous garriſons in all the fortreſſes, ſuſpended the military operations till the following ſpring. However, M. Valerius Lævinus the proconſul, who commanded in Sicily, committed great ravages on the coaſts of Africa, where he made a deſcent about this time. Having deſtroyed with fire and ſword all the country about Carthage and Utica, he returned to Lilybæum, defeating, in his paſſage, a Carthaginian ſquadron of ſeventy gallies. Of theſe he took ſeventeen, ſunk four, and diſperſed the reſt. Thus were the Romans victorious every-where this campaign, the Carthaginians not being able to oppoſe them either by ſea or land[t].

Lucania ſubmits to the Romans.

Next year, Hannibal ſent a detachment of Numidians, to obſerve the motions of the Roman army, under the command of the conſuls Q. Cæcilius and L. Veturius, in the territory of Conſentia. That detachment, falling in with one of the enemy's parties, which had been plundering the country, after a ſhort diſpute, routed it, and carried off the booty to Hannibal's camp. But this trifling advantage did not make amends for the loſs of Lucania, which ſubmitted to the Romans.

The Carthaginian generals, who commanded in Spain, were Mago the ſon of Hamilcar, and Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco. Theſe two moved in the ſpring from Gades, with

[t] Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 4. Appian in Libyc. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. i. cap. 3. ex. 5.

an

The Carthaginian generals and Maſiniſſa overthrown in Spain by Scipio.

an army of fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand five hundred horſe. Advancing with expedition towards the Romans, whom they were determined to engage, they encamped in the plains of Silpia, at no great diſtance from the enemy. Scipio, alarmed at the approach of ſo formidable a power diſpatched Silanus to Colcas, a neighbouring prince, who had promiſed him a body of auxiliary troops, to inform him of the enemy's motions. In the mean time he drew his forces out of Tarraco, and, being joined by ſome of his allies, advanced to Caſtulo, where he was ſoon joined by Silanus, with a reinforcement of three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, from Colcas. From thence he marched to Bætula, or Bæcula, with an army of forty-five thouſand men. Mago and Maſiniſſa, at the head of the Carthaginian cavalry, attacked the Romans as they were encamping, and would have put them into diſorder, had not Scipio placed ſome troops of horſe in ambuſcade behind an eminence, near the ſpot upon which he intended to encamp. Theſe, ſallying out upon the Carthaginians, forced them to retire with precipitation. The light-armed troops on both ſides, for ſome time, ſkirmiſhed with one another; but without any conſiderable loſs. Both Aſdrubal and Scipio, for ſeveral days together, drew their forces out of their lines, ranged in order of battle, though Aſdrubal appeared firſt in the morning, and retired the laſt in the evening. At length Scipio, reſolving to give the Carthaginians battle, ordered his men to refreſh themſelves before day-break; and then ſent his horſe and light-armed troops to brave the enemy. Aſdrubal poſted the Spaniards in the wings, the elephants in front, and the Carthaginians, intermixed with the other Africans, in the centre. After having made this diſpoſition, he advanced towards the enemy, his cavalry in the mean time keeping their horſe in play. Scipio protracted the fight till towards noon, imagining that the Carthaginians muſt grow faint by that time, as being entirely void of ſuſtenance, and conſequently that he ſhould break them without much difficulty. Accordingly, at mid-day, ordering his wings to advance, he attacked Aſdrubal's Spaniſh auxiliaries in front with the legionaries, and in flank at the ſame time with the velites, ſuſtained by ſeveral cohorts, which were commanded to wheel for that purpoſe. The Spaniards, after ſome reſiſtance, were routed, the Carthaginian and African forces not being able to ſupport them, ſince the Spaniards, that formed Scipio's main body, kept them in awe by moving towards them. The elephants occaſioned greater confuſion in the Carthaginian army, than in that of the enemy. Notwithſtanding Aſdrubal did his utmoſt

utmoſt to animate his men, they were defeated, and purſued by the Romans to their camp, which would have been taken, had not a violent ſtorm cooled the ardour of the victors, and terminated the action [u].

In the night after the battle, Aſdrubal cauſed his camp to be ſtrengthened by ſome additional works, expecting the next day another viſit from the enemy. In the mean time Attanes, regulus of the Turdetani, with a conſiderable body of troops, deſerted to the Romans. Many other reguli followed this example; and two ſtrong fortreſſes ſurrendered to Scipio, who made their garriſons priſoners of war. As the victory lately gained by Scipio had entirely alienated the minds of the Spaniards from the Carthaginians, Aſdrubal abandoned his camp, and retired with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had juſt before ſo haraſſed his exhauſted troops, in order to render his camp inacceſſible to the enemy. Scipio, being informed of this retreat, immediately detached his cavalry after the Carthaginian general, who was ſo galled in his march, that the legionaries at laſt came up with him, and, after a faint reſiſtance, put all his men, except ſeven thouſand, to the ſword. Theſe, however, with Aſdrubal at their head, gained an advantageous poſt; where, for ſome time, they defended themſelves, till at laſt Aſdrubal, ſeeing them deſert in great numbers, abandoned them, and made his eſcape to Gades. In the mean time Silanus, whom Scipio had left, with a detachment of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, to block up the enemy's troops in the poſt above mentioned, found means to detach Maſiniſſa their commander from the Carthaginian intereſt. Mago, after the example of Aſdrubal, flying to Gades, the remainder of the African forces either gradually diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring provinces, or deſerted to the Romans. Maſiniſſa, after his late conference with Silanus, by the connivance of that general, paſſed over into Africa, with ſome of the leading men of the Maſſyli, in order to diſpoſe that nation to ſecond his views. However, this was done in ſuch a manner, as not to give umbrage to the Carthaginians, nor induce that crafty people to entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion of the meaſures he was going to purſue [w].

Maſiniſſa abandons the Carthaginian intereſt.

In order to ſerve more effectually the party he intended ſoon to declare himſelf in favour of, he made but a ſhort ſtay in Africa. Having prevailed on his ſubjects to concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he

[u] Polyb. lib. xi. Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 12—16. Appian. in Iberic.
[w] Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 5, 16. Polyb. lib. xi. cap. 21. Appian. in Libyc. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6. ſub fin. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 9. ex. 7.

repaired

repaired to Gades, to confer with Mago and Aſdrubal on the future operations. Silanus likewiſe retired with his body of forces to Tarraco, where Scipio had fixed his head-quarters. Scipio, ſoon afterwards paſſing into Africa with two quinqueremes, perſuaded Syphax, king of the Maſæſyli to abandon the Carthaginians, and enter into an alliance with Rome. Aſdrubal was then at Syphax's court, and did his utmoſt to fruſtrate the negociation carried on betwixt the two powers; but without effect. The three chief cities of Spain, beſides Gades, in alliance with, or ſubject to Carthage, were Illiturgis, Caſtulo, and Aſtapa. The Romans took Illiturgis by ſtorm, levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. Caſtulo, in which was a Carthaginian garriſon, compoſed of the fugitives that eſcaped the carnage in the late defeats, was betrayed by Cerdubellus to Marcius, and Himilco, the commandant, with his whole corps, made priſoners of war. Marcius then paſſing the Bætis, which the Spaniards called Cirtius, took poſſeſſion of two opulent towns, which ſurrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to Aſtapa; and, after a warm diſpute, reduced it in the manner already related. In the mean time Mago, having received a reinforcement from Africa, as well as ſome Spaniſh troops levied by Hanno, made the proper diſpoſitions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithſtanding the melancholy ſituation of his affairs. A body of Roman forces, encamped upon the Sucro, during theſe tranſactions, mutinied; a report of Scipio's death, which was induſtriouſly propagated, occaſioning that commotion: but the mutineers being, by a rigorous puniſhment inflicted upon ſome of their ringleaders, reclaimed to a ſenſe of their duty, Marcius attacked four thouſand of the enemy encamped upon the Bætis, under the command of Hanno, forced their camp, and either took or killed the greateſt part of them. The alliance with Syphax was a point of great conſequence to Rome; though it was not effected without ſome difficulty. Scipio firſt ſent Lælius, with five quinqueremes, to make propoſals to that prince, which he ordered him to enforce with magnificent preſents. Lælius executed his commiſſion with great dexterity, reminding Syphax of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the Romans. Notwithſtanding which repreſentations, Scipio, as we have juſt obſerved, found himſelf obliged to viſit that prince's court in perſon; where, by his uncommon addreſs, if we believe Livy, he defeated the intrigues of Aſdrubal, and put the laſt hand to the treaty [x].

Scipio brings over Syphax to the Roman intereſt.

x. Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 27—32.

Soon

Soon after the reduction of Aſtapa, ſome deſerters arrived from Gades at Scipio's camp. Theſe fugitives promiſed that general, not only to deliver the city, together with the Carthaginian garriſon and commandant, into his hands, but likewiſe to ſeize the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour. Scipio therefore detached Lælius with a body of light-armed troops, aſſiſted by a naval force of one quinquereme, and ſeven triremes, to put the conſpirators in motion. In the mean time the plot being diſcovered to Mago, before it was ripe for execution, he ſeized the principals of it, and ſent them on board a quinquereme, in order to tranſport them to Carthage. Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian admiral, ordered the captain of this veſſel to precede the reſt of the fleet, he himſelf following at a ſmall diſtance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to Carteia, he deſcried Lælius's ſquadron ſailing out of that port. The Carthaginian could not, for ſome time, determine whether it would be proper for him to attack the Romans: but this ſtate of ſuſpenſe afforded Lælius an opportunity of coming up with him, ſo that he was obliged to hazard an engagement; in which being worſted, he made the beſt of his way towards the coaſt of Africa, with only five triremes. However, Lælius miſſed his aim, ſince Mago had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he advanced to Gades; of which circumſtance being appriſed by the priſoners, he returned to Carteia. From thence he diſpatched an expreſs to Marcius, who was advancing with a powerful corps to ſupport him, to inform him of what had happened. Both theſe commanders, therefore, judging the ſiege of Gades too difficult an enterprize to be undertaken at preſent, gave up that deſign, and in a ſhort time rejoined Scipio at New Carthage.

Scipio ſends Lælius to attempt the conqueſt of Gades.

The diſappointment the Romans had experienced in their deſign upon Gades, together with the rebellion of the Ilergetes, and revolt of the legionaries, gave Mago hopes, that he ſhould ſtill be in a condition to make head againſt the enemy. He therefore wrote to Carthage for a ſpeedy reinforcement, aſſuring the ſenate, that if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had loſt in Spain; and to excite them to make a vigorous effort, he exaggerated the misfortunes of the Romans. In the mean time Mandonius and Indibilis, being offended at the Romans for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, and encouraged by the report of Scipio's death, pillaged the territories of the Sedetani and Sueſſetani, allies of Rome. Hearing afterwards of Scipio's ſeverity to the ringleaders of the revolting legionaries, who were

Scipio gives the Spaniſh reguli a great overthrow.

Romans, they concluded, that Spaniſh revolters would be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated, therefore, by deſpair, they aſſembled a numerous army of Celtiberians, and advanced againſt Scipio. That general, marching at the head of his forces with great celerity, at laſt diſcovered them poſted in a plain ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains, and ſcarce capable of containing ſuch a number of men. Having ſecured the defile leading into this valley, he detached Lælius with the cavalry to take a compaſs round the hills, and attack the enemy in rear, whilſt he charged them in front with the legionaries. This diſpoſition being made, Scipio attacked the reguli, and entirely defeated them, putting almoſt their whole army to the ſword.

Scipio holds a conference with Maſiniſſa.

Though Silanus and Maſiniſſa had ſettled the preliminaries, yet by ſeveral intervening accidents, the concluſion of a treaty betwixt the Numidian and the Romans, was deferred till this time. The chief obſtacle to the ſigning of it was, that Maſiniſſa could find no opportunity of having an interview with Scipio, which he ardently deſired. Scipio, being informed of this particular, and that Maſiniſſa was at Gades, proceeded thither with a ſtrong eſcort, purely to have a conference with him. Maſiniſſa, receiving intelligence of this motion from Marcius, prevailed upon Mago to ſend him, with a detachment from the iſland of Gades, to ravage the neighbouring part of the continent; a ſervice which enabled him to confer with Scipio. Every thing being afterwards ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties, Maſiniſſa, in order to deceive Aſdrubal, plundered ſome part of the adjacent country, and then returned to Gades [y].

Gades ſurrenders to the Romans.

The Carthaginians, being diſappointed in the diverſion they expected from the mutiny of the legionaries, and the rebellion of the Spaniards, ordered Mago to abandon Spain, and ſail with all poſſible expedition to Italy. Mean while he made an unſucceſsful attempt upon New Carthage, after which the inhabitants of Gades ſhut their gates upon him; but their ſuffetes being ſent to excuſe this conduct, he ordered them to be ſcourged and crucified: in reſentment of which cruelty they ſurrendered to the Romans ſoon after his departure. Before he left them, however, he ſtripped the inhabitants of all their gold and ſilver, and even plundered the temples: beſides, he received from Carthage a large ſum of money to make levies in Gaul and Liguria. At length he ſailed to the iſland Pityuſa, where he met with a kind reception, receiving a plentiful ſupply of proviſions,

y Liv. Polyb. Appnia. Zonar. ubi ſupra.

and

and a great number of recruits. Then he ſteered his courſe to the largeſt of the Balearic iſlands, which had a commodious haven; where endeavouring to enter, he was attacked by the natives in ſo violent a manner with their ſlings, that he found himſelf obliged to ſheer off with conſiderable loſs. However, proceeding to the leſſer iſland, that was extremely fertile, though not ſo populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men, encamped in a place of great ſtrength, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole iſland without oppoſition. As the ſeaſon was far advanced, he wintered here; induced by the good diſpoſition of the natives, who expreſſed much zeal and affection for the Carthaginians, ſupplying him, during his ſtay amongſt them, with a body of two thouſand recruits [z].

Mago lands on the coaſt of Liguria.

Next ſummer Mago landing in Liguria with an army of twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, ſurpriſed Genoa. From thence he ſailed to the coaſts of the Ligures Alpini, to raiſe commotions amongſt them. The Ingauni, one of their cantons, were then at war with the Epanterii, a ſort of highlanders. This quarrel gave Mago an opportunity of ſeizing upon the town and port of Savo, and ſtationing ten of his great ſhips there: he ſent the reſt of his fleet to Carthage, upon a report that Scipio was going to tranſport a body of troops to Africa, in order to attack that capital. The plague broke out this year in Brutium, and made great havock in the Roman and Carthaginian armies.

The Spaniſh reguli receive a ſecond defeat.

In the following year advice was brought to Carthage, that an army formed of the Auſetani, Ilergetes, and ſeveral other Spaniſh nations, under the command of Indibilis and Mandonius, had been entirely overthrown by the Romans. Indibilis, it ſeems, being encouraged by Scipio's departure out of Spain, had excited the people to a ſecond revolt, imagining that now an opportunity offered of rendering himſelf, with all the other reguli, independent both of the Romans and Carthaginians. To effect this purpoſe he aſſembled, in a few days, an army of thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, with which he advanced into the country of the Sedetani. Here the Roman generals, L. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus, gave them a total defeat, putting above thirteen thouſand to the ſword, in which number was Indibilis himſelf, and taking eight thouſand priſoners. Mandonius, and the other authors of this revolt, ſuffered capital puniſhment, after a confiſcation of

[z] Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 36, 37. & Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 10.

all their effects; and then a peace was granted to the Spaniards upon reaſonable terms [a].

Yr. of Fl. 2156. Ante Chr. 192.

Lælius makes a deſcent in Africa.

Affairs were ſcarce ſettled in Spain, when Lælius made a deſcent in Africa at Hippo Regius, and pillaged all the neighbouring territory. This ſo alarmed the inhabitants, that they diſpatched meſſengers to Carthage, with advice that Scipio, with the Roman fleet, was arrived on their coaſts, and had landed at Hippo a ſtrong body of forces. As a rumour had for ſome time prevailed at Carthage, that Scipio had already paſſed into Sicily, the people and ſenate were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by theſe unexpected tidings. The great revolution which had happened in their affairs, the deſtruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of Syphax, Maſiniſſa, and all their other allies, together with the fickleneſs and inconſtancy of the Africans, from whom their auxiliary forces were to be drawn, afforded them a moſt diſmal proſpect, now their metropolis was threatened with a ſiege. However, when they received intelligence that only Lælius, with an inconſiderable force, had put in at Hippo, in order to make an incurſion upon their territories on that ſide, their fears began to ſubſide. As ſoon, therefore, as they had recovered from the panic they were thrown into, they began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence. They ſent an embaſſy to Syphax, to attempt retrieving the friendſhip of that prince, as well as to ſeveral other African reguli, who ſhewed an inclination to join the Romans. They remitted the ſum of two hundred talents of ſilver to Philip, king of Macedon, in order to engage him to cauſe a diviſion either in Italy or Sicily. They diſpatched orders to their generals in Italy to make all poſſible efforts to keep Scipio at home. Finally, they ſent Mago a reinforcement of ſix thouſand foot, eight hundred horſe, ſeven elephants, and twenty-five great ſhips, together with a large ſum of money to make new levies, that he might advance nearer Rome, and join Hannibal. Lælius, having had a conference with Maſiniſſa, wherein that prince gave freſh aſſurances of his ſincere attachment to the Romans, and expreſſed an ardent deſire to ſee Scipio in Africa, ſet ſail for Sicily, where he arrived, with the immenſe booty acquired in this expedition.

Mago receives a reinforcement.

In the mean time the veſſels, with the body of troops deſtined for Italy to reinforce Mago, ſailed from Carthage, and after a happy voyage arrived at the port of Savo, where

[a] Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 2, 3. Appian. in Iberic.

they

they joined the other Carthaginian ſquadron. Mago, upon their arrival, acquainted the chiefs of the Gauls and Ligurians with the reinforcement and welcome diſpatches he had received from Carthage. Whereupon the Gauls ſent him proviſions, and the new levies for him went on briſkly in Liguria: but notwithſtanding theſe happy beginnings, Mago ſuffered the ſame fate in Italy, that Aſdrubal had experienced before in Spain [c].

Scipio, and the Roman ſoldiery, expreſſed great impatience to attack the enemy in the heart of their dominions. The intelligence Lælius brought from Maſiniſſa encouraged the general to this expedition, as the plunder he carried off with him from Africa excited the troops. However, they were prevented at preſent by a ſucceſsful attempt upon the city of Locri. Some workmen, who had ſerved in the Carthaginian garriſon of one of the citadels, being taken by a Roman party and brought to Rhegium, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided they received a proper reward for the danger to which they ſhould expoſe themſelves. This propoſal being agreed to, the Romans, by the aſſiſtance of theſe traitors, ſurpriſed the citadel in which they were employed; but the Carthaginian garriſon in the other, commanded by Hamilcar, defended itſelf with great bravery till Hannibal advanced to its relief. Upon his approach a warm action enſued, and the Romans would have been totally routed, notwithſtanding Scipio came to their aſſiſtance, had not they been ſupported by the people of Locri; but this being the caſe, and Hannibal receiving a dangerous wound from one of the enemy's ſcorpions, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire. Scipio, after the action, finding both the town and the other citadel abandoned by the enemy, placed garriſons in them; and then immediately made the proper diſpoſitions for carrying the war into Africa [d].

Scipio takes Locri.

The Carthaginians mean while were under continual apprehenſions of Scipio's making a deſcent in their neighbourhood. They had poſted parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the ſea, to give them notice of the firſt appearance of the enemy, and were filled with terror upon the arrival of every courier, for fear he ſhould bring news of the enemy's landing. In this diſtreſs it was the general opinion that all poſſible attempts ſhould be made to detach Syphax from the Roman intereſt. Both the ſenate and people thought that a proſpect of aſſiſtance from him

Scipio lands in Africa.

[c] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 3, 4, 5. [d] Polyb. lib. iii. Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 6—9. Appian. in Hannib.

would be the chief inducement to the Romans to invade their dominions in Africa. In order to accompliſh this purpoſe, a lucky incident intervened. Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſco, who was at Syphax's court with Scipio, in order to negociate an alliance with that prince, had a daughter of exquiſite charms, named Sophoniſba. At that time Aſdrubal offered this young lady in marriage to Syphax, thinking the match would be a means of uniting him with the Carthaginians. He therefore now, with the ſame view, waited again upon Syphax; and having inflamed him with a deſcription of the beauty he was to have for his conſort, ſent for her thither from Carthage to haſten the marriage. Amongſt other things, it was ſtipulated on this occaſion, that an offenſive and defenſive league ſhould be concluded betwixt him and the Carthaginians, in conſequence of which he ſhould aſſiſt them with all his forces. Aſdrubal, not ſatisfied with this ſtipulation, being no ſtranger to the alliance he had formerly entered into with Rome, nor to the variable temper of the African Barbarians, thought proper to ſuggeſt a meaſure which would prevent Scipio's landing in Africa, and conſequently hinder a future union betwixt him and the Romans. Whilſt therefore he was in his firſt amorous tranſports, the Carthaginian, by means of his daughter's ſoothing arts and endearments, prevailed upon him to write a threatening letter to Scipio; but this not having the deſired effect, that general ſailed with a formidable force for Africa, and landed at the Fair Promontory without oppoſition [e].

It is intimated by Appian, that Sophoniſba was betrothed to Maſiniſſa, who was educated at Carthage, and a prince of the fineſt accompliſhments. Animated by the paſſion he nouriſhed for a lady of ſuch attractive charms, according to the ſame author, he eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions in Spain againſt the Romans; but this prince being ſtripped of his kingdom, and not in a condition to give any conſiderable aſſiſtance to the Carthaginians, Sophoniſba, in defiance of juſtice, honour, and public faith, was given to Syphax. Maſiniſſa ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, and contributed not a little to the deſtruction of their republic, as will evidently appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory. But to proceed to the war in Africa [f].

As the Carthaginians had ſeen no Roman army in Africa for fifty years paſt, the alarm that Scipio's deſcent occa-

[e] Polyb. lib. xiv. Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 23. Appian. in Libyc. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 20. Polyæn. ubi ſupra. [f] Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 11.

ſioned

ſioned over the whole country was inexpreſſible. Wherever that general moved he diffuſed terror. The inhabitants of the open country retired into the towns with their effects; and Carthage in particular was extremely crouded on this melancholy occaſion. The gates were ſhut in the utmoſt precipitation, detachments poſted upon the ramparts to defend them, and parties ordered to patrol every night all over the city to prevent a ſurprize; in ſhort, the ſame diſpoſitions were made as would have been proper in caſe of an immediate ſiege. They had no commander of any repute but Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco, who had been defeated by Scipio in Spain, and was as unequal to that general in his military capacity, as his raw undiſciplined troops were incapable of oppoſing the Roman legionaries. Being appriſed of Scipio's arrival at Utica, with his fleet and land-forces, they detached Hanno, a young Carthaginian nobleman, to reconnoitre the enemy, with a body of five hundred horſe; who falling in with a detachment of the Roman cavalry, ſent by Scipio out to plunder, immediately attacked them, but, after a ſhort diſpute, he was cut off, with a conſiderable number of his men, and the reſt diſperſed. After this action Scipio ravaged the country to the very gates of Carthage; and poſſeſſed himſelf of an opulent city in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made eight thouſand of its principal citizens priſoners. Theſe firſt inſtances of ſucceſs greatly augmented the confuſion that had before begun to reign in Carthage, eſpecially when it was known that Maſiniſſa had joined Scipio with a body of two hundred, or, as others aſſert, two thouſand Numidian horſe.

The Carthaginians in great conſternation upon the news of Scipio's landing in Africa.

In the room of the horſe lately cut to pieces, a new and more numerous body of cavalry was raiſed with ſurpriſing expedition, and the command of it given to another Hanno, the ſon of Hamilcar, who advanced towards Utica, to obſerve the enemy's motions; but being too weak to undertake any thing againſt them, or even to prevent the adjacent country from being pillaged, he remained inactive, till he was reinforced by ſome new levies, that his officers were making both in the Carthaginian territories and thoſe of the neighbouring princes. At laſt, finding his troops to amount to four thouſand men, he took poſt in a town called Salera, fifteen miles from the Roman camp. Out of this place Maſiniſſa, who was ſent to Salera with a detachment of horſe by Scipio for that purpoſe, found means to draw him, and then, in conjunction with a choice body of Roman cavalry, commanded by Scipio himſelf, which lay in ambuſcade, charged him with ſuch vigour, that he was put to

Maſiniſſa defeats Hanno.

flight, a thouſand men falling in the action, and two thouſand being either killed or taken priſoners in the purſuit. Moſt authors relate that Hanno was ſlain; but Cœlius and Valerias Antias affirm, that he fell into the enemy's hands. After this tranſaction Scipio put a garriſon into Salera, and puſhed on the ſiege of Utica. In the mean time Aſdrubal aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, but durſt not approach the enemy till the arrival of Syphax, who ſoon joined him with an army of fifty thouſand foot and ten thouſand cavalry. Scipio being informed of this junction, raiſed the ſiege of Utica, after he had carried it on ineffectually for the ſpace of forty days, and fixed his winter-quarters in ſuch a manner, as to fear no inſults of the enemy. This circumſtance revived the drooping ſpirits of the Carthaginians, who now ſaw their own forces, in conjunction with thoſe of Syphax their ally, ſuperior to the Romans in the field.

State of affairs in Italy.

In Italy this year, Hannibal gained an advantage over the conſul Sempronius; but was himſelf ſoon after defeated by that general. The loſs the Carthaginians ſuſtained on this occaſion, amounted to above four thouſand men killed on the field of battle, about three hundred taken priſoners, beſides forty horſes, and ſeven ſtandards, that fell into the victors hands. Hannibal, upon this diſaſter, retired with his army to Croton. The other conſul Cethegus in the mean time kept Etruria in awe, and prevented Mago from approaching his brother Hannibal. The Brutians, hearing of the great ſucceſs of Scipio in Africa, in general abandoned the Carthaginian intereſt. Some of Hannibal's garriſons they put to the ſword, others they expelled; and, in many places, where they could not openly declare for the Romans, they found means to inform the ſenate of their averſion to the Carthaginians. In the mean time Hannibal repaired to Petelia, and expoſtulated with the citizens upon their ſending agents to Rome; but pretended to be ſatisfied with their conduct, when they ſtrenuouſly denied this charge. However, to cut off all future grounds of ſuſpicion, he put the principal inhabitants under arreſt, committing them to the care of a guard of Numidians; and, diſarming the citizens, left the defence of the place to the ſlaves. He treated other cities likewiſe with equal ſeverity, Thurii in particular, with its diſtrict, which he gave up to his ſoldiers to be plundered, ſparing only three thouſand of the citizens, and five hundred peaſants, whom he knew to be cloſely attached to the Carthaginians. Theſe he tranſplanted to Croton, where he fixed his head-quarters, erect-

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ed his principal magazine, and took care effectually to cover it from all attempts of the Romans [s].

Scipio having fortified his camp, the Carthaginians, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, could find no opportunity of attacking him; ſo that both ſides continued in a ſtate of inaction, till the return of ſpring. During the winter, Scipio attempted to detach Syphax from the Carthaginians, but without effect. However, that prince offered to act in quality of mediator between the contending powers, provided Scipio would agree to this preliminary, that both parties ſhould recall their armies. This propoſal the Roman general, at firſt, rejected; but afterwards ſeemed to liſten to it, in order to amuſe the enemy, till he could find an opportunity of carrying his point. During the negotiation, Scipio was informed, that the Carthaginian camp, which conſiſted chiefly of wooden barracks, covered with boughs, was but very ſlightly fortified; and that the Numidian quarters, which were at ſome diſtance from the other, were entirely defenceleſs, the ſoldiers being only covered with mats, hurdles, dry leaves, and other combuſtible materials. To which information his ſpies added, that the troops obſerved no order or diſcipline, but lay in a careleſs manner without their trenches. This intelligence excited him to attempt ſurpriſing their camp by ſtratagem, ſince he found himſelf too weak to come to a pitched battle with them, eſpecially as the ſpot they were encamped upon was a ſmooth and open plain, extremely proper for their cavalry, much ſuperior to that of the Romans. Having maturely weighed theſe particulars, he ſent ambaſſadors to the camp, to renew, as was pretended, the conferences, but, in reality, to make ſuch diſcoveries as would favour the execution of his ſcheme. Theſe envoys were attended by ſome of his veteran ſoldiers, diſguiſed like ſlaves, who had orders to move about the camp, and obſerve all the avenues, its form and ſituation, how far Aſdrubal was from Syphax, how all the poſts were occupied, and whether it would be eaſier to ſurpriſe it in the day-time, or by night. Having informed himſelf of all theſe particulars, he immediately broke off the conference, acquainting Syphax, that as his officers had, in a council of war, declared themſelves averſe to all pacific meaſures, and preſſed him to puſh on the war with vigour, he found himſelf obliged, in compliance with their deſire, to purſue the military operations. This declaration extremely mortified both Aſdrubal and Syphax, who conſidered the treaty to be as good as concluded. However,

Scipio routs Syphax and Aſdrubal.

[s] Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 36. Appian. in Hannib. Oroſ. lib. iv. cap. 18.

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they ſoon recovered themſelves, and reſolved to draw, if poſſible, the enemy out into the plain, where, they doubted not, they ſhould be able to give a good account of them; or, if they ſhould fail in the execution of this project, their intention was to beſiege their camp both by ſea and land; an enterprize which they imagined themſelves capable of executing: but Scipio took his meaſures ſo well, that he ſurpriſed them in the manner already related. Lælius and Maſiniſſa burnt Syphax's camp, as Scipio in perſon deſtroyed that of Aſdrubal. Their army was entirely ruined, only two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, with the two commanders, eſcaping out of ſo great a multitude. According to Livy, this complete victory was, in a great meaſure, owing to the wiſe diſpoſitions of Maſiniſſa. The ſcene exhibited on this melancholy occaſion, Polybius tells us, was inconceivably dreadful. Appian relates, that Syphax, having, ſome time before, ſhamefully abandoned the Carthaginians, when he had advanced as far as Utica to their aſſiſtance, under pretence of repelling a foreign invaſion, returned ſoon after to ſuccour them, and endeavoured to gain Maſiniſſa, by promiſing to give him his choice of three daughters, and to fix him on the throne of the Maſſæſyli. The ſame author writes, that Scipio offered ſacrifices to the deities Audacia and Pavor, that his troops might behave with bravery, and not be ſtruck with panic terrors in the night, ſince they were at that time to begin the attack. Aſdrubal made his eſcape to Anda, where he rallied the remains of his ſhattered army, conſiſting chiefly of mercenaries and Numidians; and, having, by his own authority, preſented a great number of ſlaves with their freedom, and joined them to the others, he formed a conſiderable corps. Syphax retired to an advantageous poſt, about eight miles from the field of battle. At Carthage, the ſuffetes having convened the ſenate, three motions were made: firſt, that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Scipio, to treat of a peace with that general; ſecondly, that Hannibal ſhould be recalled from Italy; thirdly, that, in imitation of the Roman reſolution in adverſity, they ſhould depend upon themſelves, and their allies, for the defence of their country, and therefore immediately reinforce their army, and apply to Syphax for farther ſuccours. This laſt motion being ſupported by Aſdrubal, and the Barcinian faction, was carried; in conſequence of which, the new levies went on briſkly, and miniſters were diſpatched to Syphax, who was prevailed upon, by the entreaties and endearments of his beloved Sophoniſba, to join Aſdrubal with a large body of forces. In the mean time Scipio advanced to the walls of Carthage, and

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offered the citizens battle; which they declined. As ſoon as Aſdrubal had left Anda, it ſurrendered to the Romans. Two other towns of conſequence likewiſe in that neighbourhood, which pretended to make reſiſtance, Scipio carried by aſſault, and gave up to his ſoldiers to be plundered. Then he inveſted Utica, and puſhed on the ſiege of that place with the utmoſt vigour. In the mean time Aſdrubal and Syphax, being joined by a ſtrong body of Celtiberian troops, upon a review of their army, found it to amount to thirty thouſand men, with which they moved towards Scipio, in order to attack him. That general, having received intelligence of their approach, and left a ſufficient number of troops to defend his lines, left Utica, and advanced to meet them. The Roman army was diſpoſed in the uſual manner. On the other ſide, Aſdrubal poſted his Carthaginian forces in the right wing; Syphax, with his Numidians, in the left; and the Celtiberians in the centre. The Carthaginians and Numidians were routed at the firſt onſet; but the Celtiberians, being animated by deſpair, fought with ſuch reſolution, that they were almoſt to a man killed upon the ſpot. As Scipio had treated them with the utmoſt lenity after their late revolt, they were ſenſible the black ingratitude they were now guilty of, deſerved no mercy, if they fell into his hands; and, finding it impoſſible to eſcape by flight, they reſolved to die in the field. The obſtinacy with which they for ſome time maintained the diſpute, gave many of the Carthaginians and Numidians an opportunity of ſaving themſelves, who muſt otherwiſe have been inevitably ſlain. The day after the battle, Scipio detached Lælius and Maſiniſſa, with the horſe and light-armed troops, to purſue Syphax and Aſdrubal; whilſt himſelf, with the main body, reduced moſt of the towns in the neighbourhood of Carthage [h].

The Carthaginians ſue to Scipio for peace.

Immediately after this defeat, the ſenate and ſuffetes of Carthage came to a reſolution to recall Hannibal from Italy, upon whoſe veteran troops, and their fleet, together with the powerful aſſiſtance of Syphax, they were convinced, their preſervation abſolutely depended. Their fleet therefore having failed in the important enterprize above mentioned, Syphax being taken priſoner, his country conquered, and Hannibal as yet at a great diſtance, they had no other reſource left, than to ſue to Scipio for peace. To this meaſure they were farther impelled, by that general's encamping again at Tunes, within ſight of their capital. They

[h] Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 4—10. Polyb. lib. xiv. Appian. in Libyc. Dio Caſſ. in Excerpt. Valeſ. Oroſ. lib. iv. cap. 18. S. Jul. Front. Strat. lib. i. cap. 1. ex. 3. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 20. Zonar. ubi ſupra, cap. 12.

therefore

therefore deputed thirty of their principal ſenators, ſelected for that purpoſe out of the centumvirate, to wait upon Scipio. Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they all threw themſelves proſtrate on the earth, kiſſed his feet, and addreſſed him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms. They accuſed Hannibal, and the Barchinian faction, as the authors of all their calamities; they confeſſed they had broken the peace concluded betwixt them and the Romans, and that they deſerved whatever puniſhment that nation ſhould think proper to inflict. They begged, however, that their city, which had twice merited deſtruction by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of the Roman clemency, promiſing at the ſame time an implicit obedience to his commands. Scipio replied, that though he had come into Africa, not for peace, but conqueſt, which he had, in a manner, effected, yet, that all nations might ſee the ſtrict juſtice of the Romans, both in undertaking and concluding their wars, he would grant them peace upon the following terms: 1. They ſhould deliver up all the Roman priſoners and deſerters to him. 2. They ſhall recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul. 3. They ſhall never ſet foot again in Spain. 4. They ſhall abandon all the iſlands between Italy and Africa. 5. They ſhall put the victors in poſſeſſion of all their ſhips, twenty only excepted, which they ſhall be allowed to retain for their own uſe. 6. They ſhall give to the Romans five hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat, three hundred thouſand of barley, and pay five thouſand talents, or, as others maintain, five thouſand pound weight of ſilver. He gave them three days to conſider of theſe conditions; which they feigned a compliance with, in order to gain time till Hannibal's arrival. A truce being granted the Carthaginians, they immediately ſent deputies to Rome, and at the ſame time diſpatched an expreſs to Hannibal, to haſten his return to Africa. Appian intimates, that, beſides the articles above mentioned, Scipio inſiſted upon a compliance with the two following: that Maſiniſſa ſhould not only keep poſſeſſion of his own kingdom, but as many of Syphax's territories, as he ſhould be able to conquer; and that the Carthaginians ſhould not extend their dominions beyond the Foſſa Punica: but theſe, and other points, wherein that author differs from Livy and Polybius, ſeem not ſo agreeable to truth, as what has been tranſmitted to poſterity by thoſe two celebrated hiſtorians.

Mago overthrown in Inſubria.

During theſe tranſactions, Magó advanced into Inſubria, where he met the Roman forces under the command of M. Cornelius and P. Quintilius Varus. A general action ſoon enſued between the two armies, wherein the Carthaginians

ginians were defeated. However, Mago performed the part of a conſummate general, diſtinguiſhing himſelf greatly throughout the whole action; but, being wounded in the thigh, he was obliged to be carried out of the battle, an accident which threw his troops into ſuch confuſion, that a great part of them immediately quitted the field. Five thouſand Carthaginians fell in this battle, and eighteen of their ſtandards were taken: but this victory coſt the Romans dear; for they loſt two thouſand three hundred men, beſides the beſt part of the twelfth legion. Mago, after having made an excellent retreat by favour of the night, returned into the country of the Ingauni, which was one of the maritime parts of Liguria, where he found a courier bringing him orders to return directly to Carthage [1].

The Romans being every where victorious, Conſentia, Uffugium, Vergæ, Beſidiæ, Hetriculum, Syphæum, Argentanum, Dampetia, and other towns in Brutium, opened their gates to the conſul Cn. Servilius. This was the ſituation of affairs, when Hannibal was commanded to return to Africa. Valerius Antias affirms, that, juſt before his departure, Hannibal was defeated by Servilius near Croton; and that, on this occaſion, he loſt five thouſand men: but Livy, partial as he is, treats this account as little better than a fiction. When the meſſengers from Africa informed Hannibal of the ſenate's pleaſure, he expreſſed the utmoſt concern and indignation, groaning, gnaſhing his teeth, and being ſcarce able to refrain from tears: "Now (ſaid he), thoſe perſons, who have long endeavoured to drag me out of Italy by denying me proper ſupplies, ſend me direct and explicit orders to return. Hannibal is not vanquiſhed by the Romans, but by the ſenate of Carthage. Scipio has not ſo much reaſon to exult at my being forced from Italy as Hanno, who, for want of other means of effecting it, has completed the ruin of my family by the deſtruction of Carthage." As he had foreſeen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of veſſels to tranſport his forces to Africa. Theſe he embarked, after having maſſacred a body of Italian troops, that refuſed to accompany him, in the temple of Juno Lacinia. Never baniſhed man, according to Livy, ſhewed ſo much regret in leaving his native country, as Hannibal expreſſed in quitting that of the enemy. He often turned his eyes wiſhfully to Italy, accuſing gods and men, and calling down a thouſand curſes upon himſelf, for his not having, after the battle of Cannæ, advanced to the walls of Rome at the head of his army, ſtill

Yr. of Fl. 2158. Ante Chr. 190.

Hannibal recalled from Italy.

[1] Polyb. & Appian. ubi ſupra. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 18.

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reeking with the blood of its citizens. Appian writes, that Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian general, committed unparalleled cruelties in all the cities allied with Carthage, before Hannibal's departure, permitting his men to raviſh their virgins and matrons, and behaving in all reſpects with the moſt inhuman brutality [k].

The Carthaginians break the truce Scipio granted them.

The Carthaginian ambaſſadors, about this time, arrived at Rome, where they experienced but a very indifferent reception. The conſcript fathers, greatly diſſatisfied with the excuſes made by theſe ambaſſadors in vindication of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of Lutatius, referred the deciſion of the whole to Scipio, who, being upon the ſpot, could beſt judge what ſuited the welfare of the ſtate. However, the Romans plainly diſcovered, from the conduct of their miniſters on this occaſion, as well as their recalling the troops, that, notwithſtanding their pretended deſire of peace, the Carthaginians would be averſe to an accommodation, as ſoon as they received intelligence of Hannibal's landing in Africa. They were confirmed in the ſentiments they had entertained, by the news, which, in a few days, arrived at Rome, importing, that the Carthaginians, in violation of the truce which they themſelves had ſo earneſtly deſired, had ſeized a great number of ſhips on the coaſt of Africa, near the iſland Ægimurus. They alſo received advice, that the enemy had even attacked the galley which carried the Roman ambaſſadors to Carthage, in the river Bagrada, within ſight of Scipio's camp. Such a procedure could not but exaſperate the two nations againſt each other more than ever; the Romans, from the ſtrong deſire they muſt have had to revenge ſuch enormous perfidy; and the Carthaginians, from a perſuaſion that they were not now to expect peace [l].

Hannibal makes propoſals of peace to Scipio.

Hannibal had no ſooner landed in Africa, than he ſent out parties to procure proviſions for the army, and buy horſes to remount the cavalry. He entered into a league with the regulus of the Areacidæ, a Numidian tribe, living near Adrumetum. Four thouſand of Syphax's horſe, then in the ſervice of Maſiniſſa, came over in a body to him; but as he did not repoſe any confidence in them, he put them all to the ſword, and diſtributed their horſes amongſt his troops. Vermina, one of Syphax's ſons, and Meſetulus, another Numidian prince, likewiſe joined him with a very conſiderable body of horſe. Moſt of the fortreſſes in Maſiniſſa's kingdom either ſurrendered to him upon the firſt

[k] Polyb. lib. xv. Liv. ubi ſupra, cap. 20. & ſeq. Appian in Hannib. [l] Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 24, 25. Appian. in Libyc.

ſummons,

ſummons, or were taken by ſtorm. Narce, a city of conſiderable ſtrength, he made himſelf maſter of by ſtratagem. Tychæus, a Numidian regulus, and faithful ally of Syphax, whoſe territories were famous for an excellent breed of horſes, reinforced him alſo much about the ſame time with two thouſand of his beſt cavalry. Hannibal advanced to Zama, a town about five days march from Carthage, where he encamped. He thence ſent out ſpies to obſerve the poſture of the Romans: theſe being brought to Scipio, he was ſo far from inflicting any puniſhment upon them, according to the rules of war, that he commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order to take an exact ſurvey of it, and then diſmiſſed them unhurt. Hannibal, admiring the noble confidence of his rival, ſent a meſſenger to ſolicit an interview with him; which by means of Maſiniſſa he obtained. The two generals, therefore, eſcorted by equal detachments of horſe, met at Nadagara, where, by the aſſiſtance of two interpreters, they held a private conference. Hannibal flattered Scipio in the moſt refined and artful manner, and expatiated upon all thoſe topics which he thought could influence that general to grant his nation a peace upon tolerable terms: amongſt other things, he declared that the Carthaginians would willingly confine themſelves to Africa, ſince ſuch was the will of the gods, in order to procure a laſting peace, whilſt the Romans would be at liberty to extend their conqueſts to the remoteſt nations. Scipio anſwered, that the Romans were not excited by ambition, or any ſiniſter views, to undertake either the former or preſent war againſt the Carthaginians, but by juſtice, and a proper regard for their allies. He alſo obſerved, that the Carthaginians had, before his arrival in Africa, not only made him the ſame propoſals, but likewiſe agreed to pay the Romans five thouſand talents of ſilver, reſtore all the Roman priſoners without ranſom, and deliver up all their gallies. He added, that the late perfidious actions of the Carthaginians ought to be ſo far from procuring them more favourable terms, that the Romans thought themſelves authorized to impoſe more rigorous conditions upon them; which, if he would ſubmit to, a peace might enſue: if not, the deciſion of the diſpute muſt be left entirely to the ſword [m].

This conference, betwixt two of the greateſt generals the world ever produced, ending without ſucceſs, they both retired to their reſpective camps, where they informed their troops, that not only the fate of Rome and Carthage, but

[m] Polyb. lib. xv. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 29—32. Appian in Libyc.

that

that of the whole world, was to be determined by them next day. Accordingly in the morning both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle; and, after having animated their men to make their utmoſt efforts, by urging all the motives to bravery that could be offered, they advanced towards each other with great reſolution in the plains of Zama. Scipio poſted the haſtati, divided into ſmall battalions, with proper ſpaces between them, in front; after them, the principes divided in the ſame manner; and the rear was brought up by the triarii. The Italian horſe, under the conduct of Lælius, he placed in the left wing; and the Numidian cavalry, commanded by Maſiniſſa, in the right. By this diſpoſition, which differed in ſome degree from that which the Romans uſually made, a proper precaution was taken againſt the violence of the enemy's elephants, which would otherwiſe have undoubtedly borne down the principes. He ordered his light-armed troops, who were to begin the fight, to retire into the void ſpaces between the battalions, if they found themſelves overcharged by the enemy, or puſhed by their elephants, and that the moſt expeditious of them ſhould continue their retreat to the rear of the army; while thoſe who were wounded, or ſlower in their motion, ſhould ſave themſelves in the interval between the haſtati and principes, or that between the principes and triarii. Hannibal, on the other ſide, poſted eighty elephants in front. Behind him he placed his van-guard, conſiſting of Ligurian, Gallic, Balearic, and Mauritanian mercenaries. Then followed the main body, compoſed of four thouſand Africans and native Carthaginians, ſuſtained by a body of four thouſand Macedonian veterans, furniſhed by king Philip; and, at a furlong's diſtance, were ſtationed thoſe brave troops, that had ſerved under him in Italy, forming his rear, in which he repoſed his greateſt confidence. The Carthaginian cavalry were oppoſed to Lælius; and the Numidian, under Tychæus and Meſetulus, to Maſiniſſa [a].

The diſpoſition of the Roman and Carthaginian armies at the battle of Zama.

The battle of Zama.

Some time before the action the Numidian horſe on both ſides ſkirmiſhed with inconſiderable loſs. After which prelude, purſuant to Hannibal's orders, the elephants advanced againſt the enemy; but thoſe diſtributed in the left wing being frightened by the ſound of trumpets and other martial muſic, fell back upon the Numidian horſe, and put them in diſorder. Maſiniſſa immediately took advantage of this confuſion, and, without giving them time to recover themſelves, charged them with ſuch fury, that he drove them out of the field. The elephants that attacked the Roman light-armed

[a] Iidem ibid.

troops,

troops, being likewiſe repulſed, and many of them wounded, recoiled in like manner upon the Carthaginian horſe poſted in the right wing, and made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they received the ſame rough treatment from Lælius that the Numidians had before ſuffered from Maſiniſſa. In the mean time the infantry on both ſides engaged with unparalleled bravery. Hannibal's mercenaries at firſt repulſed the legionaries: but theſe laſt being firmly ſupported by the principes, not only recovered themſelves, but routed the mercenaries, and puſhed them on the Carthaginians; a circumſtance which occaſioned the defeat of both bodies, and in a great meaſure determined victory to declare for the Romans. The corps de reſerve, formed of Hannibal's veterans, that had ſerved under him in Italy, behaved with inexpreſſible intrepidity and reſolution; but Lælius and Maſiniſſa returning from the defeat of the enemy's horſe, bore down all before them, and obliged this phalanx, which before ſeemed impenetrable, to give way. They were therefore defeated, and the ground was ſtrewed with their dead bodies, moſt of them being either killed in the battle or purſuit. Appian relates, that during the heat of the action Hannibal firſt engaged Scipio, and afterwards Maſiniſſa, in ſingle combat, wherein he had the advantage. According to the ſame author the Carthaginians had twenty-five thouſand men ſlain, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Livy and Polybius affirm, that twenty thouſand of Hannibal's men were killed, and as many taken priſoners; as likewiſe that a hundred and thirty ſtandards fell into the enemy's hands. Some ſay the Romans loſt only two thouſand men; others, that two thouſand five hundred Romans, and a greater number of Maſiniſſa's ſoldiers, fell in this engagement. Be that as it may, Scipio obtained a complete victory, and made himſelf maſter of Hannibal's camp, where he found ten talents of gold, two thouſand five hundred of ſilver, and an immenſe quantity of other booty. All the remarkable particulars of this action, omitted here, our readers will find in a former part of this work.

Hannibal's excellent conduct at that battle.

Hannibal, having eſcaped to Thon, was ſoon joined by ſome Brutian and Spaniſh fugitives, who had been too ſwift for their purſuers; but not willing to truſt himſelf in their hands, he fled privately to Adrumetum. The ſurpriſing military genius of that moſt renowned general never more eminently diſplayed itſelf than at the battle of Zama, as we learn from Polybius, who greatly celebrates his conduct on that occaſion. Scipio himſelf likewiſe, according to Livy, paſſed a high encomium upon him, on account of his uncommon capacity in taking advantages, the excellent ar-

rangement of his forces, and the manner in which he gave his orders during the engagement; but being vaſtly inferior to the enemy in horſe, and the ſtate of Carthage obliging him, at no ſmall diſadvantage, to hazard a battle with the Romans, he met with the fate already mentioned °.

Yr. of Fl. 2160. Ante Chr. 188.

The ſenate of Carthage, hearing of Hannibal's arrival at Adrumetum, diſpatched meſſengers to him, with orders to return to Carthage. He obeyed theſe orders, and adviſed his countrymen to conclude a peace with the Romans upon the terms they ſhould think proper to preſcribe. To this meaſure they were the more ſtrongly excited by the intelligence they received of the defeat of Vermina, the ſon of Syphax, their ally. This blow was very ſevere, fifteen thouſand of that prince's men being left dead on the field of battle, twelve hundred made priſoners, and fifteen hundred Numidian horſes, together with ſeventy-two military enſigns, taken. After this diſaſter the Carthaginians ſent ten of their principal citizens to implore Scipio's clemency, who told them, with a haughty air, that they might meet with him at Tunes. However, thirty Carthaginian ſenators, ſelected out of the centumvirate, waiting upon Scipio, and imploring peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, that general dictated the following conditions: 1. The Carthaginians ſhall be governed by their own laws, and remain in poſſeſſion of all their African dominions. 2. The Carthaginians ſhall deliver up to the Romans all their deſerters, fugitive ſlaves, priſoners of war, and all the Italians whom Hannibal forced to follow him, within thirty days after the treaty is ſigned. 3. They ſhall alſo ſurrender all their ſhips of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, and ſhall train up no more of thoſe animals for the ſervice. 4. The ſenate and people of Carthage ſhall not engage in any war without the conſent of the Romans. 5. They ſhall ſupply the Roman troops with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambaſſadors they ſhall ſend to Rome. 6. They ſhall pay the Romans, in the ſpace of fifty years, ten thouſand Euboic talents, at equal payments. 7. They ſhall deliver to Scipio a hundred ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, the youngeſt of whom ſhall not be under fourteen, and the oldeſt not above thirty years of age. 8. Neither the peace nor truce ſhall take place till the Carthaginians have reſtored the ſhips and effects taken from the Romans during the laſt truce. 9. The Roman armies ſhall leave Africa within fifty days after the concluſion of the treaty. 10. The Carthagi-

A peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians.

° Polyb. Liv. Appian. Flor. Aur. Vict. Corn. Nep. ubi ſupra. Zonar. ubi ſup. cap. 14. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 23. Plut. in Hannib. Oroſ. lib. iv. cap. 19.

nians

nians ſhall reſtore to Maſiniſſa all they have uſurped from him and his anceſtors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 11. They ſhall never for the future make any levies in Gaul or Liguria. 12. They ſhall aſſiſt the Romans both by ſea and land, whenever they are called upon. Theſe terms, which Scipio thought proper to grant the Carthaginians in caſe the ſenate and people of Rome would ratify them, appeared ſo intolerable to the populace of Carthage, that they threatened to plunder and burn the houſes of the nobility; but Hannibal, having aſſembled a body of ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe at Marthama, prevented an inſurrection, and, by his influence, completed the accommodation. However, Giſco, an enemy to the Barcinian faction, made a ſpeech to the ſenators in order to diſſuade them from accepting ſuch a ſhameful peace. Hannibal, being highly incenſed at his preſumption, dragged him from his ſeat; and in order to vindicate, or at leaſt palliate ſuch violence, ſpoke to this effect: "As I left your city at nine years of age, and did not return till after thirty-ſix years abſence, I had full time to learn the military art, and flatter myſelf that I have made ſome improvement in it; but with regard to your conſtitution it is no wonder that I am a ſtranger to it, and therefore I muſt deſire you to inſtruct me in every branch of it." He then inſiſted upon the neceſſity of concluding a peace; adding, that they ought to return the gods thanks for having diſpoſed the Romans to grant them ſuch favourable conditions. He likewiſe repreſented to the ſenators the importance of uniting their ſuffrages; intimating, that it might be of fatal conſequence to the ſtate, if, by their diviſions, they ſhould throw more weight into the popular ſcale, which already preponderated too much. The whole aſſembly, therefore, in order to prevent the people from taking ſuch an affair under their cognizance, came over to his opinion, and the terms propoſed by Scipio were accepted. Ample ſatisfaction having been made the Romans for the outrages offered their miniſters, and the infraction of the late truce, the Carthaginians diſpatched an embaſſy, at the head of which was Aſdrubal, ſurnamed Hœdus, or the *kid*, to Rome. As he was an irreconcileable enemy to Hannibal and his family, he endeavoured to excuſe the people of Carthage, by imputing the late rupture to the ambition of the Barcinian faction, and extolled his own conduct, as well as that of Hanno, towards Rome. He likewiſe expatiated upon the generoſity, magnanimity, wiſdom, and humanity of the Romans; whilſt his companions endeavoured to move the ſenate to compaſſion, by exhibiting the calamitous ſtate of

Carthage in the moſt lively colours. By theſe methods of perſuaſion they not only prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to grant their requeſt, but likewiſe to ſend two hundred of their priſoners, then at Rome, to Scipio, with orders that they ſhould be reſtored, without any pecuniary conſideration, as ſoon as he ſhould receive from the Carthaginians the ratification of the treaty. The late truce for three months, which the Carthaginians obtained of Scipio upon the return of their ambaſſadors, was changed into a perpetual peace, upon the terms that general had preſcribed. They then, in purſuance of the treaty, delivered up to Scipio above five hundred ſhips, all which he burnt in ſight of Carthage, to the inexpreſſible mortification of the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. They likewiſe ſurrendered into the hands of the Romans all their elephants, ſlaves, deſerters, and priſoners of war. The number of theſe laſt amounted to above four thouſand men. Scipio treated both the Latin and Roman deſerters with extreme ſeverity, ordering the heads of the former to be ſtruck off, and the latter to be crucified. The public funds at Carthage being exhauſted by ſo long and expenſive a war, the ſenate found it almoſt impracticable to raiſe a ſum ſufficient for the firſt payment of the tribute impoſed by the treaty. This difficulty threw them into a melancholy ſilence, and many could not even refrain from tears. Livy relates, that Hannibal, laughing on this occaſion, was reproved by Aſdrubal Hœdus for inſulting his country in the time of its affliction, which, he inſinuated, was owing to his conduct. Hannibal, in reply, apologized for his behaviour to that auguſt aſſembly. Thus ended the ſecond Punic war, which raged eighteen years without intermiſſion.

The Romans force the Carthaginians to make a diſhonourable peace with Maſiniſſa.

After the concluſion of the laſt treaty, Hamilcar, a Carthaginian captain, left in thoſe parts either by Aſdrubal or Mago, excited the Inſubres, Cœnomani, and the Boii, together with the Sallyi, Ilvates, and other cantons of Liguria, to make an irruption into the territories of the allies of Rome. Of theſe hoſtilities the ſenate immediately informed the ſtate of Carthage, threatening at the ſame time to renew the war, if that infringer of the late treaty was not given up. What anſwer the Carthaginians returned to this menace, we no where find; but the death of Hamilcar, who was ſoon after killed in a battle he fought with Fulvius Purpureo the prætor, put an end to all farther diſpute betwixt the Carthaginians and the Romans on this head. The peace betwixt Carthage and Rome was ſcarce ſigned, when Maſiniſſa, at the inſtigation of the Romans, unjuſtly reduced part of the Carthaginian dominions in Africa, under pretence

pretence that thoſe territories formerly belonged to his family. The Carthaginians, through the mediation of the Romans, to which, by an article of the late treaty, they were obliged to have recourſe, found themſelves under a neceſſity of ceding thoſe countries to that ambitious prince, and entering into an alliance with him. The good underſtanding afterwards betwixt theſe two powers continued many years; but at laſt Maſiniſſa violated the treaties ſubſiſting betwixt him and the Carthaginians, and greatly contributed to the ſubverſion of the African republic [p].

The Carthaginians ſend fifty Euboic talents to Rome, in purſuance of the late treaty.

In the following year the Carthaginians ſent fifty Euboic talents of ſilver to Rome, in purſuance of the late treaty: but the ſilver not being good, the quæſtors refuſed it; and, upon examination, it being found wanting one fourth part, the Carthaginian miniſters were obliged to borrow a ſum of money at Rome to make up the deficiency. At their requeſt, half their hoſtages were releaſed, and hopes given them that the others ſhould ſoon be returned, provided they inviolably adhered to their late engagements. In the mean time, the remaining hoſtages deſiring to be removed from Norba, which they repreſented as a place very inconvenient to reſide in, the ſenate immediately ſent them to Signia and Ferentinum. From hence they were removed to Setia, where their domeſtics occaſioned a commotion, which had like to have proved of ill conſequence to the Romans; but how this accident affected the ſtate of Carthage, we are not informed. According to Appian, the trade of the Carthaginians began, even at this time, to flouriſh, notwithſtanding their ſhipping had ſo lately been deſtroyed. A remarkable proof of the ſurpriſing genius of that people for commerce, even in their moſt depreſſed and miſerable condition [q]!

Hannibal reforms ſome abuſes at Carthage, and afterwards flies to Antiochus, king of Syria.

Not long after the tranſactions juſt hinted at, Livy writes, that Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, commanded an army of Gauls that was defeated by Cethegus; and that this general himſelf was taken priſoner in the action: but whether any, or how many, Carthaginian troops aſſiſted the Gauls on this occaſion, or what influence that event had upon the Carthaginian affairs, hiſtory is ſilent. In the mean time Hannibal kept up his credit at Carthage. Although he had failed in the execution of his grand and favourite ſcheme, the republic gave him the command of an army deſtined to act againſt ſome neighbouring African powers; and from Cornelius Nepos it ſeems probable, that he made

[p] Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 10, 11, 32. & lib. xl. cap. 34. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 15. Appian. in Libyc. [q] Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 2, 26. Zonar. ubi ſup. cap. 16. Appian. ubi ſup.

ſome campaigns after the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war. Theſe efforts gave ſuch umbrage to the Romans, that, notwithſtanding the Carthaginians made them a preſent of a golden crown, and thanked them in a moſt humble manner for the peace they had granted, they refuſed to releaſe the Carthaginian priſoners ſtill detained in Italy. The ſenate, indeed, at the requeſt of the ambaſſadors, who came with the compliment to Rome, allowed the Carthaginian hoſtages to reſide in what city of Italy they choſe for their habitation; and aſſured the ambaſſadors, that this inſtance of their republic's friendſhip was very acceptable to that aſſembly: but, with regard to the priſoners, the conſcript fathers declared, that they would not diſmiſs them, as long as Hannibal, their moſt avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in Africa. Upon this remonſtrance, the Carthaginians recalled Hannibal, and conferred upon him the office of prætor; which ſeems to have been an employment of great conſideration and authority. In this poſt Hannibal gained univerſal applauſe. He regulated the finances in ſuch a manner, that, notwithſtanding the deplorable ſtate to which Carthage was reduced, conſiderable ſums were laid up yearly for the public ſervice, after the payment of the tax to the Romans, impoſed by the laſt treaty. As ſuch a laudable conduct muſt have been founded upon a reformation of many abuſes, it undoubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many; but neither this, nor the animoſity of the old Hannonian faction, which was far from being extinguiſhed, prevented him from purſuing meaſures neceſſary for the ſervice of the republic with zeal and reſolution. He was not ſatisfied with putting the management of the finances upon a proper footing: he was equally impatient to rectify the irregularities which had crept into the adminiſtration of juſtice. As the judges exerciſed the moſt cruel rapine with impunity, diſpoſing, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives, properties, and reputations of the citizens, without the leaſt control, ſince they held their offices for life, and mutually ſupported one another, Hannibal reſolved to redreſs ſo glaring an evil. He therefore, by his integrity, courage, and popularity, effected the paſſing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges ſhould be choſen annually; with a clauſe, that none ſhould continue in office beyond their year. This ſtep greatly irritated the nobles and grandees, but extremely pleaſed the populace, of Carthage. His reputation and authority amongſt the latter were raiſed to a higher pitch by the method he deviſed to complete the regulation of the finances. The public revenues had been embezzled by thoſe who had the management of them,

and

and ſome of the leading men in the city; ſo that the ſenate and ſuffetes were obliged to think of levying the annual tribute due to the Romans upon the people; which ſcheme Hannibal prevented from being put in execution, by detecting the frauds of the officers concerned in every branch of the public revenues, as well as the colluſions of thoſe poſſeſſed of other lucrative poſts. It is no wonder, therefore, that perſons of this complexion ſhould exert their utmoſt malice to ruin a man, however laudably diſpoſed to the public, who, they had the aſſurance to pretend, deprived them of their lawful property; for in that light they conſidered their long-continued peculation. In order to gratify their reſentment, they excited the Romans to purſue Hannibal to deſtruction. Accordingly C. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Terentius Culleo were ſent to Carthage, on pretence of accommodating all differences betwixt the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa, but, in reality, to ruin Hannibal, who, they aſſerted, carried on a ſecret intelligence with king Antiochus, in order to concert with him the proper meaſures for proſecuting the war againſt the Romans. Hannibal, upon their arrival, notwithſtanding their ſpecious pretexts, knew the ſubject of their commiſſion, and thought it prudent to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times. Having, therefore, made the proper diſpoſitions for his departure, in order to deceive his countrymen, in the duſk of the evening, he went out of the city in a foreign dreſs, attended only by two companions, ignorant of his deſign. That he might travel with the greater expedition, he had before ordered relays at proper places, by the aſſiſtance of which, paſſing the Vocanian diſtrict, he arrived at a caſtle, or palace, of his own, between Acholla and Thapſus. From thence he was wafted over in a veſſel, that waited for him, to the iſland Cercina. There he had recourſe to a ſtratagem, to conceal his retreat from Carthage, which had the deſired effect. The populace of Carthage, the morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city. Some thought he was fled, others, that he had been aſſaſſinated by the Roman faction. However, at laſt time diſcovered the truth, the ſenate receiving certain intelligence, that he was ſeen in the iſland Cercina. The Roman ambaſſadors inſiſted upon the ſenate's making a public declaration againſt the project he was gone upon. In order to impoſe upon the maſters of ſhips at that time in the iſland Cercina, he publiſhed, that the republic of Carthage had ſent him on an embaſſy to Tyre. Livy tells us, that he was not ſo much affected with the proſpect of his own unhappy fate, as with that of the calamities which

threatened his country. From Cercina he ſteered his courſe for Tyre, where, upon his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of diſtinction due to his exalted merit. After ſtaying ſome days in that city, he proceeded to Antioch, and had a conference with Antiochus's ſon at Daphne, where he was celebrating ſome ſolemn diverſions. From thence he poſted to Epheſus, where he met with a moſt kind reception from that prince himſelf, whom he engaged to enter upon a war with Rome, after he had been for ſome time in a fluctuating ſtate on that head. Tully informs us, that, during his reſidence at this court, a philoſopher, named Phormio, eſteemed the beſt orator in Aſia, expatiated in an harangue on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art, before him; which charming the audience, Hannibal was aſked his opinion of it. The Carthaginian frankly replied, that in his time he had ſeen many old dotards, but none that came up to Phormio. Stobæus informs us, that this Phormio was a Stoic philoſopher; and that when he undertook to prove that a wiſe man only was fit to be a general, Hannibal laughed, being convinced that ſkill in martial affairs was to be acquired, not by theory, but practice. The Carthaginians, being apprehenſive that, by Hannibal's intrigues, they might be embroiled with the Romans, informed them, that he was withdrawn to the court of Antiochus.

Hannibal endeavours to embroil his countrymen with the Romans, but in vain.

Hannibal's conſtant opinion was, that Italy ſhould be made the ſeat of war. To enforce this maxim, he obſerved to Antiochus, that Italy would ſupply a foreign invader both with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, and a proper number of recruits; and that if the Romans were permitted to tranſport their Italian forces into any foreign country, no prince or ſtate in the world could make head againſt them. He offered to ſail to Carthage, and did not doubt but he ſhould perſuade his countrymen to take up arms againſt the common enemy, provided the king would truſt him with the command of a fleet of a hundred ſhips, and a body of eleven thouſand land-forces. With theſe troops, he propoſed making a deſcent in ſome part of Italy; whilſt the king ſhould aſſemble a numerous army, and put himſelf in a condition to advance to his relief, whenever it ſhould be found convenient. Had this ſalutary advice been followed, Antiochus would not have been obliged ſoon after to ſubmit to ſuch conditions of peace as the Romans thought fit to impoſe. That prince at firſt approved very much of Hannibal's propoſal; a circumſtance which induced that general to diſpatch Ariſto, a Tyrian, to Carthage, in order to engage the ſenate more ſtrongly in his intereſt. To ſe-

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cure the fidelity of this perſon, Hannibal made him ſome valuable preſents, after he had furniſhed him with proper inſtructions, and promiſed him great rewards in Antiochus's name, in caſe he happily executed his commiſſion. Ariſto was no ſooner arrived at Carthage, than the people began to ſuſpect the errand he came upon. As he aſſociated only with the members of the Barcinian faction, the ſuſpicions, that had been entertained, were turned into a violent preſumption of his guilt: he was ſeized, and called upon to clear himſelf, but he did not acquit himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the predominant party. Great debates aroſe in the ſenate concerning him. Some members were for treating him as a ſpy; but others thought this might be a dangerous precedent, as no evidence could be produced againſt him. Beſides, they obſerved, that as ſuch an action could be conſidered in no other light than as a violation of the laws of hoſpitality, the Tyrians would not fail making repriſals upon the ſubjects of Carthage reſiding in their dominions. However, the determination of this affair was deferred till next day; a delay which gave the crafty Tyrian an opportunity of eſcaping privately in the night. Before his departure, he left in the public hall, where juſtice was adminiſtered, a writing that fully declared the reaſon of his coming to Carthage. The ſenate, to ſhew how religiouſly they intended to obſerve the laſt treaty, immediately ſent advice of this tranſaction to the Romans[r].

Hannibal confers with Villius and Scipio.

In conſequence of this intelligence, the Romans nominated P. Sulpicius and P. Villius their ambaſſadors to Antiochus, ordering them to take Pergamus in their way, that they might confer with Eumenes, a violent enemy of Antiochus, who reſided in that city. Sulpicius was detained at Pergamus by indiſpoſition; but Villius, in purſuance of his orders, repaired to Epheſus, were he found Hannibal. He had many conferences with him, paid him ſeveral viſits, and ſpeciouſly affected to ſhew him a particular eſteem on all occaſions; but his chief aim, by all this inſidious behaviour, was to render him ſuſpected, and leſſen his credit with the king; in which endeavours he ſucceeded too well, as afterwards manifeſtly appeared. Livy tells us, that the only end of Villius's converſation with Hannibal was to ſound that general, and to remove any fears or apprehenſions he might be under from the Romans. Claudius, on the authority of the Greek annaliſt Acilius, affirmed, that Scipio was joined with Sulpicius and Villius in this embaſſy, and even tranſmitted to poſterity ſome of the particulars that paſſed in converſation betwixt the Roman mini-

[r] Liv. lib. xxxiv. cap. 59. 60.

ſters

ſters and Hannibal. According to theſe authors, Scipio deſired Hannibal to declare, who, in his opinion, was the moſt celebrated general in hiſtory. The Carthaginian replied, Alexander king of Macedon, becauſe, with an inconſiderable body of troops, he had defeated moſt numerous armies, and extended his conqueſts into countries ſo widely diſtant, that it ſeemed impoſſible for any man even to traverſe them. Being then aſked, who was the next to him, he anſwered Pyrrhus, who firſt underſtood the art of encamping to advantage: "Nor did ever any commander," continued he, "make a more judicious choice of poſts, or better underſtood how to draw up his forces, or was more happy in conciliating the affections and favour of mankind." Scipio then demanding whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no ſcruple of mentioning himſelf. Here Scipio not being able to refrain from laughing, "But what would you have ſaid," added he, "had you vanquiſhed me?" "I would," replied Hannibal, "have ranked myſelf above Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all the generals the world ever produced[a]."

Hannibal removes ſome ſuſpicions Antiochus had entertained of him.

Antiochus, having entertained a ſuſpicion of Hannibal, ſince his late conferences with Villius, would not, for ſome time, admit him into his councils. This ſlight, at firſt, Hannibal diſregarded: but afterwards, judging it expedient to inquire into the cauſe of ſuch a ſudden change in the king's conduct, that he might have an opportunity of clearing himſelf, he intreated that prince to diſcover the reaſon of his late coldneſs; which having learned, he addreſſed himſelf to Antiochus in the following terms: "My father Hamilcar, Antiochus, obliged me, in my tender infancy, at the altar, to take an oath always to bear an implacable averſion to the Romans. Animated by this hatred, I have waged war with them ſix-and-thirty years; prompted by this animoſity, I have abandoned my native country in times of peace, and taken ſanctuary in your dominions; fired by it, ſhould you fruſtrate my expectations, I will fly to every part of the globe, and endeavour to rouſe up all nations againſt the Romans. If any of your favourites therefore would raiſe their credit with you by calumniating me, let them ſeek other methods of advancing themſelves. I hate mortally the Romans, and am equally hated by them. I appeal to the manes of my father Hamilcar, and all the deities, who were witneſſes of my oath. So long therefore as you are diſpoſed to come to a rupture with the Romans,

[a] Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 14. & ſeq. Polyb. lib. iii. p. 166, 167. Plut. in Flamin. & in Pyrr.

you

you may rank Hannibal amongſt your beſt friends: but, if any conſiderations ſhould incline you to peace, I deſire to be entirely excluded from your councils." This ſpeech, uttered with ſuch force and energy, and expreſſive of ſo much ſincerity, removed all the prejudices the king had imbibed; ſo that Hannibal was not only reſtored to favour, but preparations were made to execute the ſcheme he had formed [t].

Antiochus deſerts Hannibal.

Though the king had reſolved to give Hannibal the command of part of his fleet, yet, by the intrigues of his miniſters, the equipment of it was not only at firſt retarded, but even the expediency of putting the Carthaginian in that poſt debated in council. In ſhort, the malicious ſuggeſtions of Thoas the Ætolian, the effect of pure envy, made ſuch an impreſſion upon Antiochus, that he dropt the deſign, an immediate execution of which only could, at that juncture, have effectually embarraſſed the Romans. Some time after, the Carthaginians offered to ſupply the Romans with a million of buſhels of wheat, and five hundred thouſand buſhels of barley, as a free gift: they alſo propoſed to equip a fleet at their own expence for their ſervice; and to remit to Rome at once the remainder of the ſum impoſed upon them by the late treaty. The Romans gave their ambaſſadors a kind reception, and told them, that they ſhould only require from their principals the ſhips, which their late engagements obliged them to furniſh; that they would pay ready money for whatever ſupplies of corn they ſhould ſend; and that the ſum, due from Carthage, ſhould be paid in the manner ſtipulated by the laſt treaty. From this incident, we may form ſome ſort of an idea of the incredible induſtry of the Carthaginians, as well as of their ſurpriſing genius for trade.

Hannibal's advice to him.

Some time after, Antiochus found his affairs in ſuch a perplexed ſituation, that he was at a loſs what meaſures to purſue. In this emergency, his miniſters were obliged to have recourſe to Hannibal. That renowned general, forgetting the ill uſage he had received, appeared as much diſpoſed to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed prince with his advice, as he would have been capable, had his plan of operations taken place. He drew up a ſcheme, that would probably have extricated him out of all difficulties, had it been immediately put in execution: but though the ſpeech Hannibal made on this occaſion was received by the Syrian miniſtry with great applauſe, yet they ſtill continued deaf to all his ſalutary admonitions [u].

[t] Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 19. Polyb. lib. xv. & lib. iii. Sex. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. i. cap. 8. ex. 7. [u] Liv. ubi ſup. cap. 7.

After

Hannibal defeated in a sea engagement.

After Antiochus was forced to abandon Europe, by the victorious arms of the Romans, he retired to Ephesus. Here he, for some time, resided, without any apprehensions of danger, his flatterers persuading him, that the enemy never durst pursue him into Asia. Hannibal, being now in great esteem at that prince's court, thought it just to undeceive him in a point of such importance. In consequence of which, Antiochus made the necessary dispositions for his defence; but all his efforts proved unsuccessful. Even his fleet, under the conduct of the great Hannibal himself, was defeated by that of the Rhodians, commanded by Eudamus, off Sida, on the coast of Pamphylia, and miserably shattered. However, the Rhodians suffered extremely in the action. The ill success of this engagement was entirely owing to the cowardice of Apollonius, one of Antiochus's admirals, who fled, with the squadron he commanded, almost in the beginning of the fight. Notwithstanding which unfavourable incident, Hannibal made an excellent retreat, the enemy being scarce in a condition to pursue him. However, the Rhodians detaching Chariclitus with twenty beaked ships to Patara, and Megiste, a small island, with a commodious port, in the sea of Lycia, prevented the junction of Hannibal's gallies with the other divisions of the Syrian squadron. In short, after a series of misfortunes, Antiochus found himself obliged to send Zeusis, the governor of Lydia, and his son Antipater, to the Roman camp, in order to procure a peace upon any terms. The article chiefly insisted upon was, that Hannibal should be delivered up to the Romans; with which Antiochus was forced to comply. Hannibal, foreseeing what would happen, had retired to the island of Crete. It appears from Scipio Nasica's speech in Livy, that Hannibal was a general in the Syrian army at the battle of Magnesia; from whence, as well as from other circumstances, we have reason to believe, that he was present in all the principal actions that happened between the Romans and Antiochus.

Hannibal is obliged to fly to Crete;

Hannibal, upon his arrival in Crete, took sanctuary amongst the Gortynii; but having brought great treasure with him, and considering the avarice of the Cretans, he judged it would be proper to have recourse to stratagem, in order to secure himself; especially as he had reason to apprehend, that the Cretans were informed of the riches he brought with him. He therefore filled several vessels with molten lead, just covering them over with gold and silver; which he deposited in the temple of Diana, in the presence of the Gortynii, with whom he said he trusted all his treasure. Justin affirms, that he left this deposit as a security for

for his good behaviour, and lived for some time very quietly in those parts. However, he concealed his riches in hollow statues of brass, which, according to some, he always carried along with him, or, as others assert, exposed to view in a place of public resort as things of little value. At last he retired to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, with whom he found means to unite several neighbouring princes and states, and so formed a powerful confederacy against Eumenus, king of Pergamus, a professed friend to the Romans. A rupture soon commenced, which was followed by a great effusion of blood on both sides. During this war, Hannibal is said to have given Eumenes several defeats, and reduced him to great difficulties, more by force of genius, and dint of conduct, than superiority of strength [w].

and afterwards to Prusias, king of Bithynia.

The Romans, receiving intelligence of the important services Hannibal had done Prusias, and of the influence he had at that prince's court, sent T. Quintius Flaminius thither as their ambassador. Flaminius, at his first audience, complained of the protection Prusias gave Hannibal, representing that general as the most inveterate and implacable enemy the Romans ever had; as one who had ruined both his own country and Antiochus, by drawing them into a destructive war with Rome. Prusias, in order to ingratiate himself with the Romans, immediately sent a party of soldiers to surround Hannibal's house, that he might find it impossible to make his escape. The Carthaginian, having before discovered that no confidence was to be reposed in Prusias, had contrived seven secret passages from his house, to evade the machinations of his enemies: but guards being posted on these, he could not fly, though, according to Livy, he attempted it. Perceiving therefore no possibility of escaping, he had recourse to poison, which he had long reserved for this melancholy occasion. This taking in his hand, "Let us (said he), deliver the Romans from the disquietude with which they have long been tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. Flaminius will not acquire any reputation or glory by a victory gained over a betrayed and defenceless person. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the degeneracy of the Romans. Their ancestors gave Pyrrhus intelligence of a design to poison him, that he might guard against the impending danger, even when he was at the head of a powerful army in Italy; but they have deputed a person of con-

And poisons himself, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans.

[w] Corn. Nep. in Hannib. cap. 9, 10. Justin. lib. xxxii. cap. 4. Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 51. Georg. Syncel. in Chron. p. 285. Valer. Max. lib. iii. cap. 7.

sular

ſular dignity to excite Pruſias impiouſly to murder one, who has taken refuge in his dominions, in violation of the laws of hoſpitality." Then he denounced dreadful imprecations againſt Pruſias, and his kingdom, and invoked the gods preſiding over the ſacred rites of hoſpitality; after which, drinking off the poiſon he had prepared, he expired, at ſeventy years of age. Cornelius Nepos intimates, that Hannibal deſtroyed himſelf by a ſubtle poiſon, which he carried about with him in a ring for that purpoſe. Plutarch relates, that, according to ſome writers, he ordered a ſervant to ſtrangle him with a cloak wrapped about his neck; and others maintain, that in imitation of Midas and Themiſtocles, he drank bull's blood [x]. Thus died Hannibal, one of the greateſt generals and politicians that any age ever produced.

Diſputes between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa.

It has been already obſerved, that by one of the articles of the late treaty, the Carthaginians were to reſtore to Maſiniſſa all the territories and cities he poſſeſſed before the beginning of the war. To theſe Scipio annexed part of Syphax's dominions, in order to reward Maſiniſſa's zeal and affection for the Romans on all occaſions, ſince the commencement of his alliance with them. After Hannibal's flight to Antiochus, and Ariſto's eſcape, the Romans began to regard the Carthaginians with a ſuſpicious eye, though, to prevent all diſtruſt, the latter of theſe ſtates had ordered two ſhips to purſue Hannibal, confiſcated his effects, raſed his houſe, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. It was agreed likewiſe to notify to the Romans Ariſto's commiſſion, as well as eſcape, in order to ſhew their diſapprobation of Hannibal's deſign, by the deputies they diſpatched to Rome, to complain of Maſiniſſa's unjuſt pretenſions. This prince, knowing that Carthage was miſerably rent by factions, and upon but very indifferent terms with the Romans, ſeized upon part of a maritime territory which was extremely rich and fruitful, ſituated near the Leſſer Syrtis, called Emporia. Both ſides ſent ambaſſadors to Rome on this occaſion, to ſupport the titles of their reſpective maſters to the diſtrict in diſpute. The conſcript fathers thought proper to authorize Scipio Africanus, C. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Minutius Rufus, to examine into the controverſy upon the ſpot. However, they returned without coming to any reſolution, leaving the buſineſs in the ſame uncertain ſtate in which they found it. Whether the commiſſioners acted in this manner by order of the ſenate,

[x] Liv. ubi ſup. & cap. 65. Plut. in Flamin. Corn. Nep. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Zonar. ubi ſupra, cap. 21.

is not ſo certain, as that the intereſt of the Romans rendered a perfect harmony betwixt the contending parties then improper; for otherwiſe Scipio, who had deſerved ſo well of both of them, could by his own authority have determined the diſpute [y].

The Romans accommodate the differences between them.

Maſiniſſa, not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of the diſtrict he had ſo unjuſtly uſurped, over-ran a province which his father Gala had taken from the Carthaginians, and Syphax from him, but now it had returned to its former maſters, through the charms and endearments of Sophoniſba. The Carthaginian deputies pleaded the cauſe of their principals, and Maſiniſſa diſplayed his pretenſions before the Roman commiſſioners with great warmth. The Carthaginians reclaimed this territory, as having originally belonged to their anceſtors, and afterwards been reſtored by Syphax. On the other hand, Maſiniſſa inſiſted, that it was formerly part of his father's kingdom; that in conſequence of this title he had taken poſſeſſion of it; and that his pretenſions were ſo indubitable, that he only feared leſt the modeſty of the Romans, which might render them fearful of indulging a friend and ally in his juſt claims upon their common enemy, ſhould prove prejudicial to his intereſts. The commiſſioners, in conformity to the diſpoſition of their republic, referred this diſpute, which happened ten years after the former, to the deciſion of the ſenate, and conſequently left it undetermined. However, in the conſulate of L. Æmilius Paulus, and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus, the Romans effected an accommodation betwixt Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians, confirming the former in the poſſeſſion of his unjuſt acquiſitions, and reſtoring to the latter the hoſtages they had till that time detained [z].

Maſiniſſa endeavours to embroil the Carthaginians with the Romans.

Maſiniſſa, graſping at farther conqueſts, endeavoured ſoon after to embroil the Carthaginians with the Romans: for this purpoſe he concerted meaſures with the Roman ambaſſadors in Africa, to prejudice the conſcript fathers againſt them. The latter did not ſcruple to affirm, that to their certain knowlege Perſeus, king of Macedon, with whom the Romans then were upon the verge of a war, had privately ſent ambaſſadors to Carthage, to negociate an alliance with that ſtate; and that the ſenate was aſſembled by night in the temple of Æſculapius, to confer with them; whilſt the former, in as poſitive a manner aſſerted, that the Car-

[y] Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. 118. Liv. lib. xxxiv. cap. 61. Appian. in Libyc. [z] Liv. lib. xl. cap. 17. & cap. 34. Vide & Appian. ubi ſupra.

thaginians

thaginians had diſpatched miniſters to Perſeus, to conclude a treaty with that monarch [a].

Yr. of Fl. 2186. Ante Chr. 162.

And makes an irruption into the province of Tyſca.

Not long after this diſpute, Maſiniſſa made an irruption into the province of Tyſca, where he ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of above ſeventy towns and caſtles. Theſe hoſtilities obliged the Carthaginians to apply, with great importunity, to the Roman ſenate for redreſs, their hands being ſo tied up by an article of the laſt treaty, that they could not repel force by force in caſe of invaſion, without the conſent of the Romans. The Carthaginian miniſters at Rome repreſented the miſerable condition of their republic in the moſt moving terms. They declared, that Maſiniſſa was entirely deſtitute of honour; that without the interpoſition of that auguſt aſſembly, to whom they then addreſſed themſelves, no limits could be preſcribed to his cruelty, inſolence, avarice, and ambition. They therefore implored the conſcript fathers, either to determine the point in debate betwixt their principals and Maſiniſſa, or to ſuffer the former to diſlodge the latter from his conqueſts by force of arms; or laſtly, if they were reſolved to ſupport the Numidian in all his unjuſt pretenſions, to ſpecify, once for all, what territories the Carthaginians were to cede to him, that they might know hereafter what they had to depend upon. To this remonſtrance they ſubjoined, that if the Carthaginians had incurred the diſpleaſure of the Romans in any point inadvertently ſince the concluſion of the laſt peace, they begged they would puniſh them for the offence, and not leave them expoſed to the inſults and vexations of Maſiniſſa, ſince they preferred an utter extinction to the barbarities and depredations they were forced to ſuffer from ſo mercileſs a tyrant. Then proſtrating themſelves upon the earth, they burſt into tears; which making a deep impreſſion upon the ſenate in their favour, Guluſſa, Maſiniſſa's ſon, being then preſent, and called upon to vindicate his father's conduct, replied in terms to the following effect: that he had received no inſtructions from his father how to act in the preſent emergency, ſince it could not be foreſeen that any thing would be laid to his charge: that the Carthaginians had held ſeveral clandeſtine meetings by night in the temple of Æſculapius, the object of which conſultations was kept ſecret from him, after which deputies were diſpatched to Rome: that the ſole deſign of his father's ſending him to Rome was, to entreat the ſenate not to pay any regard to the inſinuations of the common enemy againſt him, ſince

[a] Liv. lib. xli. cap. 22.

the

the implacable hatred they bore him was occaſioned by the inviolable fidelity with which he had ſo long been attached to the Romans. The ſenate, after hearing both ſides, anſwered, that it would be proper for Guluſſa to ſet out immediately for Numidia, in order to acquaint his father with the complaints of the Carthaginians: that he ought to ſend deputies to Rome, to remove all difficulties which obſtructed an accommodation between him and them: that they would continue to ſerve him as they had hitherto done, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians: that it was but juſt the ancient limits ſhould be preſerved: that the Carthaginians ought to be maintained in the poſſeſſion of thoſe territories which the late treaty had allotted them. The deputies of both powers were then diſmiſſed with the uſual preſents. The Romans declined being more peremptory with Maſiniſſa, in hopes of receiving ſuccours from him in the Macedonian war, which they were juſt going to commence. The Numidian anſwered their expectations; for he not only ſupplied them with corn, but likewiſe was upon the point of ſending a body of troops, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe, and as many foot, with twenty-two elephants, under the command of his ſon Miſagenes, to their aſſiſtance [b].

The vile behaviour of the Romans to the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians, notwithſtanding the lamentable ſlavery under which they groaned, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, who acquainted the ſenate, that their ſtate would immediately tranſport a million buſhels of wheat, and five hundred thouſand buſhels of barley, into any part of the world, for the uſe of the Romans. That they were ſenſible ſuch a ſupply was not proportioned to thoſe happy effects of the Roman generoſity and goodneſs, which their principals had ſo long experienced, neither did it come up to their inclinations; but that they hoped it would be conſidered, by way of atonement for this defect, that, during the proſperity of both republics, in former times, they had given frequent inſtances of their being true and faithful allies. Maſiniſſa's ambaſſadors not only offered the ſame quantity of corn, but likewiſe to reinforce the Roman army with another body of twelve hundred horſe, attended by twelve more elephants, and to obey all the ſenate's commands with the utmoſt alacrity. But notwithſtanding all theſe offers, the ſenate protracted the affair, and would not allow their deputies to act deciſively in adjuſting the differences betwixt Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians, becauſe

[b] Liv. lib. xlii. cap. 23, 24, & cap. 29. Appian. in Libyc. p. 37.

they knew it was their intereſt to keep thoſe two powers at perpetual variance.

Cato bears an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians.

Whatever deſigns the Romans might have formed, they affected to ſhew a great regard to the principles of juſtice and honour. They therefore ſent Cato, to accommodate all differences betwixt Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians. The latter very well knew what their fate would be, ſhould they ſubmit to ſuch a mediation, and therefore appealed to the treaty concluded by Scipio, as the only rule, by which both their conduct, and that of their adverſary, ought to be examined. This appeal ſo incenſed the rigorous Cato, that he pronounced them a devoted people. As the intention of that noted republican was not ſo much to promote the obſervation or concluſion of treaties, as to widen breaches, diſcover the ſtrength and condition of Carthage, which was then very flouriſhing, notwithſtanding the adverſities it had ſuſtained, and gratify the Roman ambition, it is not ſo ſtrange that he ſhould, even in the moſt virulent manner, preſs the ſenate, after his return, to deſtroy that city [c].

Maſiniſſa defeats the Carthaginians.

Carthage had for ſome years been miſerably rent by three potent factions. That devoted to the Romans was headed by Hanno, a deſcendant of the perſon who ruined his country by not ſupporting Hannibal; that in the intereſt of Maſiniſſa, by Hannibal, ſurnamed Paſſer; and that formed of the populace by Hamilcar, ſurnamed Sannis, and Carthalo: but lately, two powerful parties had ſtruggled for the dominion of the city, one of which, called the popular faction, prevailed over the other, compoſed of the grandees, and their adherents, and expelled forty of the ſenators. They retired to the court of Maſiniſſa, to excite him to a war with the Carthaginians, who ſent Guluſſa and Micipſa, two of his ſons, to Carthage, to ſolicit their return. However, the gates were ſhut at their approach, leſt the people, moved by the tears of thoſe related to the exiles, ſhould grant their requeſt. Nay, Hamilcar, ſurnamed Sannis, one of the Carthaginian generals, cloſely purſued Guluſſa, and cut off ſome of his retinue. This outrage occaſioning a freſh rupture, Maſiniſſa beſieged Oroſcopa, in violation of the laſt treaty. Aſdrubal, another Carthaginian general, advanced to the relief of Oroſcopa, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, and was immediately joined by a body of ſix thouſand men, under the conduct of Aſaſis and Suba, two Numidian captains, who deſerted from Maſiniſſa. Animated by this acceſſion of

[c] Liv. in Epit. 47, 48. 49. Appian. ubi ſupra, cap. 38. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 15.

ſtrength,

ſtrength, Aſdrubal approached the Numidian, and ſkirmiſhed ſucceſsfully with ſome of the advanced guards. Maſiniſſa, obſerving the eagerneſs of the Carthaginian, retired before him, pretending to be afraid of his ſuperior force, and inſenſibly drew him into a large and deſolate plain, ſurrounded with precipices. Aſdrubal, finding himſelf thus decoyed, poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral eminences, and prepared for an engagement; which immediately enſuing, and ending in favour of Maſiniſſa, the Carthaginians ſued for peace. In order to terminate their conteſts with that prince, the Carthaginians offered to cede the territory of Emporia, to pay down two hundred talents of ſilver, and remit eight hundred more at a ſtipulated time; but Maſiniſſa inſiſting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any deciſion. It is obſervable, that the Roman deputies, who arrived in the Numidian camp ſoon after the engagement, had orders to inſiſt upon a peace, in caſe the Carthaginians ſhould defeat Maſiniſſa; but to aſſure that prince of the continuance of their friendſhip, and puſh him on to the war, in caſe he ſhould be victorious. In what manner, through the vindictive diſpoſition of Guluſſa, and the breaking out of the plague amongſt them, the Carthaginian forces were almoſt totally deſtroyed, our readers will find in a former part of this work, to which we muſt alſo beg leave to refer them for the particulars of this action [d].

Cato prevails upon the Roman ſenate to declare war againſt Carthage.

After Carthage had rejected the mediation of the Romans, Cato made his utmoſt efforts to prevail upon the conſcript fathers to deſtroy that city; but Scipio Naſica, having a ſuperior influence in the ſenate, had hitherto, notwithſtanding the provocation he met with from the Carthaginians, prevented a rupture. However, the people of Carthage, knowing the Romans to be their inveterate enemies, and reflecting upon the iniquitous treatment they had received from them ever ſince the commencement of their diſputes with Maſiniſſa, were under great apprehenſions of a new war. To prevent this rupture, if poſſible, by a decree of the ſenate, they impeached Aſdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their accomplices, as guilty of high treaſon, for commencing hoſtilities againſt the king of Numidia. They ſent a deputation to Rome, to diſcover what ſentiments were entertained of their late conduct, and to know what ſatisfaction the Romans required. Theſe miniſters meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were diſpatched, who returned with the ſame ſucceſs. This treat-

[d] Liv. in Epit. xlviii. Appian. ubi ſupra.

ment made the unhappy citizens of Carthage believe their deſtruction was reſolved upon, and threw them into the utmoſt deſpair: and indeed they had but too juſt grounds for ſuch a melancholy apprehenſion, the Roman ſenate now diſcovering an inclination to adopt Cato's meaſures. It is aſſerted, that, in order to excite the conſcript fathers to a vigorous reſolution againſt the Carthaginians, that incendiary, after one of his moſt virulent ſpeeches, threw out of the lappet of his robe, in the midſt of the ſenate, ſome African figs, whoſe ſize and beauty being admired by the ſenators, "Know (ſaid he), that it is but three days ſince theſe figs were gathered; ſuch is the diſtance between the enemy and us." About the ſame time the city of Utica, being the ſecond in Africa, and famous for its immenſe riches, as well as its equally capacious and commodious port, ſubmitted to the Romans. As the poſſeſſion of ſuch an important fortreſs, which, by its vicinity to Carthage, might ſerve as a place of arms in the attack of that city, enabled the Romans to put the deſign they had been ſo long meditating in execution, immediately after this event, they declared war againſt the Carthaginians, without the leaſt heſitation. In conſequence of which declaration, the conſuls M. Manilius Nepos and L. Marcius Cenſorinus were diſpatched with an army and a fleet, to begin hoſtilities with the utmoſt expedition. The land-forces, deſtined to act againſt the Carthaginians, conſiſted of eighty thouſand foot, and four thouſand choſen horſe; and the fleet of fifty quinqueremes, beſides a vaſt number of tranſports. The conſuls had ſecret orders from the ſenate not to conclude the operations but by the deſtruction of Carthage, without which, the republic pretended, ſhe could not but conſider all her poſſeſſions as inſecure and precarious. Purſuant to the plan they had formed, they landed the troops firſt at Lilybæum in Sicily, from whence, after receiving a proper refreſhment, it was propoſed to tranſport them to Utica [c].

Yr. of Fl. 2199. Ante Chr. 149.

The anſwer brought by the laſt ambaſſadors to Carthage had terribly alarmed the inhabitants of that city: but they were not yet acquainted with the reſolutions taken at Rome. They therefore ſent freſh ambaſſadors, whom they inveſted with full powers to act as they ſhould think fit for the good of the republic, and even to ſubmit, without reſerve, to the pleaſure of the Romans: but the moſt ſenſible perſons amongſt them did not expect any great ſucceſs from this negociation, ſince the ſubmiſſion of the Uticans had rendered it infinitely leſs meritorious than it would have been

The Romans demand three hundred hoſtages of the Carthaginians;

[c] Liv. Appian. Plut. ubi ſupra. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 26. Plin. lib. xv. cap. 18. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 5.

before

before. However, the Romans ſeemed to be, in ſome meaſure, appeaſed, ſince they promiſed them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and, in ſhort, every thing that was dear and valuable to them. This condeſcenſion threw them into a tranſport of joy, and they wanted words to extol the moderation of the Romans: but the conſcript fathers immediately deſtroyed all their hopes, by declaring the next inſtant, that this favour was granted them upon condition, that they would ſend three hundred young Carthaginians of the firſt diſtinction to the prætor Fabius at Lilybæum, within the ſpace of thirty days, and comply with all the orders of the conſuls. Giſco, ſurnamed Strytanus, Hamilcar, Miſdes, Gillicas, and Mago (for ſo were the ambaſſadors called) durſt not make the leaſt remonſtrance againſt the ſeverity of theſe conditions, but immediately departed for Carthage, to impart them to the ſenate. That aſſembly was filled with inexpreſſible concern, upon hearing the article relating to the hoſtages, which were conſidered as the flower, and the only hopes, of the nobleſt families in Carthage. They found themſelves likewiſe extremely perplexed at the ſilence of the Romans with reſpect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the conceſſions they ſeemed willing to make, and at the vague expreſſion of ſubmitting to all the orders of the conſuls. However, being abſolutely incapable of coping with ſo formidable an enemy, and, at that juncture, in want of almoſt every thing, Mago Bretius, in a noble and eloquent ſpeech, exhorted them, for the preſent, to obey. No ſcene can be conceived more moving, than that exhibited by Carthage, when the hoſtages were given up: nothing was to be ſeen but tears, all parts, at the ſame time, echoing with groans and lamentations: but, above all, the unhappy mothers afforded a moſt mournful ſpectacle, burſting into tears, tearing their diſhevelled hair, beating their breaſts, and exclaiming in ſuch a manner, as might have moved the moſt ſavage hearts to compaſſion. When the fatal moment of ſeparation was come, they accompanied their children to the ſhip, bid them a long, laſt farewel, perſuaded that they ſhould never ſee them more, embraced them with the utmoſt tenderneſs, claſped them cloſely in their arms, and could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away by the ſailors: nay, many of them ſwam a long time after the ſhip, fixing their eyes immoveably upon it. As the ambaſſadors delivered them to the conſuls, and they to Fabius at Lilybæum, before the thirty days were expired, they were not entirely without hopes of ſoftening their obdurate enemy: but the conſuls only told them, that, upon

their arrival at Utica, they ſhould learn the farther orders of the republic [f].

and oblige them to deliver up all their arms.

Thoſe miniſters no ſooner received intelligence of the Roman fleet's appearing off Utica, than they repaired thither, in order to know the fate of their city. The conſuls however did not judge it expedient to communicate all the commands of their republic at once, leſt they ſhould appear ſo harſh and ſevere, that the Carthaginians would have refuſed a compliance with them. They firſt, therefore, demanded a ſufficient ſupply of corn for the ſubſiſtence of their troops: ſecondly, that they ſhould ſurrender all the triremes they were then maſters of; thirdly, that they ſhould put them in poſſeſſion of all their military machines: and, fourthly, that they ſhould immediately convey all their arms into the Roman camp. As care was taken, that there ſhould be a certain interval of time betwixt each of theſe demands, the Carthaginians found themſelves enſnared, and could not reject any one of them, though they ſubmitted to the laſt, with the utmoſt reluctance and concern.

The Romans command the Carthaginians to abandon their city.

Cenſorinus, now imagining the Carthaginians incapable of ſuſtaining a ſiege, commanded them to abandon their city; permitting them, however, to build another eighty ſtadia from the ſea, but without walls or fortifications. Both the ambaſſadors, before whom this fulminating decree was pronounced, and the people of Carthage, when appriſed of it, by their geſtures and complaints, demonſtrated the greateſt emotions of grief on this tragical occaſion: but the Romans remained inflexible, not ſhewing the leaſt regard to the tears and entreaties of a people reduced to the extremity of deſpair. The ambaſſadors, at one time, ſupplicated the gods with the greateſt fervor, as well as endeavoured, by all poſſible means, to excite the compaſſion of the Romans; and at another, they appealed to the avenging deities, whoſe eyes are ever open to fraud and villany. The ſenators and people, for ſome time, entirely abandoned themſelves to deſpair; which was heightened by the frantic diſpoſition of the women, whoſe children had been ſent to Rome. In ſhort, Carthage was nothing now but a ſcene of horror, madneſs, and confuſion. The citizens curſed their anceſtors for not dying glorioufly in the defence of their country, rather than concluding ſuch ignominious treaties of peace with their implacable enemies, which had been the cauſe of the deplorable condition, to which their poſterity was reduced. They likewiſe condemned themſelves in the

[f] Polyb. lib. xxxiii. in Excerpt. Legat. 142. Liv. in Epit. xlix. Appian. & Flor. ubi ſupra. Eutrop. lib. iv. cap. 10. Zonar. ubi ſupra, cap. 26.

ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt terms, for having ſo tamely, as well as ſtupidly, delivered up their arms, and even blaſphemouſly taxed the gods themſelves with being the authors of all their misfortunes. However, nothing could make an impreſſion upon the Romans in their favour: but as, in a former part of our hiſtory, we have expatiated largely upon this head, we ſhall only obſerve, that, when the firſt tranſports of grief were over, and their paſſions began to ſubſide, they unanimouſly reſolved to die upon the ſpot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the Romans; and, in conſequence of this reſolution, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the defence of their capital city [c].

The operations of the Romans againſt Carthage.

The conduct of the Romans upon this occaſion, deſerves to be ſtigmatized by every hiſtorian, as infamouſly cruel and perfidious. The Carthaginians, having pacified Aſdrubal, one of their generals, who, for ſome contemptuous treatment, had advanced, at the head of twenty thouſand men, almoſt to the gates of Carthage, in order to beſiege it, reduced moſt of the open country to their obedience. Aſdrubal, with his forces, poſted himſelf advantageouſly before the town, ſupplying the inhabitants daily with vaſt quantities of proviſions. At laſt the Roman army inveſted it, not doubting but it would fall an eaſy prey. Manilius attacked it by land, as Marcius did by ſea; and both of them puſhed on the ſiege with all imaginable vigour: but Aſdrubal greatly retarded their approaches, cutting off their parties ſent to collect materials for framing the military machines; by drawing them inſenſibly into ambuſcades prepared for that purpoſe. Manilius therefore could make no conſiderable impreſſion on the city by land; and as Marcius, with the fleet, lay near the ſtagnum or great moraſs, the exhalations proceeding from thence, together with the heat of the ſeaſon, infected the air, and carried off great numbers of his men. The garriſon likewiſe repulſed the Romans in every attack they made, with great loſs, and, by their vigorous ſallies in the night, deſtroyed moſt of their works and battering-engines. Aſdrubal alſo, by his detachments, prevented their excurſions, and intercepted their foragers; ſo that their cavalry was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. A miſunderſtanding betwixt Maſiniſſa and the Romans hindered the junction of their forces; ſo that the conſuls reaped no advantage from the troops of that ally. They therefore judged it expedient, at preſent, to withdraw from before the town. Marcius, with the fleet, endeavoured to ravage the coaſts of Africa; but not being able to execute his de-

[c] Idem ibid. Flor. ubi ſupra. Paul. Oroſ. lib. iv. cap. 22.

ſign, he attacked the iſland Ægimurus, which ſurrendered. In the mean time Manilius advanced towards the ſea-coaſts, to favour the operations of Marcius; but finding him not in a capacity to undertake any thing, he returned to his former camp before the walls of Carthage, having been harraſſed in his march by Himilco, ſurnamed Fabeas, or, according to Appian, Phameas, general of the Carthaginian horſe. However, the ſiege proceeded very ſlowly, Aſdrubal cloſely attending him, and deſtroying great numbers of his men on one ſide, whilſt the beſieged made an equal havock on the other, by their continual ſallies. The Romans were only in poſſeſſion of Saxus, Leptis, Cholla, and Utica; ſo that they were much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. We are told by Appian, that Cenſorinus played one vaſt ram againſt the walls with ſix thouſand foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers, whoſe officers attended, doing their duty as if in an engagement. However, though a great breach was made, he could not ſtorm the place, the Carthaginians, after having repulſed him, repairing it in the night. In what manner the Carthaginians afterwards burnt the Roman fleet, and Scipio Æmilianus ſaved the Roman army, when it was upon the very brink of deſtruction, may be learnt from Appian, as well as a former part of this work [h].

In the mean time Maſiniſſa, drawing near his end, diſpatched a courier to Æmilianus, to deſire he would ſuperintend the diviſion of the dominions among his three ſons, Micipſa, Guluſſa, and Maſtanabal, as well as aſſiſt them with his advice. This office Scipio executed in the moſt prudent and equitable manner, as we ſhall ſee in the Numidian hiſtory. Mean while, Manilius reduced the ſtrong city of Tezaga, where he defeated the enemy, putting twelve thouſand to the ſword, and taking ſix thouſand priſoners. Some other places of ſtrength he likewiſe reduced before the concluſion of the campaign [i].

Phameas deſerts the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians, about this time, ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by the deſertion of Phameas, one of their beſt commanders, who joined the Romans, after having had an interview with Æmilianus, at the head of a body of two thouſand two hundred horſe. As he was an officer of great capacity, he did not a little contribute to the deſtruction of Carthage.

The Carthaginians obtain ſome advantages over the Romans.

Next campaign, the conſul Calpurnius Piſo, and his lieutenant Mancinus, conducted the war in Africa. The Car-

[h] Liv. Appian. Flor. Plut. Aurel. Vict. de Vir. Illuſtr. 58. Eutrop. Oroſ. Zonar. ubi ſupra. [i] Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 175. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 2.

thaginians,

thaginians were so formidable this year, that they obtained several advantages over the Romans, and, towards the close of the campaign, obliged them to raise the siege of Hippo Zaritus, which they had carried on the whole summer, after having burnt all their military machines. The siege of Carthage for the present seemed to be at a stand. The besieged applied to Andriscus, who pretended to be the son of Perseus king of Macedon, for assistance, or at least for a diversion in their favour, by pursuing the war he was then engaged in against the Romans with vigour. In order the more strongly to excite him to this measure, they promised him powerful supplies both of money and ships. However, they received no assistance from that quarter.

Bithyas, with a body of Numidian horse, comes over to the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginian army, having been reinforced in the preceding year with a body of eight hundred Numidian horse, whose leader Bithyas had prevailed upon them to desert Guluſſa, and the accession of some other troops from Carthage, began to move very early out of winter-quarters. As it had been observed, that neither Micipsa nor Mastanabal, Masiniſſa's other sons, had sent any supplies to the enemy, either of money or arms, notwithstanding they had, for a long time past, promised them assistance, the Carthaginians resumed their former courage, scoured the open country, and put all their places of strength in the best posture of defence. The advantages they had gained at Nepheris and Hippo, and the enemy's inability to push on the siege of Carthage, though the city was, in a manner, dismantled, and the inhabitants disarmed, inspired them with a resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity. They sent ambassadors to Micipsa, Mastanabal, and the independent Mauritanian princes, in order to form a powerful alliance against the Romans, insinuating, that, should the African republic be once subverted by that haughty people, they must soon expect to meet with the same fate. Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general without the town, about this time, ambitious of having the command of the troops within the city, possessed by another Asdrubal, Guluſſa's nephew, accused him falsly of a design to betray the republic into that prince's hands. The innocent person was so thunderstruck with the accusation, that he had nothing to offer in his own defence; so that he was instantly dispatched upon the spot, without any farther process [k].

Æmilianus takes Megara;

Soon after this transaction Piso, with a body of troops, reduced some of the inland towns, leaving Mancinus, with the other part of the army, to continue the siege of Carthage.

[k] Appian. ubi sup. Liv. epit. l. Zonar. ubi sup. cap. 30.

Mancinus,

Mancinus, obſerving one part of the wall, which from its rocky ſituation ſeemed inacceſſible, not guarded, found means to ſcale it, and take poſt in the town, with three thouſand five hundred men; but the Carthaginians not only prevented any ill conſequences from this lodgment, but likewiſe cut off his retreat, and he muſt either have been deſtroyed or ſtarved to a ſurrender, had not Æmilianus in the critical moment advanced to his relief. The Carthaginians immediately abandoned ſeveral poſts; a circumſtance which encouraged Æmilianus to make an attack upon Megara, a part of the city which our readers will find already deſcribed. This was begun at midnight by a ſelect body of troops, who had provided themſelves with axes, levers, and ſcaling-ladders, conducted by the general himſelf. They advanced ſeveral ſtadia without the leaſt noiſe, but at laſt gave a ſudden and general ſhout, which ſtruck the enemy, who did not expect a viſit at ſo unſeaſonable an hour, with terror. However, recovering themſelves, they oppoſed the aſſailants with ſuch bravery, that Æmilianus found it impoſſible to mount the ramparts; but at laſt perceiving a tower very near the walls, and of an equal height with them, without the city, abandoned by its guards, he detached thither a party of choice troops, who, by the help of pontons, made a lodgment on the walls, from whence, deſcending into Megara, they immediately broke down the gates. Æmilianus then entering with four thouſand of the flower of his troops, the enemy found themſelves obliged to retreat to Byrſa, in as great conſternation as if the whole city had been taken, followed even by the forces that were encamped without the town. Aſdrubal, finding next morning what had happened, was extremely chagrined, and, either to gratify his reſentment, or to reduce the beſieged to a ſtate of deſperation, that they might behave with a greater degree of reſolution in the defence of the place, maſſacred all the Roman priſoners he had taken in the manner we have already related[1].

and fortifies his camp.

Whilſt Aſdrubal was thus venting his fury upon the Roman captives, and even murdering many Carthaginian ſenators who oppoſed his tyranny, Æmilianus was employed in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation croſs the iſthmus, which joined the peninſula whereon Carthage ſtood, to the continent of Africa. That part of theſe lines which fronted the city of Carthage, was ſtrengthened by a wall twenty-five ſtadia long, and twelve feet high, flanked at proper diſtances with towers and redoubts; and on the

[1] Polyb. in Excerptis Valeſii, p. 179. Appian. & Zonar. ubi ſup.

middle

middle tower was erected a very high wooden fort, which overlooked the city. The enemy made their utmoſt efforts to impede the work; but as the whole army was employed upon it day and night without intermiſſion, it was finiſhed in twenty-four days. The Carthaginians were doubly incommoded by this work; firſt, as it ſecured the Roman forces againſt their ſallies; and ſecondly, as Æmilianus thereby cut off all ſupplies of proviſion; a circumſtance which diſtreſſed them exceedingly. Bithyas indeed, who had been ordered to collect corn before Æmilianus made himſelf maſter of Megara, arrived ſoon after the conſul had perfected his lines, but he durſt not venture to attack them. However, he found means to convey by ſea ſome ſmall quantities to Aſdrubal, who diſtributed what he received amongſt his troops, without any regard to the inhabitants. That general ſeems to have been induced to this conduct by the oppoſition he received from the ſenators, who, being highly incenſed at his enormous cruelty to the Roman priſoners, as it precluded them from all hopes of mercy, and inſtead of encouraging, diſheartened the troops, cried out, that ſuch an unjuſtifiable proceeding was highly unſeaſonable at a juncture when they were ready to ſink under the preſſure of the public calamities. A famine therefore enſued, which contributed to the deſtruction of the city [m].

The Carthaginians again worſted.

The beſieged found themſelves already reduced to great diſtreſs; but the progreſs Æmilianus had lately made in an attempt to ſhut up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, that of the new one being already blocked up by the Roman fleet, afforded them a much more melancholy proſpect than any thing that had yet happened. Being extremely alarmed, they reſolved to take ſuch meaſures as might, if poſſible, defeat the enemy's deſign. Setting, therefore, all hands to work, with aſtoniſhing induſtry, they dug a new baſon, and opened a communication with the ſea, which enabled them to make head againſt the enemy once more upon that element. With the ſame diligence they equipped a fleet of fifty quinqueremes, with a vaſt number of other veſſels, built chiefly of the old materials found in their magazines. This amazing work was completed ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch an impenetrable ſecrecy, that Æmilianus entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it, till he ſaw their ſquadron appear at ſea. Then his ſurprize was ſo great, thinking it impoſſible that ſo weak an enemy ſhould in an inſtant become ſo formidable, that Appian believes the Carthaginians might have totally ruined the Roman fleet had they

[m] Idem ibid.

immediately

immediately attacked it. This ſeems to have been no unreaſonable ſuppoſition, becauſe, as no ſuch attempt was expected, and every man otherwiſe employed, the Carthaginians would have found the Roman veſſels deſtitute of rowers, ſoldiers, and officers. However, two days after, both parties came to action, and being greatly animated, the one by the hopes of preſerving every thing dear and valuable, the other of finiſhing a conqueſt which had coſt them ſuch an immenſe quantity of blood and treaſure, they exerted themſelves in an extraordinary manner. During the heat of the action, the Carthaginian brigantines, gliding along under the large Roman ſhips, broke to pieces many of their ſterns, rudders, and oars; and if at any time they found themſelves puſhed, they retreated with ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs, and returned immediately to the charge. The diſpute continued with equal ſucceſs till the evening, when the Carthaginians retired, not under any apprehenſion of the enemy's ſuperiority, but in order to renew the engagement with greater advantage early the next morning. Their lighter veſſels, being extremely ſwift and numerous, ſoon occupied the harbour, ſo that thoſe of a larger ſize were excluded, and obliged to take ſhelter under a very ſpacious terrace, which had been thrown up againſt the walls to unload goods, and on the ſide whereof a ſmall rampart had been raiſed during this war, to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing themſelves of it. Here the fight began again early the following day, with more vigour than ever, and continued till late at night; but at laſt, by the conduct and bravery of five gallies of Sida, the Carthaginians were obliged to retire, and ſeek ſhelter near the city. Next morning Æmilianus attacked the terrace; but was repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter by the beſieged, who burnt all his military machines. However, he afterwards carried it by aſſault, and having fortified it, ordered a wall to be built cloſe to thoſe of the city, and of equal height with them. When this was finiſhed, he commanded four thouſand men to mount it, and diſcharge ſhowers of darts and javelins upon the enemy, in order both to inſult and annoy them. As the troops on each ſide were upon a level, there was ſcarce a dart thrown but what did execution. The laſt action concluded the military operations of this campaign [m].

Lælius gives Diogenes a great overthrow.

In order the more effectually to cut off ſupplies of every kind from the beſieged, Æmilianus formed a deſign to reduce the places of ſtrength the Carthaginians ſtill held, particularly Nepheris. Here they had a numerous body of

[m] Idem ibid. & Liv. in epit. li, Flor. lib. ii. cap. 15.

forces

forces ſtrongly encamped, commanded by Diogenes, one of Aſdrubal's intimate friends, who, by means of the new baſon already mentioned, ſent continual convoys of proviſions to Carthage. The reduction of the other places he effected by detachments commanded by perſons that he could confide in; but that of the latter was accompliſhed by a body of troops under the conduct of Lælius, ſupported by Guluſſa's Numidian horſe. By the activity of theſe laſt, and the violence of the Numidian elephants, the whole Carthaginian army, conſiſting of eighty-four thouſand men, was either cut in pieces or taken priſoners, except four thouſand, who diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring villages. This diſaſter happened before Æmilianus reſumed the operations againſt the city of Carthage, and induced the Africans, who were kept in awe by Diogenes, to abandon the Carthaginians [a].

Æmilianus afterwards formed two attacks, one againſt Byrſa, and the other againſt the Cothon. Having poſſeſſed himſelf of the wall which ſurrounded the port or Cothon, he threw himſelf into the great ſquare of the city that was near it; but night not permitting him to penetrate farther, he ordered his ſoldiers to remain there till morning under arms. At break of day he received a reinforcement of four thouſand men from the camp, who, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their officers to the contrary, plundered the temple of Apollo, which was immenſely rich, and divided the booty amongſt themſelves, before they could be prevailed upon to advance againſt the enemy. Æmilianus being maſter of every part of the city but Byrſa or the citadel, attempted to force his way to this laſt with inexpreſſible bravery. The Carthaginians having been greatly weakened by a famine, inſomuch that they had been obliged to feed, for ſome time, upon human fleſh, and had ſcarce ſtrength to handle their arms, he, in ſix days, effected this purpoſe. However, in the conteſt he loſt a vaſt number of men, and gained his point with the utmoſt difficulty. Moſt of thoſe who had fled into Byrſa were ſo intimidated at the approach of the Roman army, that they ſurrendered upon the proconſul's granting them their lives. Aſdrubal, the commandant, ſoon after abandoned his troops, and put himſelf into the hands of the Romans. His wife could not ſurvive ſuch an inſtance of perfidiouſneſs, cowardice, and inhumanity; and therefore, with nine hundred Roman deſerters, to whom Æmilianus had denied mercy, committed herſelf, as well as her children, to the flames, that deſtroyed the

Yr. of Fl. 2202. Ante Chr. 146.

Æmilianus takes Byrſa and deſtroys Carthage.

[a] Liv. & Appian. ubi ſupra.

citadel

citadel and the famous temple of Æſculapius. This event put a period to the ſtate of Carthage, and conſequently to the diſpute for the empire of the world, which had continued, almoſt without intermiſſion, betwixt two of the moſt powerful republics to be found in hiſtory, for the ſpace of a hundred and eighteen years. Carthage, after this, was demoliſhed, in purſuance of the orders ſent by the conſcript fathers to the proconſul. The cities confederated with it were diſmantled, and thoſe that had declared for the Romans, rewarded. Africa Propria was alſo reduced to the form of a Roman province. But of theſe tranſactions, as well as of the cataſtrophe we are now upon, our readers will find a full and ample account in the Roman hiſtory °.

He carries off an immenſe quantity of plunder to Rome.

Thus fell Carthage, in the conſulate of C. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Mummius, about an hundred and forty-ſix years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra; a city, whoſe deſtruction ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an abandoned faction, compoſed of the moſt profligate part of its citizens, than to the power of its ambitious rival, however formidable it might at that time appear. The treaſure Æmilianus carried off, even after the city had been given up to the ſoldiers to be plundered, according to the Roman military law, was ſo immenſe, that it exceeded all belief, Pliny making it amount to four (D) millions

° Idem ibid. ut in Zonar. ubi ſup. Vide etiam Valer. Max. lib. iii. cap. 2. Oroſ. lib. iv. cap. 23. Flor. & Aurel. Vict. ubi ſupra. Eutrop. lib. iv. cap. 12.

(D) This was not the only treaſure Æmilianus met with now in Carthage. According to Salluſt, he preſerved from the flames ſeveral valuable libraries, which he preſented to the ſons of Micipſa. The works of all the moſt noted Phœnician and Punic authors were undoubtedly included in theſe collections, ſome of the principal of which, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were the following:

1. Dius, a celebrated Phœnician hiſtorian, a fragment of whoſe work, relating to the friendly intercourſe betwixt Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre, has been preſerved by Joſephus, in the eighth book of his antiquities, and the firſt of his treatiſe againſt Apion.

2. Eumachus, a Carthaginian writer, cited by Phlegon, who amongſt other things, related, that, whilſt the Carthaginians were drawing a line round Africa Propria, they diſcovered two human ſkeletons, depoſited in two coffins, of an enormous ſize. One of theſe, according to Phlegon, was twenty-three cubits long, and the other twenty-four. The age in which this author lived, has not been hitherto diſcovered.

3. Hieronymus Ægyptius, who, according to Freculphus Lexovienſis, a chronological hiſtorian, that lived near nine hundred

milions four hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds weight of ſilver. The Romans ordered it ſhould never be inhabited again, denouncing dreadful imprecations againſt thoſe, who, contrary to this prohibition, ſhould attempt to rebuild any part of it, eſpecially Byrſa and Megara. The Carthaginian priſoners, ſent to Rome, were diſtributed in the various provinces of Italy, as already related.

hundred years ago, wrote a hiſtory of Phœnicia. For a farther account of him, we muſt refer our readers to Voſſius.

4. Hiſtiæus Mileſius, a compiler of Phœnician hiſtory, mentioned by Joſephus, in the firſt book of his Jewiſh antiquities.

5. Hypſicrates, a native of Phœnicia, who compoſed a hiſtory of that country in the Phœnician language. A Greek tranſlation of this author, executed by Chætus, if not the original itſelf, was extant in the time of Tatian. He is likewiſe taken notice of by Euſebius, in the tenth book of his Præparatio Evangelica.

6. Iolaus, a compiler of Phœnician hiſtory, whoſe works were all loſt, except a few fragments, which ſeem entirely fabulous. From what Bochart, Geſner, and Voſſius, have related of him, the loſs of his performance is not greatly to be regretted.

7. Mochus or Moſchus, a Phœnician, who wrote the hiſtory of his own country in his mother-tongue. Chætus above mentioned tranſlated this piece into Greek. Joſephus, Tatian, and Athenæus, ſupply us with the ſhort account we have of him.

8. Moſchus Sidonius, a native of Sidon, who, according to Strabo, ſeems to have been the founder of the atomical philoſophy.

9. Procles, a Carthaginian hiſtorian, ſome of whoſe fragments have been preſerved by Pauſanias.

10. Sanchoniatho, a Phœnician hiſtorian, who, according to the moſt received opinion, lived a little before the ſiege of Troy. He extracted his hiſtory, which was written in the Phœnician language, partly from the records of cities, and partly from the ſacred writings depoſited in temples. Philo of Byblus, who, according to Suidas, lived in the reign of Hadrian, tranſlated this hiſtory into Greek, ſome extracts of which we find in the firſt book of Euſebius's Præparatio Evangelica. Suidas informs us, that he wrote one treatiſe of the religious inſtitutions of the Phœnicians; another of Hermes's phyſiology; and a third of the Egyptian theology.

11. Theodotus, a writer of Phœnician hiſtory, whoſe performance Chætus tranſlated into Greek. Our readers will find every thing relating to him in Bochart and Voſſius (1).

(1) Strab. lib. xvi. & alib. Joſeph. Antiq. & Cont. Apion. paſſ. Euſeb. in Præp. Evang. paſſ. Heſtiæus Mileſius apud Joſeph. in Antiq. Judaic. lib. iii. Phlegon. Trallian. de Reb. Mirabil. cap. 18. Athen. Deipnoſoph. lib. iii. iv. & alib. Tatian. in Orat. adverſ. Gent. Voſſ. de Art. Hiſtor. cap. 7. & de Hiſt. Græc. lib. iii. Geſn. in Biblioth. & Bochart. in Chan.

About

Carthage afterwards rebuilt by the Romans themſelves.

About twenty-four years after this ſtately metropolis had been laid in aſhes by Æmilianus, purſuant to the orders of the ſenate, C. Gracchus, tribune of the people, in order to ingratiate himſelf with them, undertook to rebuild it, and, for that purpoſe, conducted thither a colony of ſix thouſand Roman citizens. The workmen, according to Plutarch, were terrified by many unfortunate omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations, of the new city; which the ſenate being informed of, would have ſuſpended the attempt: but the tribune, little affected with ſuch preſages, continued carrying on the work, and finiſhed it in a few days. From hence it ſeems probable, that only a ſlight kind of huts were erected, eſpecially ſince we are told by Velleius, that Marius, after his flight into Africa, lived in a poor, mean condition amidſt the ruins of Carthage, conſoling himſelf by the ſight of ſo aſtoniſhing a ſpectacle, and himſelf at the ſame time ſerving, in ſome meaſure, as a conſolation to that ill-fated city. But whether Gracchus executed his deſign, as Plutarch intimates, or the work was entirely diſcontinued, in compliance with the ſenate's orders, as Appian ſuggeſts, it is certain this was the firſt Roman colony that ever was ſent out of Italy[p].

And, after various turns of fortune, is at laſt raſed by the Saracens.

Appian relates, that Julius Cæſar, having landed his forces in Africa, to terminate the war with Pompey's adherents, ſaw, in a dream, an army compoſed of a prodigious number of ſoldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called upon him. Being ſtruck with the viſion, he wrote down in his pocket-book the deſign he formed, on this occaſion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth. But, being murdered ſoon after in the curia at Rome by the conſpirators, prevented the execution of his deſign. However, ſays the ſame author, Auguſtus Cæſar, his adopted ſon, finding this memoir amongſt his papers, built a city at ſome ſmall diſtance from the ſpot on which ancient Carthage ſtood, which he called by the ſame name, in order to avoid the ill effects of thoſe imprecations, which had been vented at the time of its deſtruction. Thither he ſent a colony of three thouſand men, who were ſoon joined by conſiderable numbers from the neighbouring towns. But this notion, however it may have been received by Appian, is not ſo conſiſtent with what we find advanced by Strabo, who intimates, that both Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the ſame time by Julius Cæſar. It is certain this laſt author, who flouriſhed in the reign of Tiberius, affirms Carthage in his time to

[p] Appian. ubi ſup. Plut. in Gracch. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 19. Liv. in Epit. lx.

have

have been equal, if not ſuperior, to the largeſt city in Africa. Plutarch follows Strabo, and, therefore, in oppoſition to Appian, gives a ſanction to his authority. Pliny mentions it as a very conſiderable colony in his days, though the town was not then of ſo large an extent as that deſtroyed by Æmilianus. Solinus gives us to underſtand, that the town built by Gracchus was called Junonia, and, for ſome time of little conſequence, agreeable to what we have hinted above. However, he informs us, that, in the conſulate of M. Antonius and P. Dolabella, it made ſuch a figure, that it was eſteemed the ſecond city in the Roman dominions. It was conſidered as the capital of Africa for ſeveral centuries after the commencement of the Chriſtian æra. Maxentius laid it in aſhes about the ſixth or ſeventh year of Conſtantine's reign. Genſeric king of the Vandals, took it A. D. 439; but, about a century afterwards, it was reannexed to the Roman empire by that renowned commander Beliſarius. At laſt the Saracens, under Mohammed's ſucceſſors, towards the cloſe of the ſeventh century, ſo completely deſtroyed this city, that no other traces of it are now to be diſcovered than thoſe we have already taken notice of in the firſt ſection of the Carthaginian hiſtory [q].

CHAP. LXXIII.

The Hiſtory of the Numidians, to the Conqueſt of their Country by the Romans.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Numidia.

THE limits of the region called Numidia have been differently defined by the ancient geographers. Pliny gives that name to the tract lying between the rivers Tuſca and Ampſaga; which includes the Numidia Nova of Ptolemy, together with the diſtrict of the Cirteſii. Mela affirms it to have extended from the river Molochath or *The limits of Numidia.*

[q] Appian. in Libyc. ſub. fin. Strab, lib. xvii. p. 833. Plut. in Cæſ. Dio Caſſ. lib. xliii. & lib. lii. Plin. lib. v. cap. 4. Solin. cap. 27. Eutrop. lib. iv. cap. 21. Oroſ. lib. v. cap. 12.

Mulucha, to the borders of Africa Propria, which he ſeems to have fixed at a ſmall diſtance from the city of Cirta. But its boundaries are certainly the beſt aſcertained by Strabo, who, in conformity with what has been advanced by Polybius, Livy, and Dio, ſays it comprehended the kingdoms of the Maſſyli and Maſæſyli, the laſt of which was bounded on the weſt by the Mulucha, as the firſt was on the eaſt by the Tuſca. Dionyſius Afer, Silius Italicus, and Appian, add no ſmall weight to Strabo; for which reaſon our readers will permit us to give a geographical deſcription of Numidia upon the plan he has laid down [r].

Numidia had different bounds aſſigned it at different times.

Numidia was limited on the north by the Mediterranean; on the ſouth by Gætulia, or part of Lybia Interior; on the weſt by the Mulucha, which ſeparated it from Mauritania; and on the eaſt by the Tuſca, a boundary it had in common with Africa Propria. If we ſuppoſe Malva, Malvana, Mulucha, Molochath, and the preſent Mullooïah of the Algerines to be the ſame river, and the modern Zaine to correſpond with the ancient Tuſca, as the learned Dr. Shaw has rendered probable, this tract was above five hundred miles in length. The breadth cannot be ſo eaſily aſcertained: but, ſuppoſing it to have been nearly the ſame with that of the preſent kingdom of Algiers, as there is good reaſon to apprehend it was, in the narroweſt part it muſt have been about forty miles, that being the diſtance near Tlemſan from the deſert or Sahara to the ſea-coaſt, and above a hundred in the broadeſt. In the Carthaginan times, Numidia contained two conſiderable nations, the moſt powerful of which, according to Strabo, was called the Maſſyli, and the other the Maſæſyli or Maſſæſyli. The country inhabited by the Maſſæſyli is, by ſome authors, eſteemed a part of Mauritania; but Polybius, Livy, and Strabo, whoſe authority is ſuperior to that of all other writers, in the point before us, are of another opinion. However, that it was conſidered as appertaining to Mauritania in after-ages by the Romans, we learn from Dio, who likewiſe aſſerts, that it received the name of Mauritania Cæſarienſis from the emperor Claudius [s].

The extent of Numidia.

Numidia, including Numidia Propria, or the country of the Maſſyli, and Mauritania Cæſarienſis, or that of the Maſæſyli, extended from 34 degrees 5 minutes to 37 degrees N. latitude, and from 1 degree 15 minutes W. to 9 degrees 16 minutes E. of London.

[r] Plin. lib. v. cap. 3. Ptol. lib. iv. cap 2. Pompon. Mel. lib. i. cap. 6. Strab. lib. xvii. p. 570. Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 33. Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 48. & lib. xxviii. cap. 17. Dio Caſſ. lib. xli. p. 72.

[s] Dr. Shaw's Geographical Obſervations of Algiers, cap. 1.

The

The country of the Maſſyli, Numidia Propria, or, as ſome authors ſtyle it, Terra Metagonitis, was ſeparated from the proper territory of Carthage by its eaſtern boundary the river Tuſca, and from the kingdom of the Maſſæſyli, or Mauritania Cæſarienſis, if we credit Pliny, by the Ampſaga. It ſeems to correſpond with that part of the province of Conſtantina lying between the Zaine and the Wed el Kibeer, which is above an hundred and thirty miles long, and more than an hundred broad. The ſea-coaſt of this province is, in general, mountainous and rocky, anſwering appoſitely enough to the appellation given it by Abulfeda, viz. El Adwah, *the high* or *lofty*. It is far from being equal in extent to the territories, that formed the kingdom of the Maſæſyli, though this nation is repreſented as leſs potent than the Maſſyli by Strabo. We ſhall only mention ſuch of the principal places ſeated in it, as have been taken the greateſt notice of by the ancients, the bounds we have preſcribed ourſelves obliging us to paſs over all the reſt[t]. *The country of the Maſſyli.*

The capital city of this province, or rather kingdom, was Cirta, a place of very conſiderable note amongſt the ancients. It ſtood about forty-eight miles from the ſea, and at a ſmall diſtance from the Ampſaga. According to Strabo, it was a fortreſs of great ſtrength, and abundantly ſupplied with all neceſſaries, as well as much improved, through the great care of Micipſa, who invited a great number of Greeks to come and reſide in it. Mela and Pliny intimate, that it was likewiſe known by the name of Sittianorum Colonia in their time, and in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, when under the dominion of Syphax. The latter name it received from the colony ſettled there by P. Sittius, who, having been of ſingular ſervice to Cæſar in the African war, received a great extent of territory in thoſe parts, which formerly belonged to Manaſſes, one of Juba's confederates, as we learn from Appian and Dio; for which reaſon we find it called Cirta Julia by Ptolemy, who names the territory adjacent to it, the diſtrict of the Cirteſii, which he ſeparates from Numidia, making it include the cities of Vaga, Miræum, Lares, Ætara, and Azama. That Cirta was one of the largeſt as well as ſtrongeſt cities of Numidia, is evident both from the extent of its ruins, which are ſtill to be ſeen, and its ſituation; for the greateſt part of it was built upon a kind of peninſular promontory, inacceſſible on all ſides, except towards the ſouth-weſt. This promontory was a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the ſouthward, but terminating *Cirta.*

[t] Strab. lib. ii. Plin. Mel. Ptol. ubi ſup. Abulfed. in Geogr. ex Traduct. V. C. I. Gagnier. Shaw, ubi ſup. cap. 7. & alib.

in a precipice of a northern direction. Here a beautiful landſcape aroſe from a moſt agreeable variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which extended themſelves to a great diſtance. To the eaſtward the proſpect was bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the ſouth-eaſt, the country was more open, entertaining the citizens of Cirta with a diſtant view of the high mountain, called at preſent Ziganeah, as well as thoſe large and fertile eminences, whoſe modern name is Seedy Rougeiſe. The peninſular promontory, in the direction we are now upon, was ſeparated from the neighbouring plains by a deep narrow valley, perpendicular on both ſides, where a rivulet, that ſeems to have been a branch of the Ampſaga, the modern Rummel of the Algerines, conveyed its ſtream, and over which there was formerly a bridge of excellent workmanſhip. The iſthmus, near which ſtood the principal gate of the city, is about half a ſtadium broad, being entirely covered at preſent with a ſeries of broken walls, ciſterns, and other ruins, continued down to the river, and carried on from thence over a ſmall plain parallel to the valley above deſcribed. The moſt eminent fragments of antiquity ſtill remaining are, 1. A particular ſet of ciſterns near the centre of the city, about twenty in number, forming an area of fifty yards ſquare. 2. The aqueduct, whoſe remains, though in a much more ruinous condition than the ciſterns, ſufficiently demonſtrate the wealth, public ſpirit, and magnificence of the Numidian princes. 3. Part of a large and noble edifice, with columns, four of whoſe baſes, ſeven foot in diameter, ſtill in their places, ſeem to have formed part of the portico. This ſtands upon the brink of a precipice to the northward, and is the place where the Turkiſh garriſon of Conſtantina is always poſted. That name was given Cirta in the reign of Conſtantine the Great, who repaired and adorned it, according to Aurelius Victor. Cirta was the metropolis of Maſiniſſa's dominions, that prince, his father Gala, and ſeveral other monarchs of the ſame family, reſiding there, as we learn from Polybius, Livy, and others. Strabo informs us, that Micipſa rendered it ſo large, populous, and flouriſhing, that in his time it could ſend into the field an army of twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. From its name it appears to be a city of a very high antiquity, founded by the Phœnicians, even before Dido's arrival in Africa [u].

[u] Strab. lib. xvii. p. 572. Mel. ubi ſup. Plin. lib. v. cap. 3. Dio Caſſ. lib. xliii. ſub init. Appian. in Civil. lib. iv. p. 996. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 12, & alib. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Ptol. Geogr. lib. iv. cap. 3. Shaw, ubi ſup. cap. 2.

Vaga,

Vaga, a large city, according to Ptolemy, was ſituated a few miles eaſt of Cirta. Plutarch calls it Baga, and Salluſt Vacca; which is the name likewiſe given it by Silius, Pliny, and St. Auſtin. The Romans placed a ſtrong garriſon here under the command of Turpilius, according to Salluſt and Plutarch. *Vaga.*

Lares, a town ſouth-eaſt of Cirta, has been deſcribed by Ptolemy. Some think it different from that in the Itinerary called Laribus Colonia, or Laribum Colonia. This place is mentioned by Salluſt, and other ancient authors. *Lares.*

Azama, a town which Ptolemy places fifteen days journey diſtant from Carthage, lay ſouth-eaſt of Cirta. Some authors imagine this to be the ſame with Zama, a large and magnificent city, and famous for the ſignal defeat of Hannibal; but this conjecture is rendered improbable by Livy and Polybius, who fix Zama on a ſpot much nearer Carthage. Miræum and Ætara, the other two places in the diſtrict of the Cirteſii, mentioned by Ptolemy, are ſo obſcure, that it is ſufficient juſt to have named them [w]. *Azama.*

About eighteen miles from the Ampſaga, at the weſtern bottom of the Sinus Numidicus, or, as it is now called, the Gulph of Stora, ſtood the Cullu, or Collops Magnus, of Pliny and Ptolemy. There is nothing remaining at preſent of this ancient city, but a few miſerable houſes, and a ſmall fort. The modern name is Cull, which, as well as the ancient, might be derived from a ſmall port before it, *Culla*, in Arabic and Phœnician, ſignifying *a port*. At the eaſtern extremity of the ſame gulph was the Ruſicada of Ptolemy, the Sgigata or Stora of the moderns. A few ciſterns, converted at preſent into magazines for corn, are the only tokens of antiquity diſcernible in it. The ancient geographers have fixed it fifty or ſixty Roman miles from Cullu; whereas, in reality, it was not above thirty. The adjacent rivulet ſeems to be the Tapſas of Vibius Sequeſter [x]. *Collops Magnus.*

Not many miles to the north-eaſt ſtood the Tacatua of Pliny, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary, the Tuckuſh of the Algerines, at preſent a pleaſant village, with a fruitful country ſurrounding it. At ſome diſtance from it, in an eaſtern direction, was the Sulluco, or Collops Parvus, of Ptolemy, the modern ſmall port of Tagodeite. *Tacatua.*

At the weſtern extremity of the gulph of Hippo, upon the river Armua, was the city of Hippo Regius, a place we have had occaſion to mention frequently in the Roman and Car- *Hippo Regius.*

[w] Polyb. lib. xv. cap. 5. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 29. Salluſt. in Jugurth cap. 57. Hirt. in B. Afr. cap. 91. Plin. lib. v. cap. 4. Ptol. ubi ſup. & Inſcript. Vet. apud Gruter. p. 364. [x] Shaw, ubi ſup. cap. 7.

thaginian hiſtories. Upon the ſpot of ground formerly occupied by that city, a great heap of ruins is ſtill to be ſeen. According to Leo Africanus, the city of Bona, or, as the Moors call it, Blaid el Aneb, Town of Jujebs, from the plenty of them gathered in the neighbourhood, about a mile farther to the north, was built out of theſe ruins. This opinion ſeems to be confirmed by the name Bona, which is undoubtedly a corruption of Hippo or Hippona. It is probable that Bona has the ſame ſituation which Ptolemy's Aphrodiſium had, ſince he places it fifteen miles to the north of Hippo. The ruins of Hippo occupy about half a league in circumference, conſiſting, as uſual, of large broken walls and ciſterns. This city was called Hippo Regius, becauſe it was, for ſome time, the ſeat of the Numidian kings, as Silius Italicus aſſerts. Indeed its commodious ſituation both for hunting and commerce, the ſalubrity of the air its inhabitants breathed, and the delightful proſpect they enjoyed, demonſtrate this city to be as worthy of ſuch an honour as any other in the Numidian dominions [y].

Tabraca. Thabraca, or Tabraca, was a maritime city of Numidia Propria, ſeated on the weſtern bank of the Tuſca. It is mentioned by Mela, Juvenal, Pliny, Ptolemy, and St. Auſtin. Pliny inſinuates, that it was a Roman colony in the latter ages. Some ruins are ſtill remaining, and out of them has ſprung the modern Tabarca, where there are ſeveral broken walls and ciſterns, with a ſmall fort and garriſon of Tuniſeens.

Naragara. Naragara, or Nadagara, a very ancient town, ſouth-weſt of Tabraca, was ſituated on the confines of Africa Propria. Here, towards the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war, Scipio is ſaid to have encamped for the benefit of the water, Hannibal at the ſame time taking poſt upon an eminence four miles diſtant from him. Polybius called this place Margaron. It is ſuppoſed that ſome fragments of an aqueduct, and other traces of this ancient city, are ſtill to be ſeen.

Sicca. Somewhere in this tract we are to look for Sica, Sicca Venerea, or Venerea; but ſince its ſituation cannot, with any preciſion, be aſcertained, we ſhall drop all farther particulars relating to it.

Thirmida. Thirmida was a town of this province, where Hiempſal, according to Salluſt, loſt his life: but whether it ſtood on the borders of the Maſſyli, or remote from them, for want of ſufficient light from hiſtory, we cannot determine [z].

[y] Strab. lib. xvii. p. 572. Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 3. Plin. & Mel. ubi ſup. Sil. Ital. lib. iii. ver. 259. Procop de Bell. Vandal. lib. ii. cap. 4. I. Leo African. p. 211, Shaw, ubi ſup. & Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 88. [z] Salluſt. in Jugurth. cap. 12.

Suthul

Suthul appears to have been a place of ſome ſtrength; for here Hiempſal's treaſure was depoſited, as we are informed by the ſame hiſtorian. It is probable, from ſome hints he gives, that it could not be very remote from Thirmida. *Suthul.*

Madaura had its ſituation in the neighbourhood of Sicca Venerea, Tagaſte, and Hippo Regius. It was famous for the birth of Apuleius the Platonic philoſopher; which is all we can ſay of it [a]. *Madaura.*

As for Sava, Gemellæ, Calama, Lambeſa, Theveſte, Tadutti, Sigus, Tipaſa, Simiſthu, Lamaſba, and an infinite number of other obſcure places, they deſerve not the leaſt attention. It will be ſufficient, in order to complete our geographical deſcription of this province, to give a ſuccinct account of the moſt remarkable mountains, promontories, rivers, fountains, iſlands, and ſome of its principal curioſities, to which we ſhall beg leave to premiſe a word or two concerning the interior part of it [b]. *Sava, &c.*

We have already obſerved, that the ſea-coaſt of this province was mountainous and rocky; to which we ſhall add, that the inner or mediterranean part was diverſified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which grew leſs capable of culture in proportion as it approached the Sahara. In many places, for ſeveral leagues together, nothing was to be ſeen but a ſolitary deſert, deſtitute both of animals, and every thing proper for their ſupport. In others, fruitful diſtricts, abounding with gardens producing great plenty of the moſt delicious pomgranates and apples, afforded a moſt delightful proſpect to travellers [c]. *The ſea-coaſt of this province mountainous.*

The firſt ridge of mountains is that upon the borders of Gætulia, which terminated the country between the parallels of Sitifr and Cirta, called by the ancients Buzara. 2. That called Thambes, extending itſelf as far as Tabraca. 3. The Mampſarus of Ptolemy, upon the frontiers of Gætulia, which ſeparated that country, or the Sahara, from the Mauritania Sitifenſis. 4. The Mons Audus of Ptolemy, or the Mons Auraſius of the middle age, known at preſent amongſt the Turks by the name of Jibbel Aureſs or Evreſs [d]. *The mountains.*

The firſt promontory that falls under our obſervation is the Tritum of Strabo, and the Metagonium of Mela, about ſix leagues to the eaſtward of the Ampſaga, called at preſent the Sebba Rous, or Seven Capes, by the Algerines. 2. The Hippi Promontorium of Ptolemy, the Mabra of the ſea-charts, about twenty leagues eaſt of the former. It is *The promontories.*

[a] Apul. Madaurenſ. in Metamorphoſ. lib. xi. de Platon. Philoſ. lib. iii. & in Apol. D. Aug. in Confeſ. lib. ii. cap. 3. [b] Ptol. Itinerar. Antonin. Peuting. Tab. Not. Æthic. Oroſ. &c. [c] Shaw, ubi ſupra. [d] Plin. Ptol. & Shaw ubi ſupra.

known at preſent among the Algerines by the name Ras el Hamrah, i. e. the Red Cape, and has the ruins of two ſmall buildings upon it. 3. Scarce a league diſtant from the Hippi Promontorium, to the northward, is the Straborrum Promontorium of Ptolemy: this was in the gulph of Hippo, and about a league from the city of that name[e].

Rivers. Of the rivers which water Numidia Propria, the moſt remarkable are the following: 1. The Ampſaga, which ſeparated this region from that of the Maſſæſyli or Mauritania Cæſarienſis. That river fell into the ſea about ſix leagues to the weſt of Cullu, and is at preſent named the Wed el Kibeer, or Great River; which very well agrees with the ſignification of the word *Ampſaga*, *Aphſah* importing in Arabic *broad*, *large*, or *ample*. At preſent it appears to be compoſed of the following branches: the Wed el Dſahab, River of Gold, whoſe ſource is at Kaſbaite, a heap of ruins ſixty miles to the ſouth-weſt; the rivulet of Jimmeelah, in the ſame direction nearly with the Wed el Dſahab, but a little more than forty miles diſtance; the Wed el Hammam, twenty miles to the weſt of Conſtantina; the Wed el Sigan, fifteen miles to the ſouth-weſt from Phyſgeah; and the ſprings of Hydrah, about half that diſtance to the ſouth-eaſt. The modern geographers have generally conducted the channel of their Ampſaga towards the gulph of Cull; whereas the Wed el Kibeer, which exactly anſwers the Ampſaga of the ancients, has no ſuch direction, but falls into the ſea ſix leagues to the weſtward. Cellarius fixes its ſource in that ridge of mountains, by Ptolemy called Buzara, upon the borders of the Sahara; which contradicts the lateſt and moſt accurate obſervations. 2. The Armua of Pliny, the modern Sei-bouſe, which emptied itſelf into the weſtern extremity of the gulph of Hippo. This often leaves great quantities of roots and trunks of trees on the neighbouring ſhore, and, by the low ſituation of the adjacent country, occaſions frequent inundations. 3. The Rubricatus of Ptolemy, or Ma-fragg of the Algerines, has its fountains on ſome hills that lie at a little diſtance to the ſouth of Hippo, its mouth being about four leagues eaſterly from that of Armua. We are told, that the mouth of this river is at preſent generally ſtopped up with a high bank of ſand, raiſed by the north and north-eaſt winds; ſo that it is ſeldom open but after long and heavy rains. 4. The Tuſca, now called the Zaine, the boundary of this province on the ſide of Africa Propria. It is ſaid, that, in the language of the neighbouring Kabyles, or remains of the

[e] Mel. lib. i. cap. 7. Strab. lib. xvii.

old

old Africans, the word *Zaine* denotes an *oak-tree*, and conſequently approaches pretty near in ſignification to Thabraca, the Phœnician name of the frontier town upon this river. The Zaine has its ſource in the adjacent mountains [f].

All the moſt noted fountains of this tract are reducible to two heads: 1. Thoſe to which the principal rivers owe their origin, that have been juſt touched upon. And, 2. That in the neighbourhood of Zama, whoſe waters, if drank copiouſly, rendered the voice loud and ſonorous, according to Pliny and Vitruvius. Zama was the city in which king Juba reſided, and was levelled with the ground by the Romans, according to Strabo [g]. *Fountains.*

The only iſlands that were ever ſuppoſed to have been adjacent to this region were, 1. The Inſulæ Naxicæ or Pithecuſæ of Scylax, oppoſite to Collops Magnus, which we apprehend rather to have belonged to Europe than Africa. 2. The iſland of Tabraca near the mouth of the Zaine, or Tuſca, now in the poſſeſſion of the Genoeſe, who pay an annual rent for it to the regency of Algiers [h].

The principal curioſities of Numidia Propria are, 1. The large marſhy plain between Blaid el Aneb and Hippo, with the river Booemah, which has a bridge of Roman workmanſhip upon it. 2. The Roman inſcriptions found diſperſed all over this province. 3. The rich lead-mines in the mountains of Beni Boo-Taleb. 4. The warm ſprings, bubbling within a large ſquare baſin of Roman workmanſhip, which ſeem to be the Aquæ Calidæ or Aquæ Tibilitanæ of the ancients, lying about ten leagues to the ſouth-weſt of Hippo Regius, and ſixteen to the eaſt of Cirta or Conſtantina. To which we might add ſeveral others, did we not reſerve them for the natural hiſtory of the kingdom of Algiers. *Curioſities of this province.*

The limits and extent of the Regio Maſſæſylorum of Strabo, or the Mauritania Cæſarienſis of Dio, being that tract lying between the Mulucha and Ampſaga, are already aſcertained by the determination of thoſe of Numidia in general, and Numidia Propria, or the country of the Maſſyli in particular. The length indeed of the former province much exceeded that of the latter; but its breadth was not conſiderable, being at a medium only about twenty leagues, except in that part which bordered upon the confines of the Maſſyli. It lay betwixt 34 degrees 30 minutes, and *The limits and extent of the Regio Maſſæſylorum.*

[f] Herodot. lib. iv. Plin. lib. v. cap. 3. & lib. xxxv. cap. 6. Ptol. ubi ſupra. Strabo, Mel. Solin. ubi ſupra. I. Leo African. p. 287. Geogr. Nubienſ. & Shaw paſſ. [g] Marmol. in Deſcript. d'Afr.
[h] Scylax Caryand. peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. Shaw, ubi ſupra, p. 142. Marmol. lib. v. cap. 54.

37 de-

37 degrees N. latitude, and extended from 1 degree 15 minutes W. to 6 degrees 30 minutes E. longitude from London. It included that part of the country of the weſtern Moors bounded on the weſt by the Mullooïah, and on the eaſt by the mountains of Trara; thoſe provinces of the kingdom of Algiers called Tlemſan and Titterie; together with the weſtern part of that known by the name of Conſtantia. The principal cities, rivers, mountains, and promontories, we ſhall diſcuſs in the conciſeſt manner poſſible [i].

Igilgili. Igilgili was a town of this tract, about ſeven leagues to the weſtward of the Ampſaga, where, according to Pliny, Auguſtus planted a Roman colony. Ptolemy places this town half a degree to the ſouthward of Saldæ, in a ſituation contrary to that of the modern Jijel, which lies twelve miles more to the northward, though Dr. Shaw ſuppoſes this place to be the Igilgili of the ancients.

Saldæ. Saldæ, where Auguſtus planted a Roman colony, has been placed by Ptolemy upon a ſpot two degrees diſtant from Igilgili. The modern Boujeiah is ſuppoſed to be the ancient Saldæ.

Ruſazus. Ruſazus, another Auguſtan colony weſt of Saldæ, is taken notice of by Pliny, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary.

Ruſucurium. Ruſucurium, a city of the neighbourhood of the former, was highly diſtinguiſhed by the emperor Claudius, who conferred great honours upon it, as we are informed by Pliny.

Ruſconium. Ruſconium, another Roman colony, which owed its origin to Auguſtus, was ſeated near the mouth of the Serbes or Serbetis. Ptolemy calls it Ruſtonium; but we apprehend that he ought to be corrected by Pliny. In the Itinerary we find it named Ruſguniæ Colonia. It has been imagined, that a ſmall caſtle on Cape Temendfuſe or Metafus, fifteen miles eaſt of Algiers, pretty nearly anſwers to its ſituation [k].

Icoſium. Icoſium may ſeem to have taken up the ſpace on which Algiers was afterwards built: ſome inſcriptions found in this laſt city are preſerved by Gramaye [l].

Tipaſa. Tipaſa, a Roman colony, has been mentioned by Ptolemy, and the Itinerary; but the town was probably of higher antiquity than the conqueſt of Numidia by the Romans. It was forty-ſeven miles from Icoſium, in the north-eaſtern direction; which is an additional argument in favour of Algiers being the ancient Icoſium, and likewiſe evinces, that the preſent Tefeſſad is the Tipaſa of the old geography.

[i] Polyb. Liv. Strab. Mel. Plin. Solin. Appian. Ptol. Dio Caſſ. &c. ubi ſupra. [k] Itinerar. Antonin. Plin. Ptol. Shaw, ubi ſupra, & p. 88. [l] Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 84. I. Leo. African. p. 204.

The

The next city of conſequence on the ſea-coaſt, to the weſtward, was Jol, the ſeat of the younger Juba, who, from the great veneration he had for Auguſtus, gave it the name of Cæſarea, according to Eutropius, Pliny, and Strabo: that it had a port, and an iſland lying in the mouth of it, we are aſſured by Strabo; a circumſtance which gives us authority to ſuppoſe, that the modern Sherſhell anſwers to the Jol or Julia Cæſarea of the ancients. The large circuit and ſumptuous remains of an old city at Sherſhell, together with its ſituation, and many other concurring circumſtances, ſerve likewiſe to render extremely probable ſuch a ſuppoſition: a colony was ſettled here by the emperor Claudius. Bocchart affirms the word *Jol*, in the Oriental languages, to ſignify *high* or *lofty*; which agrees with the ſituation of the place, and conſequently proves, that it was either founded by the Orientals, or by ſome of their deſcendants [m]. *Jol.*

The Canucius of Ptolemy, Gunugi of Pliny, and Gunugus of the Itinerary, anſwering to the Breſk of the Algerines, ſtood about nine miles to the weſtward from Jol. Though this place was formerly famous, on account of a Roman colony planted in it by Auguſtus, it is now uninhabited. *Canucius.*

Cartenna, a very conſiderable city, was ſituated near the mouth of the river Cartennus, where Auguſtus ſettled the ſoldiers of the ſecond legion. Ptolemy indeed places it ſome leagues more weſterly; but the poſition he aſſigns many of his towns is ſo extremely erroneous, that he deſerves no credit, when any ſhadow of an argument can be offered againſt him [n]. *Cartenna.*

On the weſtern banks of the Cartennus the ancients place Arſenaria, a town where, if Pliny may be credited, a Latin colony was planted under ſome of the firſt Roman emperors. As the laſt mentioned author lays it down three Roman miles from the ſea, it is probable the modern Arzew anſwers to it [o]. *Arſenaria.*

The next maritime town of note, in a weſtern direction, is the Quiza Xenitana, Quiza Colonia, or Quiza Municipum, of Ptolemy, Mela, Pliny, and the Itinerary. Dr. Shaw maintains Geeza to be the ancient Quiza; which opinion, as the ſituation aſſigned this laſt was immediately after the Portus Magnus, is not improbable [p]. *Quiza.*

[m] Strab. lib. xvii. p. 571. [n] Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſupra. Sal. Juſt. in Jugurth. cap. 90. Pſal. lxxviii. 12. Shaw, p. 36. [o] Plin. ubi ſupra, & Shaw, p. 28. [p] Mel. Ptol. Itinerar.

Siga,

Siga. Siga, an ancient city of great importance, ſituated at the mouth of a harbour, and upon a river of the ſame name. According to Pliny, Syphax's palace was here, which, together with the city itſelf, was demoliſhed in the time of Strabo. However, it was afterwards rebuilt, as we are informed by Ptolemy. Dr. Shaw believes, that the Tafna anſwers to the river, and Tackumbreet to the town of Siga. It appears from Scylax, that both the city and river were known in his time, the former of which he calls Sigum. It was the laſt maritime place of eminence of this region, being at no great diſtance from the Malva, which our learned traveller has, with great appearance of truth, endeavoured to prove the ſame river with the Molochath and Mulucha.

Sitifi and Satafi. The firſt mediterranean cities worthy of notice, to the weſt of the Ampſaga, were Sitifi and Satafi, ſixteen miles from one another. For a farther account of which, our readers may have recourſe to Ammianus, Marcellinus, Ptolemy, and other ancient writers.

Auzia. Auzia or Auzea, a city of great antiquity, if, with Menander Epheſius, we ſuppoſe it to be the African city of that name founded by Ithobaal, king of Tyre. Tacitus tells us, that it was built in a ſmall plain, ſurrounded on all ſides with barren foreſts of a vaſt extent. The ruins of this city are called by the neighbouring Arabs Sour Guſlan, *the Walls of the Antelopes*, a great part whereof, flanked at proper diſtances with little ſquare towers, is ſtill remaining.

Tubuſuptus. Tubuſuptus or Tubuſuttus, a town mentioned by Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus, which Lipſius takes to be the Thubuſcus beſieged by Tacfarinas, according to Tacitus. From what Marcellinus has hinted, it appears to have been ſituated near the Mons Ferratus [q].

Nababurum, &c. As Nababurum, Vitaca, Uſſara, Vazagad, Auſum, Robonda, Zaratha, Chizala, Lamida, Vaſana, Phlorya, and many other towns, together with every thing relating to them, are long ſince buried in oblivion, we ſhall paſs them over in ſilence, and proceed to the principal promontories, mountains, and rivers of this province.

The promontories of this province. The firſt promontories that preſent themſelves to our view, are the Audus and Vabar of Ptolemy. The Aſhounemonker of the Algerines anſwers to Vabar, having ſome traces of ancient ruins ſtill remaining upon it. 2. The Promontorium Apollinis of Ptolemy, the Nackos of the Moors, and cape Tennes of the modern geographers. 3. The Pro-

[q] Plin & Polyb. ubi ſupra. Tacit. Ann. iv. cap. 24. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxix. cap. 24. Juſtin. Lipſ. in Tacit. ubi ſupra.

montorium

montorium Magnum of Ptolemy was a large and conſpicuous cape near 1 degree eaſt of the Malva or Mulucha. This is at preſent called by ſailors Cape Hone, and by the inhabitants Ras Hunneine and Mellack. It lies about four leagues to the north-eaſt of Twunt, and is a continuation of the mountains of Trara[r].

Amongſt the remarkable mountains in the Numidia Maſſæſylorum may be ranked that high knot of eminences, which at preſent diſtinguiſh themſelves to the ſouthward of the plains of Sudratah, being probably the beginning of that chain of mountains, called by the ancients Mount Atlas. 2. The Zalacus of Ptolemy, which ſeems to have had the ſame poſition as the preſent Mount Wannaſhreeſe. 3. Mount Malethubalus, upon the frontiers of Gætulia: this is in the Sahara, and, if we remember right, has not had its modern name brought into Europe. 4. The Durdus of Ptolemy, lying between the mountains of El Callah and Trara. 5. The Mons Phruræſus, immediately ſucceeding Malethubalus. 6. The Montes Chalcorychii, near the country of the ancient Herpiditani, between Mount Durdus and the Malva or Mulucha. *The mountains.*

The moſt remarkable rivers mentioned by the ancients were, 1. The Audus, placed by Ptolemy at the bottom of the Sinus Numidicus, no traces of which are now to be ſeen. 2. The Siſaris, called at preſent by the Moors and Algerines the Manſoureah. 3. The Niſſava, known at this day by the name of the river of Boujeiah, becauſe it empties itſelf into the ſea a little to the eaſtward of that city. It conſiſts of a number of rivulets falling into it from different directions, and has its ſource at Jibbel Deera, ſeventy miles up the country to the W. S. W. 4. The Serbetis, now the Yſſer, a large river, whoſe mouth is about eight leagues from Temendfuſe, and lies ſomething nearer Ruſgunia than Ruſuccuræ. We are told, that its ſources are from the mountainous diſtrict to the S. S. W. that the moſt weſtern branch of it is called Shurffa, after the name of the neighbouring Arabs; and the other Wed el Zeitoune, that is, the River of Olives, from the vaſt quantity of that fruit produced in the adjacent territory. 5. The Savus, a river falling into the ſea near Pliny's Icoſion, which our learned traveller believes to have had the ſame ſituation as the Algiers of the moderns. If this be admitted, the Hameeſe bids faireſt for the ancient Savus, eſpecially as Leo calls this very river Seſſaia, a word nearly approaching to Savus. 6. The Chinalaph of Ptolemy is the moſt conſi- *Rivers.*

[r] Shaw, Paſſ.

derable

derable river of the Algerines, who call it Shelliff. It riſes in the Saharah, at the diſtance of eighty miles to the ſouth-eaſt. The fountains which form its ſource, from their number and contiguity, are known amongſt the Arabs by the name Sebbiene Aine, or Sebaoun Aioun, the Seven Fountains. 7. The Cartennus, to which it is ſuppoſed the ſtream formed by the Sikke and the Habrah anſwers. Marmol calls a river in this ſituation Cirat; which gives countenance to the aforeſaid ſuppoſition. 8. The Flumen Salſum, at preſent called the Wed el Mailah, is a ſtream ſomething leſs than the Cherwell, at Oxford. 9. Aſſara, a river mentioned by Ptolemy, which may poſſibly be the ſame with the Iſſer of Abulfeda. The Iſſer is one of the four branches that form the Tafna [s].

The iſlands appertaining to it. The only iſlands that deſerve our attention are, 1. The Acra of Scylax, an iſland, that forms the modern part of Harſhgoone, under which veſſels of the greateſt burden may lie in the utmoſt ſafety. 2. The Tres Inſulæ of Antoninus, ſituated about ten miles from the Mulucha, to the north-weſt of that river [t].

Its curioſities. The chief curioſities worthy of notice are: 1. The ruins of a Roman city, called at preſent Caſſir, amongſt the Beni Grohberry, to the northward of Jibbel Afroone; upon the mountains adjacent to which the Algerines frequently dig up large pipes of lead, ſuppoſed to have formerly conveyed the excellent water thoſe parts produced to Saldæ. 2. The rivulet of ſalt water, which glides through the valley Dammer Cappy, that is, the Iron Gate. 3. The large ſalt-pits, five miles to the ſouthward of Arzew. 4. One of the fountains of the Habrah at Niſrag, where the water burſts out with ſurpriſing noiſe and rapidity; as alſo the hot bath, and ſeveral ancient ciſterns upon a branch of the Habrah, within eight leagues of the ſea. 5. Wannaſhreeſe, a high rugged mountain, generally covered with ſnow, and remarkable for its lead mines. 6. The Jibbel Miniſs, an entire mountain of ſalt. 7. The Aquæ Calidæ Colonia of the ancients, the Hammam or Bath of Mereega of the moderns [u].

[s] I. Leo African. p. 205. Antonin. & Shaw, ubi ſupra. & Shaw, Paſſ.

[t] Scylax Caryand. Itinerar.

[u] Geogr. Nubienſ. I. Leo Afric.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Cuſtoms, Arts, &c. of the Numidians.

The antiquity of the Numidians.

ALL the authors famous for their reſearches into antiquity agree, that the tract extending from the Iſthmus of Suez to the Lake Tritonis, was chiefly peopled by the deſcendants of Miſeraim; and that the poſterity of his brother Put, or Phut, ſpread themſelves over all the region betwixt that lake and the Atlantic ocean. It is certain Herodotus greatly countenances this notion; for he tells us, that the Libyan Nomades, whoſe territories, to the weſt, were bounded by the Triton, agreed in their cuſtoms and manners with the Egyptians; but that the Africans, from that river to the Atlantic ocean, differed almoſt in all points from that people. Ptolemy mentions a city called Putea near Adrumetum; and Pliny a river of Mauritania Tingitana, known by the name of Fut or Phut; which ſeems to confirm this ſuppoſition. The diſtrict adjacent to this we find mentioned by ſome authors under the appellation of Regio Phutenſis; which plainly alludes to the name Phut: that word ſignifies *ſcattered* or *diſperſed*; which very well agrees with what we find related of the Numidians by Mela and Strabo; ſo that we may, without any ſcruple, admit the Aborigines of this country to have been the deſcendents of Phut. It appears from Euſebius, Procopius, St. Auſtin, and others, that the Aborigines were not the only ancient inhabitants of Numidia, ſince the Phœnicians in almoſt the earlieſt ages ſent colonies thither [w].

Their government.

It may be inferred from Polybius, that the Carthaginians once poſſeſſed all that part of Africa, extending from the confines of Cyrenaica to the Pillars of Hercules: but this, we apprehend, is to be underſtood of the ſea-coaſt of that tract: for it is evident from Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, and other ancient hiſtorians, that the interior Numidia, at leaſt a conſiderable part of it, was independent on the Carthaginians. It is true, the Numidians always aſſiſted the Carthaginians in their wars; but moſt of theſe forces were upon the footing of mercenaries, or of auxiliary troops, ſent in purſuance of ſolemn engagements entered into by the princes to whom they belonged. The Carthaginian form of

[w] Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 186, 187. Ptol. lib. iv. cap. 1. Plin. v. cap. 1. Euſeb. de loc. Hieron. in Tradit. Hebr. Euſtath. in Hex. Iſid. in Orig. lib. ix. cap. 2. Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 8. Strab. lib. ii.

government

government therefore undoubtedly prevailed in every part of Numidia ſubject to the ſtate of Carthage, though in others, abſolute monarchy took place. As to the interior of this government, or the particular political maxims that formed the baſis of it, we are entirely in the dark.

Laws. Whether any of the independent princes of Numidia were legiſlators, or, if ſo, what particular laws they enacted for the good of their ſubjects, hiſtory does not inform us. The Carthaginian laws had, without doubt, their proper force amongſt all the Numidians under the dominion of Carthage: and in other deſpotic governments, there was probably no other law but the natural dictates of equity, ſubject, however, to the will of the prince.

Religion. As the firſt Numidians, in common with all the other Indigenæ of that vaſt tract between the borders of Egypt and the Atlantic ocean, were called Libyans, we may infer from Herodotus, that the principal gods they ſacrificed to were the Sun and Moon. It is reaſonable to preſume, that part of this nation ſubject to Carthage, paid divine honours to the Phœnician and Greek deities, that were the objects of the Carthaginian worſhip, of which we have already given an ample account.

Language. What language the Numidians ſpoke, we cannot pretend to determine. That the tongue prevailing, in part of Numidia at leaſt, was different from the Phœnician and Carthaginian, is evident from Salluſt and others. However barbarous the Numidians might have been, ſome of them uſed letters, not very unlike thoſe that made up the Punic alphabet, as appears from the legends of ſeveral ancient Numidian coins.

Cuſtoms. With regard to the cuſtoms of the Numidians, our readers will neither expect nor deſire us to be circumſtantial: neither the limits we have preſcribed ourſelves, nor the materials left us by the ancients, will permit us to expatiate on this ſubject. In order therefore to form a general idea of theſe cuſtoms, it will be ſufficient to attend to the following obſervations.

The Numidians were divided into tribes, &c. 1. The Numidians were divided into tribes, nomes, cantons, or hordes, in the ſame manner as the Arabes Scenitæ, and not very unlike the preſent Tartars; excepting that the latter form their villages, or encampments, of carts, like their anceſtors the ancient Scythians; whereas the circular dou-wars of the Numidians were compoſed of their mapalia, with which the hhymas, or tents, of the modern Bedoweens nearly correſpond. The mapalia, or Numidian tents, were ſecured from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a covering of hair-cloth. They were all of the

ſame

ſame oblong form, reſembling the inverted bottom of a ſhip, in conformity to the deſcription Salluſt has given us. A whole tribe or horde encamped together, and having conſumed all the produce of one fruitful ſpot, removed from thence to another, which is the cuſtom of their poſterity the Bedoweens at this day. As this part of Africa conſiſted of dry and barren ſandy deſerts, interſperſed with fruitful ſpots, (for which reaſon Strabo compares it to a leopard's ſkin), ſuch a way of life was abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe who did not live in cities. Hence it appears that *nome*, agreeable to what we find advanced by Diodorus Siculus, St. Cyril, Epiphanius, Euſebius, and others, muſt have been either an Egyptian or Syriac word, ſignifying *part*, *portion*, or *diviſion*.

Some of them lived in ſmall huts or cottages, called magaria.

2. Thoſe Numidians who lived in fixed habitations, generally dwelt in ſmall cottages made of hurdles daubed over with mud, or built of ſome ſlight materials, in the ſame manner as the gurbies of the Kabyles are erected at this day. The roofs were undoubtedly covered with ſtraw or turf, ſupported by reeds or branches of trees, as thoſe of the gurbies are. The Numidians, at leaſt thoſe of Phœnician extraction, called theſe habitations magaria. Dr. Shaw informs us, that the towns or villages formed of theſe huts are at preſent built upon eminences, and called by the Kabyles, who inhabit them, daſhkras.

They rode without bridles.

3. The Numidians rode without ſaddles, and many of them without bridles; whence Virgil. calls them Numidæ infræni. As their principal ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry, and they were inured to the management of horſes from their infancy, they found this no difficult taſk.

They had many wives, concubines, &c.

4. According to Strabo, they had a number of wives, concubines, and conſequently many children, as the Orientals had, though, in other reſpects, they were very temperate and abſtemious. Their manner of fighting and encamping we have already deſcribed.

The king's brother ſucceeded to the crown in Numidia.

5. The king's next brother, not his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him in Numidia, particularly in the country of the Maſſyli, as we learn from Livy, who, in proof of what he aſſerts, tells us, that Gala, the father of Maſiniſſa, was ſucceeded by his next brother Deſalces [x].

The diet of the Numidians.

6. Their diet conſiſted chiefly of herbs, grain, pulſe, and water; and they abſtained almoſt entirely from wine; fleſh was ſometimes, though not ſo frequently, uſed. To this abſtinence, as well as the moderate degrees of heat and cold of their climate in ſummer and winter, Appian attributes

x Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 29.

their long lives, and the good ſtate of health they enjoyed. That author aſſures us, that the ſummers in Numidia were not near ſo hot as in India and Ethiopia [y].

Are clad in looſe garments.

7. Many of the poorer ſort of people in Numidia went almoſt naked; but the Numidians of any faſhion wore their garments looſe, without ſaſh or girdle. In this particular they agreed with the Carthaginians, and moſt of the other Africans.

Eminent for their ſkill in throwing darts, &c.

8. They were eminent for their ſkill in hurling the javelin, and throwing darts, which they diſcharged in vaſt numbers upon the enemy.

Fight in the night-time.

9. We are told, that the Maſſyli, when at war with their neighbours, for the moſt part, choſe to come to a general action in the night-time.

10. Deſertion was no diſgrace amongſt the Numidians, who, after the firſt defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleaſed.

11. In ſhort, there muſt have been a great variety of cuſtoms in Numidia, as it was inhabited by many different nations, that were oppoſite to one another in many particulars. One of theſe Diodorus calls the Aſphadelodians, who were probably of a different caſt from the reſt, ſince he informs us, that they were as black as the Ethiopians. According to Hellanicus, this poor people, being a tribe or canton of the Libyan Nomades, had nothing but a cup, a pitcher, and a dagger or knife, which they conſtantly carried about with them. Their ſmall mapalia were made of aſphodelus, great quantities of which they provided in the ſummer-time, in order to have always an agreeable ſhady retreat.

Arts, &c.

The Numidians, who inhabited the open country, being a barbarous, rude, and illiterate people, it would be ridiculous to expect any traces of arts or ſciences amongſt them. However, they ſeem to have been eminent for their ſkill in managing horſes (E), and their knowlege in ſome branches

y Appian. in Libyc. cap. 6, 39, & 64. Strabo, lib. xvii.

(E) Theſe horſes were very ſmall, but extremely ſwift, and eaſily managed, according to Livy and Strabo. They were ſatisfied with little food, bore hunger and thirſt a long time with great patience, and underwent incredible fatigues. As they had an ugly gait, a ſtiff neck, and threw their heads forward, the Numidian horſeman made but a ridiculous figure before the time of action; but always behaved well during the heat of the engagement (1).

(1) Appian. & Strab. ubi ſup. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 44, 46. lib. xxii. cap. 48. Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 65. Sil. Ital. lib. iv. Salluſt. in Jugurth.

of

of the military art. Some knowlege likewiſe of the Egyptian theology, polity, and philoſophical notions, we cannot ſuppoſe them to have been deſtitute of; ſince their anceſtors had, for a ſeries of generations, an intercourſe with the poſterity of Miſraim. The preſent Kabyles and Bedoweens, according to Dr. Shaw, employ their time chiefly in making bykes, or woollen blankets, and burnooſes, as they call cloaks or upper garments. In ſuch ſort of employment, poſſibly, ſome of the ancient ruſtic Numidians might have been engaged; eſpecially ſince the aforeſaid gentleman imagines the Kabyles to be the remains of the old Africans.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Numidians, from the earlieſt Accounts of Time, to the Conqueſt of their Country by the Romans.

When the Phœnicians came firſt into Numidia.

NUMIDIA appears to have been but thinly peopled before the firſt arrival of the Phœnicians. When this happened, we cannot preciſely determine; but, according to Euſebius, who is followed by Bochart, and other authors of reputation, it muſt have been above three hundred years before the foundation of Carthage.

No accounts of the Numidian affairs for ſeveral of the earlieſt centuries now remaining.

The tranſactions of Numidia, during the earlieſt centuries, have, for a long ſeries of ages, been buried in oblivion. It is probable, however, that as the Phœnicians were maſters of great part of the country, they were recorded, and not unknown in the Carthaginian time. King Iarbas probably reigned here, as well as in Africa Propria, if not in Mauritania, and other parts of Libya, when Dido began to build Byrſa. It appears from Juſtin, that, about the age of Herodotus, the people of this country were called both Africans or Libyans, and Numidians. Juſtin likewiſe intimates, that, about this time, the Carthaginians vanquiſhed both the Moors or Mauritanians, and Numidians, who had confederated againſt them. The conſequence of which was, that the former were excuſed paying the tribute, which had been exacted ever ſince Dido's arrival in Africa by the latter. As to the part the Numidians acted in all the wars betwixt the Dionyſii, Agathocles, &c. and the Carthaginians, we have already been ſo copious on that head, that it is unneceſſary to expatiate upon it here [z].

[z] Georg. Cedren. Hiſt. Compend. p. 140. Juſtin. lib. xix. cap. 2. Appian. in Libyc. ſub init.

The Carthaginians treat the Micatanian Numidians with great ſeverity.

After the concluſion of the firſt Punic war, the African troops carried on a bloody conflict three years againſt their maſters the Carthaginians. The moſt active in this rebellion, according to Diodorus Siculus, were the Micatanian Numidians. Theſe hoſtilities ſo incenſed the Carthaginians, that, after Hamilcar had either killed or taken priſoners all the mercenaries, he ſent a large detachment to ravage the country of thoſe Numidians. The commandant of that detachment executed his orders with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity; for he plundered that diſtrict in a terrible manner, and crucified all the priſoners, without diſtinction, that fell into his hands. This barbarity filled the reſt with ſuch indignation and reſentment, that both they, and their poſterity ever afterwards, bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians.

Syphax defeated twice by Maſiniſſa.

In the conſulate of the younger Fabius and Sempronius Gracchus, Syphax, king of the Maſſæſyli, entered into an alliance with the Romans: he likewiſe, in a pitched battle, gave the Carthaginians a conſiderable defeat. This induced Gala, king of the Maſſyli, to conclude a treaty with the Carthaginians, in conſequence of which his ſon Maſiniſſa marched at the head of a powerful army to give Syphax battle. Being reinforced in his march by a body of Carthaginians, as ſoon as he came up with the Maſſæſyli, he engaged them: the fight was ſharp and bloody; but at laſt Maſiniſſa gained a complete victory, putting thirty thouſand of the Maſſæſyli to the ſword, and driving Syphax into the country of the Mauruſii, or Mauritania. This action checked both the progreſs of Syphax's arms, and the ambitious projects of the Romans. However, the Maſſæſylian monarch found means, ſome time after, to aſſemble another formidable army of Maſſæſylians and Mauritanians; which was likewiſe defeated and diſperſed by Maſiniſſa: but the face of affairs in this country was ſoon afterwards greatly changed [a].

A brief account of Maſiniſſa's affairs.

Gala dying whilſt his ſon Maſiniſſa was acting at the head of the Numidian troops ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Carthaginians in Spain, his brother Deſalces, according to the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion in Numidia, took poſſeſſion of the Maſſylian throne. That prince dying alſo ſoon after his acceſſion, Capuſa, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him: but he did not long enjoy his high dignity; for Mezetulus, a perſon of the royal blood, but an enemy to the family of Gala, found means to excite great part of his ſubjects to revolt. This enabled him to form a conſiderable corps, and

[a] Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 47, 48, 49. Appian. in Libyc.

to

to bring Capuſa to a general action; which ending in his favour, and Capuſa, with many of the nobleſſe, being ſlain, he obtained the Maſſylian crown, as the reward of his victory. However, he did not aſſume the title of king, contenting himſelf with that of guardian to Lacumaces, the ſurviving ſon of Deſalces, whom he graced with the royal title. To ſupport himſelf in his uſurpation, he married the dowager of Deſalces, who was Hannibal's niece, and conſequently of the moſt powerful family in Carthage: he likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors to Syphax, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him. In the mean time Maſiniſſa, receiving advice of his uncle's death, of his couſin's fate, and of Mezetulus's uſurpation, immediately paſſed over to Africa, and proceeded to the court of Bocchar, king of Mauritania, to ſolicit ſuccours. Bocchar, ſenſible of the great injuſtice offered Maſiniſſa, furniſhed him a body of four thouſand Moors to eſcort him to his dominions. His ſubjects appriſed of his approach, joined him upon the frontiers with a party of five hundred men. The Moors, in purſuance of their orders, returned as ſoon as Maſiniſſa reached the confines of his kingdom. Notwithſtanding which retreat, and the ſmall body that declared for him, having intercepted Lacumaces at Thapſus, with an eſcort going to implore Syphax's aſſiſtance, he drove him into the town, which he carried by aſſault, after a faint reſiſtance. However, Lacumaces, with many of his troops, found means to eſcape to Syphax. The fame of this exploit gained Maſiniſſa great credit, inſomuch that the Numidians crowded to him from all parts, and, amongſt the reſt, many of his father Gala's veterans, who preſſed him to make a ſpeedy and vigorous puſh for his hereditary dominions. Lacumaces having joined Mezetulus with a reinforcement of Maſſæſylians, which he had prevailed upon Syphax to ſend to the aſſiſtance of his ally, the uſurper advanced at the head of a numerous army to offer Maſiniſſa battle; which that prince, though much inferior in numbers, did not decline. An engagement enſued; which, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, ended in the defeat of Lacumaces. The immediate conſequence of this victory to Maſiniſſa, was a quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom; Mezetulus and Lacumaces, with a few that attended them, flying into the territories of Carthage. However, being apprehenſive that he ſhould be obliged to ſuſtain a war againſt Syphax, he offered to treat Lacumaces with as many marks of diſtinction as his father Gala had granted to Deſalces, provided that prince would put himſelf under his protection. He alſo promiſed Mezetulus pardon, and a reſtitution of all

the eſtates forfeited by his treaſonable conduct, if he would make his ſubmiſſion. Both of them readily complied with the propoſal, and immediately returned; ſo that the tranquility and repoſe of Numidia would have been ſettled upon a ſolid and laſting foundation, had it not been prevented by Aſdrubal, who was then at Syphax's court. He inſinuated to that prince, who was diſpoſed to live amicably with his neighbours, that he was greatly deceived, if he imagined Maſiniſſa would be ſatisfied with his hereditary dominions; that he was a prince of much greater capacity and ambition than either his father Gala, his uncle Deſalces, or any of his family; that he had diſcovered in Spain marks of uncommon ability; and that, in ſhort, unleſs his riſing flame was extinguiſhed before it came to too great a head, both the Maſſæſylian and Carthaginian ſtates would be infallibly conſumed by it. Syphax, alarmed by theſe ſuggeſtions, advanced with a numerous body of forces into a diſtrict which had long been in diſpute between him and Gala, but was then in poſſeſſion of Maſiniſſa. This motion brought on a general action between theſe two princes, wherein the latter, was totally defeated, his army diſperſed, and he himſelf obliged to fly to the top of Mount Balbus, attended only by a few of his horſe. Such a deciſive battle at the preſent juncture, before Maſiniſſa was fixed in his throne, put Syphax into poſſeſſion of the kingdom of the Maſſyli. Maſiniſſa in the mean time made nocturnal incurſions from his poſt upon Mount Balbus, and plundered the adjacent country, particularly that part of the Carthaginian territory contiguous to Numidia. This province he not only pillaged, but likewiſe deſtroyed with fire and ſword, carrying off an immenſe booty, which was bought by ſome merchants who had put into one of the Carthaginian ports. In fine, he did the Carthaginians more damage, not only in committing ſuch dreadful devaſtations, but by maſſacring and carrying into captivity great numbers of their ſubjects on this occaſion, than they could have ſuſtained in a pitched battle, or one campaign of a regular war. Syphax, at the preſſing remonſtrances of the Carthaginians, ſent Boechar, one of his moſt active commanders, with a detachment of four thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, to reduce this dangerous gang of robbers, promiſing him a great reward, if he would bring Maſiniſſa either alive or dead. Bocchar, watching an opportunity, ſurpriſed the Maſſylians, as they were ſtraggling about the country without order or diſcipline; ſo that he took many priſoners, diſperſed the reſt, and purſued Maſiniſſa himſelf, with a few of his men, to the top of the mountain where he had before taken poſt.

Conſidering

Conſidering the expedition at an end, he not only ſent many head of cattle, and the other booty that had fallen into his hands, to Syphax, but likewiſe all the forces, except five hundred foot and two hundred horſe. With this detachment he drove Maſiniſſa from the ſummit of the hill, and purſued him through ſeveral narrow paſſes and defiles, as far as the plains of Clupea. Here he ſurrounded him in ſuch a manner, that all the Maſſylians, except four, were put to the ſword, and Maſiniſſa himſelf, after having received a dangerous wound, eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty. As this eſcape was effected by croſſing a rapid river, in which attempt two of his four attendants periſhed in ſight of the detachment that purſued him, it was rumoured all over Africa that Maſiniſſa alſo was drowned; a report which gave inexpreſſible pleaſure to Syphax and the Carthaginians. For ſome time he lived undiſcovered in a cave, where he was ſupported by the robberies of the two horſemen who had eſcaped with him. But having cured his wound, by the application of ſome medical herbs, he boldly began to advance towards his own frontiers, publicly declaring, that he intended once more to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom. In his march he was joined by about forty horſe, and, ſoon after his arrival amongſt the Maſſyli, ſo many people joined his ſtandard, that he was enabled to form an army of ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. With theſe forces he not only reinſtated himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dominions, but likewiſe ravaged the borders of the Maſſæſyli. This irruption ſo irritated Syphax, that he immediately aſſembled a body of troops, and encamped very commodiouſly upon a ridge of mountains between Cirta and Hippo. He commanded his army in perſon, and detached his ſon Vermina, with a conſiderable force, to take a compaſs, and attack the enemy in the rear. In purſuance of his orders Vermina marched, in the beginning of the night, and took poſt in the place appointed, without being diſcovered by the enemy. In the mean time Syphax decamped, and advanced towards the Maſſyli in order of battle. When he had poſſeſſed himſelf of a riſing ground that led to their camp, and concluded that his ſon Vermina muſt have formed the ambuſcade behind them, he began the fight. Maſiniſſa being advantageouſly poſted, and his ſoldiers diſtinguiſhing themſelves in an extraordinary manner, the diſpute was long and bloody. But Vermina unexpectedly falling upon their rear, and, by this charge, obliging them to divide their forces, which were ſcarce able before to oppoſe the main body under Syphax, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and forced to a pre-

cipitate flight. All the avenues being blocked up, partly by Syphax, and partly by his ſon, ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the unhappy Maſſyli, that only Maſiniſſa himſelf, with ſixty horſe, eſcaped to the Leſſer Syrtis. Here he remained, betwixt the confines of the Carthaginians and Garamantes, till the arrival of Lælius, and the Roman fleet, on the coaſt of Africa. What happened immediately after this junction with the Romans, our readers will find related at large in that part of this work, to which it more properly belongs.

Some farther particulars relating to Syphax and Maſiniſſa.

We have already obſerved that the Carthaginians loſt Maſiniſſa by depriving him of his dear Sophoniſba. That lady was verſed in various branches of literature, excellently ſkilled in muſic, the greateſt beauty of her age, and of ſuch exquiſite charms in every reſpect, that either her voice alone, or a ſight of her, was deemed ſufficient to captivate the moſt rigid and ſevere philoſopher. Maſiniſſa, therefore, could never forgive the mortifying affront given him by the ſtate of Carthage, when her father Aſdrubal, in violation of the laws of honour and public faith, was commanded to give her to Syphax. The Carthaginians, however, endeavoured to fix that prince in their intereſt, and prevailed upon Syphax to reſtore him his dominions. Maſiniſſa, to have ample revenge both of Syphax and the Carthaginians, appeared to be entirely ſatisfied with ſo generous a ceſſion, and outwardly expreſſed all imaginable zeal and affection for them, though, at the ſame time, he was ſecretly meditating their ruin with the Romans. Aſdrubal had either ſome private intelligence, or entertained a ſuſpicion of this correſpondence, and therefore laid an ambuſcade for Maſiniſſa, which that prince happily eſcaped. Syphax, in the mean time, pretended an attachment to the Romans, though he had entered into the ſtricteſt engagements with the Carthaginians, at the earneſt ſolicitations of his wife, whoſe charms he found himſelf incapable of reſiſting. The conſequences, both of his conduct and that of his rival Maſiniſſa, have been already fully related: it will be ſufficient, therefore, in this place to obſerve, that, by the aſſiſtance of Lælius, Maſiniſſa at laſt reduced Syphax's kingdom. According to Zonaras, Maſiniſſa and Scipio, before the memorable battle of Zama, by a ſtratagem deprived Hannibal of ſome advantageous poſts, which, with a ſolar eclipſe happening during the heat of the action, that intimidated the Carthaginian troops, greatly contributed to the victory the Romans obtained. At the concluſion, therefore, of the ſecond Punic war, he was amply rewarded by the Romans for the important ſervices he had performed. Syphax, after the loſs of his dominions,

Yr. of Fl. 2156. Ante Chr. 192.

was

was kept in confinement for ſome time at Alba, from whence being removed in order to grace Scipio's triumph, he died at Tibur, in his way to Rome. Zonaras adds, that his corpſe was decently interred; that all the Numidian priſoners were releaſed; and that Vermina, by the aſſiſtance of the Romans, took peaceable poſſeſſion of his father's throne. However, part of the Maſſæſylian kingdom was before annexed to Maſiniſſa's dominions, in order to reward that prince for his ſingular fidelity and attachment to the Romans [b].

As an account of the principal tranſactions in which Maſiniſſa was concerned between the ſecond and third Punic wars, has been already extracted from the beſt ancient hiſtorians, we cannot pretend to touch upon any of them without being guilty of a repetition. Nothing, therefore, is farther requiſite, in order to complete the hiſtory of this famous prince, than to exhibit to our readers view ſome points of his conduct towards the decline, and at the cloſe of life; the wiſe diſpoſitions made after his death by Æmilianus, in order to regulate his domeſtic affairs; and ſome particulars relating to his character and genius, drawn from the moſt celebrated Greek and Roman authors.

Maſiniſſa forces the Carthaginians to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms.

By drawing a line of circumvallation round the Carthaginian army under Aſdrubal, poſted upon an eminence, Maſiniſſa cut off all manner of ſupplies from them; a work which introduced both the plague and the famine into their camp. As the body of Numidian troops employed in this blockade was not near ſo numerous as the Carthaginian forces, it is evident that the line muſt have been extremely ſtrong, and conſequently the effect of great labour and art. The Carthaginians, finding themſelves reduced to the laſt extremity, concluded a peace upon the following terms, which Maſiniſſa dictated: 1. That they ſhould deliver up all deſerters. 2. That they ſhould recall the exiles who had taken refuge in his dominions. 3. That they ſhould pay him five thouſand talents of ſilver within the ſpace of fifty years. 4. That their ſoldiers ſhould paſs under the jugum, each of them carrying off only a ſingle garment. As Maſiniſſa himſelf, though between eighty and ninety years of age, conducted the whole enterprize, he muſt have been extremely well verſed in fortification, and other branches of the military art. His underſtanding likewiſe he muſt have retained to the laſt. This tranſaction happened a ſhort time before the beginning of the third Punic war [c].

[b] Appian, in Libyc. cap. 6. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 43. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 11, 12. Polyæn. Strat. lib. viii. cap. 16. ex. 7. [c] Appian, in Libyc. cap. 40, 41.

Soon

Maſiniſſa diſguſted at the Romans.

Soon after the conſuls landed an army in Africa in order to beſiege Carthage, without imparting to Maſiniſſa their deſign. This omiſſion, not a little chagrined him, as it was contrary to the former practice of the Romans, who, in the preceding war, had communicated their intentions, and conſulted him on all occaſions. When, therefore, the conſuls applied for a body of his troops to act in concert with their forces, he anſwered, that they ſhould have a reinforcement from him when they ſtood in need of it. It was extremely provoking to conſider, that after he had greatly weakened the Carthaginians, and even brought them to the brink of ruin, his imperious friends ſhould come to reap the fruits of his victory without giving him the leaſt intelligence of their plan.

He dies.

However, his mind ſoon after returned to its natural inclination in favour of the Romans. Finding his end approaching, he ſent to deſire a viſit of Æmilianus. What he propoſed by this viſit, was to inveſt him with full powers to diſpoſe of his kingdom and eſtate as he ſhould think proper, for the benefit of his children. The high idea he entertained of that young hero's abilities and integrity, together with his gratitude and affection for the family into which he was adopted, induced him to take this ſtep; but believing that death would not permit him to have a perſonal conference with Æmilianus upon this ſubject, he informed his wife and children in his laſt moments, that he had impowered him to diſpoſe, in an abſolute manner, of all his poſſeſſions, and to divide his kingdom amongſt his ſons. To which he ſubjoined, "I require, that whatever Æmilianus may decree, ſhall be executed as punctually as if I myſelf had appointed it by my will." Having uttered theſe words he expired, at above ninety years of age [d].

Some particulars relating to his character.

This prince, during his youth, had experienced ſtrange reverſes of fortune, as appears from ſeveral preceding parts of this hiſtory. However, he afterwards enjoyed an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity for a long ſeries of years. His kingdom extended from Mauritania to the weſtern confines of Cyrenaica; ſo that he was one of the moſt powerful princes in Africa. Many of the inhabitants of this vaſt tract he civilized in a wonderful manner, teaching them to cultivate their ſoil, and to reap thoſe natural advantages which the fertility of ſome parts of their country afforded. He was of a more robuſt habit of body than any of his contemporaries, being bleſſed with the greateſt health and vigour, which was doubtleſs owing to his extreme temperence, and the

[d] Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 2. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 27. p. 464, 465.

toils

toils he inceſſantly ſuſtained. We are informed by Polybius, that ſometimes he ſtood upon the ſame ſpot of ground from morning till evening, without the leaſt motion, and at others continued as long in a ſitting poſture. He would remain on horſeback for ſeveral days and nights together, without being ſenſible of the leaſt fatigue. Nothing can better evince the ſtrength of his conſtitution than the age of his youngeſt ſon, named Stembal, Sthemba, or Stembanus, who was but four years old at his deceaſe. Though ninety years of age he performed all the exerciſes uſed by young men, and always rode without a ſaddle. Pliny ſays, that he reigned above ſixty years. He was an able commander, and greatly contributed to the reduction of Carthage. Plutarch from Polybius obſerves, that the day after a great victory won over the Carthaginians, Maſiniſſa was ſeen ſitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread. Suidas relates, that to the laſt he could mount his horſe without aſſiſtance. According to Appian, he left a numerous well-diſciplined army, and an immenſe quantity of wealth [e].

Æmilianus divides his kingdom and effects amongſt his three ſons.

Maſiniſſa, before his death, gave his ring to his eldeſt ſon Micipſa; but left the diſtribution of all his other (F) effects and poſſeſſions amongſt his children. Of fifty-four ſons that ſurvived him only three were legitimate, namely, Micipſa, Guluſſa, and Maſtanabal. Æmilianus arriving at Cirta after he had expired, divided his kingdom, or rather the government of it, amongſt theſe three, though to the others he gave conſiderable poſſeſſions. To Micipſa, who was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition, and the eldeſt ſon, he aſſigned Cirta, the metropolis, for the place of his reſidence, in excluſion of the others. Guluſſa, being a prince of a military genius, had the command of the army, and the tranſacting of all affairs relating to peace or war, committed to his care. And Maſtanabal, or, according to Livy and Salluſt, Manaſtabal, the youngeſt, had the adminiſtration of juſtice, an employment ſuitable to his education. They enjoyed in common the immenſe treaſures Maſiniſſa had

[e] Appian. in Libyc. cap. 63. Val. Max. ubi ſupra. Strab. lib. xvii. Polyb. in Fragm. p. 1013. edit. Cauſab. 1619.

(F) It is ſaid that Maſiniſſa was ſerved in earthen-ware, after the Roman faſhion; but all the ſtrangers at his table in plate. The ſecond ſervice, or deſert, was adorned with golden baſkets, in conformity to the Italian cuſtom, ſo ingeniouſly worked, that they reſembled thoſe made of twigs, ruſhes, &c. Greek muſicians likewiſe attended his entertainments (1).

(1) Ptol. Commen. t. lib. viii. Athen. Deipnoſoph. lib. vi.

amaſſed,

amaſſed, and were all dignified by Æmilianus with the royal title. After he had made theſe wiſe diſpoſitions that young nobleman departed from Cirta, taking with him a body of Numidian troops, under the conduct of Guluſſa, to reinforce the Roman army, which was then acting againſt the Carthaginians [f].

Maſtanabal and Guluſſa die ſoon after their father Maſiniſſa.

Maſtanabal and Guluſſa died ſoon after their father, as appears from the expreſs teſtimony of Salluſt. We find nothing more remarkable of theſe princes beſides what has been already related, but that the latter continued to aſſiſt the Romans in the third Punic war; and that the former was pretty well verſed in the Greek language. Micipſa, therefore, became the ſole poſſeſſor of the kingdom of Numidia. In his reign, during the conſulate of M. Plautius Hypſæus and M. Fulvius Flaccus, according to Oroſius, great part of Aſia was infeſted with locuſts, which deſtroyed all the produce of the earth, and even devoured dry wood; but at laſt they were all carried away by the wind into the African ſea, out of which being thrown in vaſt heaps upon the ſhore, a plague enſued, which ſwept away an infinite number of animals of all kinds. In Numidia alone eight hundred thouſand men periſhed, and in Africa Propria two hundred thouſand: amongſt the reſt thirty thouſand Roman ſoldiers, quartered in and about Utica for the defence of the laſt province. At Utica in particular the mortality raged to ſuch a degree, that fifteen hundred dead bodies were carried out of one gate in a day. Micipſa had two ſons, Adherbal and Hiempſal, whom he educated in his palace, together with his nephew Jugurtha. That young prince was the ſon of Maſtanabal; but his mother having been only a concubine, Maſiniſſa had taken no great notice of him. However Micipſa, conſidering him as a prince of the blood, took as much care of him as he did of his own children [g].

Jugurtha poſſeſſed ſeveral eminent qualities, which gained him univerſal eſteem. He was very handſome, endued with great ſtrength of body, and adorned with the fineſt intellectual endowments. He did not devote himſelf, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleaſure: he uſed to exerciſe himſelf with perſons of his age, in running, riding, hurling the javelin, and other manly exerciſes, ſuited to the martial genius of the Numidians. The chace was his chief delight; but it was that of lions and other ſavage

[f] Appian. ubi ſupra, cap. 63, 64. Val. Max, lib. v. cap. 2. Liv. ubi ſup. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 27. p. 464, 465. Athen. Deipnoſoph. lib. vi. [g] Salluſt. in Jugurth. cap. 5. Liv. epit. l. Appian. in Libyc. Oroſ. lib. v. cap. 11.

beaſts.

beaſts. Salluſt, to finiſh his character, tells us, that he excelled in all things, and ſpoke very little of himſelf.

So conſpicuous an aſſemblage of fine talents and perfections at firſt charmed Micipſa, who thought them an ornament to his kingdom. However, he ſoon began to reflect, that he was conſiderably advanced in years, and his children in their infancy; that mankind naturally thirſted after power; and that nothing was capable of making men run greater lengths than a vicious and unlimited ambition. Theſe reflections ſoon excited his jealouſy, and determined him to expoſe Jugurtha to a variety of dangers, ſome of which might prove fatal. With this view he gave him the command of a body of forces, raiſed to aſſiſt the Romans, who were at that time beſieging Numantia in Spain. Jugurtha, however, by his admirable conduct, not only eſcaped all theſe dangers, but likewiſe gained the eſteem of the whole army, and the friendſhip of Scipio, who ſent a high character of him to his uncle Micipſa. However, that general gave him ſome prudent advice in relation to his future conduct, obſerving, no doubt, in him certain ſparks of ambition, which, if blown into a flame, he apprehended might one day be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences [h].

Micipſa jealous of his nephew Jugurtha.

Before this laſt experiment, Micipſa had endeavoured to deviſe ſome method of taking him off privately; but his popularity amongſt the Numidians obliged that prince to lay aſide all thoughts of this nature. After his return from Spain, he was almoſt adored by the whole nation. The heroic bravery he had diſplayed, his undaunted courage, joined to the utmoſt calmneſs of mind, which enabled him to preſerve a juſt medium between a timorous caution and an impetuous raſhneſs, a circumſtance rarely to be met with in perſons of his age, and, above all, the advantageous teſtimonials of his conduct given by Scipio, attracted univerſal eſteem: even Micipſa himſelf, charmed with the high idea the Roman general had entertained of his merit, changed his behaviour towards him, reſolving, if poſſible, to win his affection by kindneſs; he, therefore, adopted him, and declared him joint heir with his two ſons to the crown. Finding, ſome few years afterwards, that his end approached, he ſent for all three to his bed-ſide, where, in the preſence of the whole court, he deſired Jugurtha to recollect with what extreme tenderneſs he had treated him, and conſequently he ought to be grateful in return. He then intreated him to protect his children on all occaſions, who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now by their father's bounty

Jugurtha's perfidiouſneſs and cruelty.

[h] Salluſt. ubi ſupra. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 9.

become

become his brethren. In order to fix him the more firmly in their intereſt, he likewiſe complimented him upon his bravery, addreſs, and conſummate prudence. He farther inſinuated, that neither arms nor treaſures conſtitute the ſtrength of a kingdom, but friends, who are neither won by arms nor gold, but by real ſervices and an inviolable fidelity. "Now where (continued he), can we find better friends than in brothers? and how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repoſe any confidence in, or depend upon ſtrangers?" Then addreſſing himſelf to Adherbal and Hiempſal, "And you (ſaid he), I enjoin you always to pay the higheſt reverence to Jugurtha. Endeavour to imitate, and if poſſible ſurpaſs his exalted merit, that the world may not hereafter obſerve Micipſa's adopted ſon to have reflected greater glory upon his memory than his own children." Soon after Micipſa, who, according to Diodorus, was a prince of an amiable character, expired. Though Jugurtha did not believe the king ſpoke his real ſentiments with regard to him, yet he ſeemed extremely pleaſed with ſo gracious a ſpeech, and made him an anſwer ſuitable to the occaſion. However, that prince at the ſame time was determined to put in execution the ſcheme he had formed at the ſiege of Numantia, which was ſuggeſted by ſome factious and abandoned Roman officers, with whom he contracted an acquaintance. The purport of this ſcheme was, that he ſhould extort the crown by force from his two couſins, as ſoon as their father's eyes were cloſed; a ſcheme which, they inſinuated, might be eaſily effected by his own valour and the venality of the Romans. Accordingly, a ſhort time after the old king's death, he found means to aſſaſſinate Hiempſal in the city of Thirmida, where his treaſures were depoſited, and drive Adherbal out of his dominions. That unhappy prince found himſelf obliged to fly to Rome, where he endeavoured to engage the conſcript fathers to eſpouſe his quarrel; but, notwithſtanding the juſtice of his cauſe, they had not virtue enough effectually to ſupport him. Jugurtha's ambaſſadors, by diſtributing vaſt ſums of money amongſt the ſenators, brought them ſo far over, that a majority palliated his inhuman proceedings. This indulgence encouraged thoſe miniſters to declare, that Hiempſal had been killed by the Numidians for his exceſſive cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggreſſor in the late troubles; and that he was only incenſed becauſe he could not make that havock amongſt his countrymen he would willingly have done. They therefore entreated the ſenate to form a judgment of Jugurtha's behaviour in Africa from his conduct at Numantia, rather than from the ſuggeſtions

of

of his enemies. Upon which by far the greateſt part of the ſenate diſcovered themſelves prejudiced in his favour. A few, however, that were not loſt to honour, nor abandoned to corruption, inſiſted upon bringing him to condign puniſhment: but as they could not prevail, he had the beſt part of Numidia allotted him, and Adherbal was forced to reſt ſatisfied with the other [i].

He bribes the Roman ſenate, and maſſacres Adherbal.

Jugurtha, finding by experience that every thing was venal at Rome, thought he might purſue his ambitious projects without any obſtruction from that quarter. He, therefore, immediately after the laſt diviſion of Micipſa's dominions, threw off the maſk, and attacked his couſin by open force: he pillaged his territories, ſtormed ſeveral of his fortreſſes, and over-ran a good part of his kingdom without oppoſition. Adherbal, depending upon the friendſhip of the Romans, which his father in his laſt moments aſſured him would be a ſtronger ſupport to him than all the troops and treaſures in the univerſe, diſpatched deputies to Rome, to complain of theſe hoſtilities: but whilſt he loſt his time in ſending thither fruitleſs deputations, Jugurtha vanquiſhed him in a pitched battle, and ſoon after inveſted him in Cirta. During the ſiege of this city, a Roman commiſſion arrived, in order to perſuade both parties to an accommodation; but finding Jugurtha untractable, the commiſſioners returned, without even conferring with Adherbal. A ſecond deputation, compoſed of ſenators of the higheſt diſtinction, with Æmilius Scaurus, preſident of the ſenate, at their head, landed ſome time after at Utica, and ſummoned Jugurtha to appear before them. That prince at firſt ſeemed to be under dreadful apprehenſions, eſpecially as Scaurus reproached him with his enormous crimes, and threatened him with the reſentment of the Romans, if he did not immediately raiſe the ſiege of Cirta. However, the Numidian, by his addreſs, and the irreſtible power of gold, ſo appeaſed Scaurus, that he left Adherbal at his mercy. In fine, Cirta was at laſt ſurrendered to him, upon condition only that he ſhould ſpare the life of Adherbal; but the mercileſs tyrant, in violation of the laws of nature and humanity, as well as the capitulation, when he took poſſeſſion of the town, ordered the unhappy prince to be put to a moſt cruel death: the merchants, likewiſe, and all the Numidians in the place capable of bearing arms, he cauſed, without diſtinction, to be put to the ſword [k].

Every perſon at Rome, inſpired with any ſentiments of humanity, was ſtruck with horror at the news of this tra-

[i] Salluſt. & Flor. ubi ſup. Eut. lib. iv. cap. 26. Oroſ. lib. v. cap. 15.
[k] Idem. ibid. Liv. epit. lxiv.

gical

He corrupts Beſtia and Scaurus.

gical event. However, all the venal ſenators ſtill concurred with Jugurtha's miniſters in palliating his enormous crimes. Nevertheleſs, the people, excited by Caius Memmius their tribune, who bitterly inveighed againſt the venality of the ſenate, reſolved not to allow ſo flagrant an inſtance of villainy go unpuniſhed. This diſpoſition induced the conſcript fathers likewiſe to declare their intention to chaſtiſe Jugurtha; an army was levied to invade Numidia, and the command given to the conſul Calpurnius Beſtia, a perſon of abilities, but rendered unfit for the expedition by his inſatiable avarice. Jugurtha, being informed of the great preparations making at Rome to attack his dominions, ſent his ſon thither to avert the impending ſtorm. The young prince was plentifully ſupplied with money, which he had orders to diſtribute liberally amongſt the leading men: but Beſtia, propoſing to himſelf great advantages from an invaſion of Numidia, defeated all his intrigues, and got a decree paſſed, ordering him and his attendants to depart Italy in ten days, unleſs they were come to deliver up the king himſelf, and all his territories, to the republic by way of dedition. Which decree being notified to them, they returned without having entered the gates of Rome; and the conſul ſoon after landed with a powerful army in Africa. For ſome time he carried on the war with vigour, reduced ſeveral fortreſſes, and took many Numidians priſoners: but upon the arrival of Scaurus, a peace was granted Jugurtha upon advantageous terms. That prince coming from Vacca, the place of his reſidence, to the Roman camp, in order to confer with Beſtia and Scaurus, and the preliminaries of the treaty being ſettled between them in private conferences, every perſon at Rome was convinced, that the prince of the ſenate and the conſul had ſacrificed the republic to their avarice. The indignation, therefore, of the people in general diſplayed itſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner. Memmius alſo inflamed them with his harangues. It was therefore reſolved to diſpatch the prætor Caſſius, a perſon they could confide in, to Numidia, to prevail upon Jugurtha to come to Rome, that they might learn from the king himſelf which of their generals and ſenators had been ſeduced by the peſtilent influence of corruption. Upon his arrival, he found means to bribe Bæbius Salca, a man of great authority amongſt the plebeians, but of inſatiable avarice, by whoſe aſſiſtance he eſcaped with impunity. By the efficacy of gold, he not only eluded all the endeavours of the people of Rome to bring him to juſtice, but likewiſe enabled Bomilcar, one of his attendants, to get Maſſiva, an illegitimate ſon of Micipſa, aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Rome: that young prince

Yr. of Fl. 2238. Ante Chr. 110.

was

was adviſed by many Romans of probity, well-wiſhers to the family of Maſiniſſa, to apply for the kingdom of Numidia; which advice coming to Jugurtha's ears, he prevented the application by this execrable ſtep. However, he was obliged to leave Italy immediately.

Obliges the Roman army to paſs under the jugum, and quit Numidia.

Jugurtha had ſcarce ſet foot in Africa, when he received advice, that the ſenate had annulled the ſhameful peace concluded with him by Beſtia and Scaurus. Soon after, the conſul Albinus tranſported a Roman army into Numidia, flattering himſelf with the hopes of reducing Jugurtha to reaſon before the expiration of his conſulate. In this however he found himſelf deceived; for that crafty prince, by various artifices, ſo amuſed and impoſed upon Albinus, that nothing of moment happened that campaign. This inactivity rendered him ſtrongly ſuſpected of having betrayed his country after the example of his predeceſſors. His brother Aulus, who ſucceeded him in the command of the army, was ſtill more unſucceſsful; for, after riſing from before Suthul, where the king's treaſures were depoſited, he marched his forces into a defile, out of which he found it impoſſible to extricate himſelf. He therefore was obliged to ſubmit to the ignominious ceremony of paſſing under the jugum, with all his men, and to quit Numidia in ten days time, in order to deliver his troops from immediate deſtruction. The avaricious diſpoſition of the Roman commander induced him to beſiege Suthul, the poſſeſſion of which place, he imagined, would make him maſter of all the wealth of Jugurtha, and conſequently paved the way to ſuch a ſcandalous treaty. However, this was declared void when known at Rome, being concluded without the authority of the people. The Roman troops retired into Africa Propria, which they had now reduced into the form of a Roman province, and took up their winter-quarters [1].

Defeated by Metellus.

In the mean time Caius Mamilius Limetanus, tribune of the people, excited the plebeians to inquire into the conduct of thoſe perſons, by whoſe aſſiſtance Jugurtha had found means to elude all the decrees of the ſenate. This inquiry put the body of the people into a great ferment; which occaſioned a proſecution of the guilty ſenators, that was carried on, for ſome time, with the utmoſt heat and violence. During theſe tranſactions, the conſul Lucius Metellus had Numidia aſſigned him for his province, and conſequently was appointed general of the army deſtined to act againſt Jugurtha. As he diſregarded wealth, the Numidian found him ſuperior to all his temptations. To this incorruptibility

[1] Salluſt. Flor. Oroſ. ubi ſup.

he joined all the other virtues, which conſtitute the great general; ſo that Jugurtha found him in all reſpects inacceſſible. That prince therefore was now obliged to regulate his conduct, according to the motions of Metellus, with the greateſt caution, and exert his utmoſt bravery, in order to compenſate for that hitherto favourable expedient, which now began to fail him. Marius, Metellus's lieutenant, being likewiſe a perſon of uncommon merit, the Romans reduced Vacca, a large, opulent city, and the moſt celebrated mart in Numidia. They alſo defeated Jugurtha in a pitched battle; overthrew Bomilcar, one of his generals, upon the banks of the Muthullus; and, in ſhort, forced the Numidian monarch to take ſhelter in a place rendered almoſt inacceſſible by the rocks and woods with which it was covered. However, Jugurtha ſignalized himſelf in a ſurpriſing manner, exhibiting all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention, of a conſummate general, to whom deſpair adminiſters freſh ſtrength, and ſuggeſts new lights. But his troops could not ſtand againſt the Romans; they were again worſted by Marius, though they obliged Metellus to raiſe the ſiege of Zama. Jugurtha therefore, finding his country every-where ravaged, his cities plundered, his fortreſſes reduced, his towns burnt, vaſt numbers of his ſubjects put to the ſword, and taken priſoners, began to think ſeriouſly of coming to an accommodation with the Romans. His favourite Bomilcar, in whom he repoſed the higheſt confidence, but who had been ſeduced by Metellus, obſerving this diſpoſition, found it no difficult matter to perſuade him to deliver up his elephants, money, arms, horſes, and deſerters, in whom the chief ſtrength of his army conſiſted, into the hands of the Romans. Some of theſe laſt, in order to avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, retired to Bocchus king of Mauritania; and liſted in his ſervice. But Metellus ordering him to repair to Tiſidium, a city of Numidia, to receive farther directions, and he refuſing a compliance with that order, hoſtilities renewed with greater fury than ever. Fortune now ſeemed to declare in favour of Jugurtha: he retook Vacca, and maſſacred all the Roman garriſon, except Turpilius, the commandant. However, ſoon after a Roman legion again ſurpriſed it, and treated the inhabitants with the utmoſt ſeverity. About this time, one of Maſtanabal's ſons, named Gauda, whom Micipſa, in his will, had appointed to ſucceed to the crown, in caſe his two legitimate ſons and Jugurtha ſhould die without iſſue, wrote to the ſenate in favour of Marius, who was then endeavouring to ſupplant Metellus; the occaſion and effect of

which

which ſolicitation has already been related. That prince, having his underſtanding impaired by a declining ſtate of health, fell a more eaſy prey to the baſe and infamous adulation of Marius. The Roman ſoothing his vanity, aſſured him, that, as he was the next heir to the crown, he might depend upon being fixed upon the Numidian throne, as ſoon as Jugurtha was either killed or taken; and that this muſt in a ſhort time happen, when he once appeared at the head of the Roman army with an unlimited commiſſion. Soon after, Bomilcar and Nabdalſa formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate Jugurtha at the inſtigation of Metellus; but this ſcheme being diſcovered, Bomilcar, and moſt of his accomplices, ſuffered death, as our readers will find in another part of this work. The plot however had ſuch an effect upon Jugurtha, that he enjoyed afterwards no tranquility or repoſe. He ſuſpected perſons of all denominations, Numidians as well as foreigners, of nefarious deſigns againſt him. Perpetual terrors ſat brooding over his mind; inſomuch that he never enjoyed a moment's ſleep, but by ſtealth. Starting from his ſleep, he would frequently ſnatch his ſword, and break out into the moſt lamentable cries. So ſtrongly was he haunted by a ſpirit of fear, jealouſy, and diſtraction [m].

Overthrown a ſecond time by him.

Jugurtha having deſtroyed great numbers of his friends, on ſuſpicion of their having been concerned in the late conſpiracy, and many more deſerting to the Romans and Bocchus king of Mauritania, he found himſelf deſtitute of counſellors, generals, and perſons capable of aſſiſting him in carrying on the war. The conſciouſneſs of his deplorable ſituation threw him into a deep melancholy, which rendered him diſſatisfied with every thing, and made him harraſs his troops with a variety of contradictory motions. Sometimes he would advance with great celerity againſt the enemy, and at others retreat with no leſs expedition. Then he reſumed his former courage; but ſoon after deſpaired either of the valour or fidelity of the forces under his command. All his movements therefore proved unſucceſsful, and at laſt he was forced by Metellus to a battle. That part of the Numidian army Jugurtha commanded, behaved with ſome reſolution; but the other fled at the firſt attack. The Romans therefore entirely defeated them, took all their ſtandards, and made a few priſoners. Not many of them were ſlain in the action, ſince, as Salluſt obſerves, the Nu-

[m] Iidem ibid. Liv. Epit. lxv. Plut. in Mar. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 11.

midians truſted more to their heels than to their arms for ſafety in this engagement [n].

Yr. of Fl. 2242. Ante Chr. 106.

Metellus takes Thala.

Metellus purſued Jugurtha and his fugitives to Thala, a city we have formerly deſcribed. His march to this place, being through vaſt deſerts, was extremely tedious and difficult. But being ſupplied with leathern bottles and wooden veſſels of all ſizes, taken from the huts of the Numidians, which were filled with water brought by the natives, who had ſubmitted, he advanced towards that city. He had no ſooner begun his march, than a moſt copious ſhower of rain, an incident very uncommon in thoſe deſerts, proved a great and ſeaſonable refreſhment to his troops. Thus animated, upon their arrival before Thala, they attacked the town with ſuch vigour, that Jugurtha, with his family, and treaſures depoſited therein, thought proper to abandon the place. After a brave defence, it was reduced, the garriſon, conſiſting of Roman deſerters, ſetting fire to the king's palace, and conſuming themſelves, together with every thing valuable, in the flames. Jugurtha, being now reduced to great extremities, retired into Gætulia, where he raiſed a conſiderable force. From thence he advanced to the confines of Mauritania, and engaged Bocchus, king of that country, who had married his daughter, to enter into an alliance with him. In conſequence of which, having reinforced his Gætulian troops with a powerful body of Mauritanians, he, in return, obliged Metellus to keep cloſe within his intrenchments. Salluſt informs us, that Jugurtha bribed Bocchus's miniſters to influence that prince in his favour; and that having obtained an audience, he inſinuated, that, ſhould Numidia be ſubdued, Mauritania muſt be involved in its ruin, eſpecially as the Romans had vowed the deſtruction of all the kingdoms in the univerſe. In ſupport of what he advanced, he produced ſeveral inſtances very appoſite to the point in view. However, Bocchus was determined to aſſiſt Jugurtha againſt his enemies for the ſlight the Romans had formerly ſhewn him. That prince, at the firſt breaking out of this war, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to propoſe an offenſive and defenſive alliance to the republic; which, though of the greateſt importance at that juncture, a few of the moſt venal, corrupt, and infamous ſenators prevented it from taking effect. This contempt undoubtedly wrought more powerfully upon Bocchus in favour of Jugurtha, than their affinity of blood; for both the Moors and Numidians adapted the number of their wives to their

[n] Salluſt. Liv. Paterc. Oroſ. ubi ſup. Europ. ubi ſup. cap. 27.

circum-

circumſtances, ſo that ſome had ten or twenty to their ſhare. Their kings therefore were unlimited in this reſpect, and of courſe all degrees of kindred, reſulting to them from marriage, had little force [o].

And endeavours to draw off Bocchus from the intereſt of Jugurtha.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in Numidia, when Metellus received advice of the promotion of Marius to the conſulate. What effect theſe tidings had upon that excellent, though much injured, commander, has been already obſerved. But notwithſtanding the injurious treatment he met with on this occaſion, he generouſly endeavoured to draw off Bocchus from Jugurtha, though this would facilitate the reduction of Numidia for his rival. With this view ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the Mauritanian court, who intimated to Bocchus, that it would be highly imprudent to come to a rupture with the Romans without any juſt cauſe; and that he had now a fine opportunity of concluding an advantageous treaty with them, which was far preferable to a war. To which they added, that whatever dependence he might place upon his riches, he ought not to run the hazard of loſing his dominions by embroiling himſelf with other ſtates, when he could eaſily avoid coming to this extremity; that it was much eaſier to begin a war, than to terminate it, which the victor alone could effect; that, in fine, he would by no means conſult the intereſt of his ſubjects, if he followed the deſperate fortune of Jugurtha. To which Bocchus replied, that, for his part, there was nothing he wiſhed for more than peace; but that he could not help lamenting the deplorable ſtate of Jugurtha; that if the Romans therefore would grant that unfortunate prince the ſame terms they had offered him, he would promote an accommodation. Metellus informed the Mauritanian monarch that it was not in his power to comply with his requeſt. However, he ſtill carried on a private negociation with him till the arrival of the new conſul Marius. By this conduct he compaſſed two ſalutary purpoſes: firſt, he prevented Bocchus from coming to a general action with his troops; which was Jugurtha's principal object, in expectation that, whatever the event might be, it would render a reconciliation between him and the Romans impracticable. Secondly, this inaction enabled him to trace the genius and diſpoſition of the Moors, a nation, of whom the Romans, till then, had ſcarce formed any idea [p].

[o] Iidem ibid. Strab. lib. xvii. Vide & Bern. Aldret. ubi ſupra. p. 400, 401. & ſeq. [p] Salluſt. Vell. Paterc. & Plut. ubi ſup.

Marius reduces Capſa.

Jugurtha being informed that Marius, with a numerous army, was landed at Utica, adviſed Bocchus to retire, with part of the troops, to ſome place of ſecurity, whilſt he poſted himſelf upon another inacceſſible ſpot with the remaining corps. By this manœuvre, he hoped the Romans would be obliged to divide their forces, and conſequently be more expoſed to his efforts and attacks. He likewiſe imagined, that, ſeeing no formidable body appear, they would believe the enemy incapable to make head againſt them; a belief which might occaſion a relaxation of diſcipline, the uſual attendant of a too great ſecurity, and conſequently produce ſome advantageous effect. However, both theſe views were fruſtrated; for Marius, far from ſuffering a relaxation of diſcipline to take place, trained up his troops, which conſiſted chiefly of new levies, in ſo perfect a manner, that they were ſoon equal in military ſkill to any conſular army that ever appeared in the field. He alſo cut off great numbers of the Gætulian marauders, defeated many of Jugurtha's parties, and that prince himſelf narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner, near the city of Cirta. Theſe advantages, though not of any great importance, intimidated Bocchus, who now made overtures for an accommodation; but the Romans, not being convinced of his ſincerity, paid little attention to his propoſals. In the mean time Marius puſhed on his conqueſts, reducing ſeveral places of leſs note, and at laſt reſolved to beſiege Capſa. That this enterprize might be conducted with the greateſt ſecrecy, he ſuffered not the leaſt hint of his deſign to tranſpire, even amongſt any of his officers; on the contrary, in order to delude them, he detached A. Manlius, one of his lieutenants, with ſome light-armed cohorts, to the city of Lares, where he had fixed his principal magazine, and depoſited the military cheſt. Before Manlius left the camp, that he might the more effectually amuſe him, he intimated, that he ſhould, with the army, take the ſame route in a few days; but, inſtead of that meaſure, he bent his march towards the Tanais, and, in ſix days, arrived upon the banks of that river. Here he pitched his tents for a ſhort time, in order to refreſh his troops; then he advanced to Capſa, and made himſelf maſter of it, in the manner already related. The ſituation of this city being extremely commodious to Jugurtha, and having greatly favoured his plan of operations, ever ſince the commencement of the war, he levelled it with the ground, after it had been delivered up to the ſoldiers to be plundered. The citizens likewiſe, being more zealouſly attached to that prince than any of the other Numidians, on account of the extraordinary privileges he granted them, and,

and, of courſe, bearing a more implacable hatred to the Romans, he put to the ſword, or ſold for ſlaves. The true motive of the conſul's conduct on this occaſion ſeems here to be aſſigned, though we are told by Salluſt, in conformity to the Roman genius, that neither avarice nor reſentment prompted him to ſo barbarous an action, but only a deſire to ſtrike a terror into the Numidians [q].

Jugurtha prevails upon Bocchus to aſſiſt him.

The Numidians, ever after this exploit, dreaded the very name of Marius, who now, in his own opinion, had eclipſed the glory of all his predeceſſor's great atchievements, particularly the reduction of Thala, a city, in ſtrength and ſituation, nearly equal to Capſa. Purſuing this ſtroke, he gradually preſented himſelf before moſt of the places of ſtrength in the enemy's country, many of which either opened their gates to him, or were abandoned, at his approach. Others, which were taken by force, he laid in aſhes; and, in fine, filled the greateſt part of Numidia with blood, horror, and confuſion. After an obſtinate defence, he reduced a caſtle, that ſeemed impregnable, ſeated near Mulucha, where Jugurtha kept part of his treaſures. In the mean time Jugurtha, not being able to prevail upon Bocchus, by his repeated ſolicitations, to advance into Numidia, where he found himſelf greatly preſſed, was obliged to have recourſe to his uſual method of bribing the Mauritanian miniſters, in order to put the forces of that prince in motion. He alſo promiſed him a third part of his kingdom, provided they could either drive the Romans out of Africa, or obtain all the Numidian dominions agreeable to treaty [r].

So conſiderable a ceſſion could not fail of engaging Bocchus to ſupport Jugurtha with his whole power. The two African monarchs, therefore, having united their forces, ſurpriſed Marius near Cirta, as he was retiring into winter-quarters. The Roman general was ſo haraſſed on this occaſion, that the Barbarians thought themſelves certain of victory, and doubted not but they ſhould be able to extinguiſh the Roman name in Numidia: but their incautious conduct and too great ſecurity, enabled Marius to defeat them totally: this was followed four days after by ſo complete an overthrow, that their numerous army, conſiſting of ninety thouſand men, by the acceſſion of a powerful corps of Moors, commanded by Bocchus's ſon Volux, was entirely deſtroyed. Sylla, Marius's lieutenant, eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the laſt action, and here laid the

Yr. of Fl. 2243. Ante Chr. 105.

They are defeated by Marius, upon which Bocchus delivers up Jugurtha to the Romans.

[q] Salluſt. Liv. Flor. Plut. Eutrop. Oroſ. ubi ſupra. [r] Salluſt. Flor. Plut. ubi ſup. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. iii. cap. 9. ex. 3.

foundation of his future greatneſs. Bocchus, now looking upon Jugurtha's condition as deſperate, and unwilling to run the riſk of loſing his own dominions, ſhewed a diſpoſition to make peace with Rome. However, the republic gave him to underſtand, that he muſt not expect to be ranked amongſt their friends, till he had delivered up Jugurtha to the conſul, he being conſidered as the inveterate enemy of the Roman name. The Mauritanian monarch, being ambitious of an alliance with that ſtate, reſolved to gratify it in this particular, and was confirmed in his reſolution by one Dabar, a Numidian prince, the ſon of Maſſugrada, deſcended by his mother's ſide from Maſiniſſa. Being cloſely attached to the Romans, and extremely agreeable to Bocchus, on account of his noble diſpoſition, he defeated all the intrigues of Aſpar, Jugurtha's miniſter. Upon Sylla's arrival at the Mauritanian court, the negociation ſeemed to be entirely ſettled: however, Bocchus, who was continually projecting new deſigns, and, like the reſt of his countrymen, in the higheſt degree perfidious, deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould ſacrifice Sylla or Jugurtha, who were both then in his power. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and combated by a contrariety of ſentiments: the ſudden changes, which diſplayed themſelves in his countenance, his air, and his whole perſon, evidently demonſtrated how violently his mind was agitated; but at laſt he reverted to his firſt deſign, to which the bias of his mind ſeemed naturally inclined. He accordingly delivered up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, to be conducted to Marius, who, by that ſucceſsful event, happily terminated this dangerous war. The kingdom of Numidia now aſſumed a new form: Bocchus, for his important ſervices, had the country of the Maſſæſyli, contiguous to Mauritania, aſſigned him, which, from this period, took the name of New Mauritania. Numidia Propria, or the county of the Maſſyli, was divided into three parts, one of which was given to Hiempſal, another to Mandreſtal, both deſcendents of Maſiniſſa, and the third the Romans annexed to Africa Propria, or the Roman province, adjacent to it (M).

Jugurtha's

(M) According to Plutarch, Marius's triumph happened on the firſt day of January, on which the year began amongſt the Romans, when Jugurtha was expoſed to the view of the people. The populace were extremely delighted with that ſight, the Numidian, by his valour and conduct, having rendered himſelf terrible to the Romans. It is even intimated by Florus, that he was looked upon by them as a ſecond Hannibal. Plutarch adds, that the day he was led in triumph, he became diſtracted;

Jugurtha's two ſons ſurvived him, but paſſed their lives in captivity at Venuſia. However, one of them, named Oxyntas, was, for a ſhort time, releaſed from his confinement by Aponius, who beſieged Acerræ in the war between the Romans and the Italian allies. That general conducted this prince to his army, where he treated him as king, in order to draw off the Numidian forces from the Roman ſervice. Accordingly thoſe Numidians no ſooner heard, that the ſon of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to deſert by companies; a deſertion which obliged Julius Cæſar, the conſul, to diſmiſs all his Numidian cavalry, and ſend them back into Africa. A few years after this event, Pompey defeated Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Hiarbas, one of the kings of Numidia, putting to death ſeventeen thouſand of their men upon the field of battle. Not ſatisfied with this victory, this general purſued the fugitives to their camp, which he ſoon forced, put Domitius to the ſword, and took Hiarbas priſoner. He then reduced that part of Numidia which belonged to Hiarbas, who ſeems to have ſucceeded Mandreſtal, and gave it to Hiempſal, a neighbouring Numidian prince, deſcended from Maſiniſſa, who had always oppoſed the Marian faction.

Tranſactions in Numidia after the death of Jugurtha.

Suetonius informs us, that a diſpute aroſe between Hiempſal and one Maſintha, a noble Numidian, whom, it is probable he had, in ſome reſpect, injured, when Julius Cæſar firſt began his brilliant career. The ſame author adds, that Cæſar warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of Maſintha, and even groſly inſulted Juba, Hiempſal's ſon, when he attempted to vindicate his father's conduct upon this occaſion: he took him by the beard, the moſt unpardonable affront that could be offered an African. In ſhort, he ſcreened Maſintha from the inſults and violence of his enemies; hence a reaſon may be adduced for Juba's adhering ſo cloſely afterwards to the Pompeian faction *.

Cæſar treats Juba in a very indecent manner.

* Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. cap. 71.

diſtracted; that, when he was afterwards thrown into priſon, whilſt ſome tore off his cloaths, and others his golden pendent, with which they pulled off the tip of his ear, he was greatly diſtreſſed; and that yet agitated with horror, when he was caſt naked into the dungeon, he forced a ſmile, crying out, "O heavens! how intolerable cold is this bath of yours!" In this place he ſtruggled for ſome time with extreme hunger, and then expired. The barbarous death he was put to, notwithſtanding his own inhuman diſpoſition, will remain an eternal monument of Roman cruelty and ingratitude.

In

Juba defeats Curio, one of Cæsar's lieutenants.

In consequence of the indignity Cæsar had offered to Juba, this prince exerted himself to the prejudice of Cæsar, in the civil wars between him and Pompey. By a stratagem he drew Curio, one of his lieutenants, to a general action, which he should at that time have carefully avoided. He propagated all over Africa Propria and Numidia, that he was retired into some remote country at a great distance from the Roman territories: this report reaching Curio, who was then besieging Utica, hindered him from taking the necessary steps against a surprize. Soon after, the Roman general receiving intelligence, that a small body of Numidians was approaching his camp, he put himself at the head of his forces, in order to attack them, and, lest they should escape, began his march in the night, thinking he was sure of victory. Some of their advanced posts he surprised asleep, and cut them to pieces, which still farther animated him. About day-break he came up with the Numidians, whom he attacked with great bravery, though his men were then fasting, and much fatigued by their forced and precipitate march. In the mean time Juba, who, immediately after the propagation of the rumour just mentioned, had cautiously marched privately, with the main body of the Numidian army, to support the detachment sent before to decoy Curio, advanced to the relief of his men. The Romans had met with great resistance before he appeared; so that he easily broke them, killed Curio, with a great part of his troops, upon the spot, pursued the rest to their camp, which he plundered, and took many of them prisoners. Most of the fugitives, who endeavoured to make their escape on board the ships in the port of Utica, were either slain by the pursuers, or drowned. The remainder fell into the hands of Varus, who would have saved them; but Juba, who arrogated to himself the honour of this victory, ordered most of them to be put to the sword[t].

Cæsar overthrows Scipio, Juba, and Labienus.

This victory infused new life and vigour into the Pompeian faction, who thereupon conferred great honours upon Juba, and gave him the title of king of all Numidia; but Cæsar and his adherents declared him an enemy to the state of Rome, adjudging to Bocchus and Bogud, two African princes entirely in their interest, the sovereignty of his dominions. Juba afterwards, uniting his forces with those of Scipio, reduced Cæsar to great extremities; for he had landed in Africa with a handful of troops: but he was ex-

[t] Cæs. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. cap. 7, 8. Dio, lib. xli. ad Ann. U. C. 705. Flor. lib. iv. cap. 2. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. p. 455. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. iii. cap. 5. ex. 40.

tricated

tricated out of his difficulties by Publius Sittius, who had formed a conſiderable body of forces, conſiſting of Roman exiles, and Mauritanian troops furniſhed by Bogud. With theſe he made an irruption into Gætulia and Numidia, whilſt Juba was employed in Africa Propria. Whilſt he ravaged theſe countries in a dreadful manner, Juba immediately returned with the beſt part of his army, to preſerve them from utter deſtruction. However, Cæſar, knowing his horſe were afraid of the enemy's elephants, did not think proper to attack Scipio in the abſence of the Numidian, till his own elephants, and a freſh reinforcement of troops, hourly expected, arrived from Italy. With this acceſſion of ſtrength, he judged himſelf able to give a good account, as well of the Roman forces, with which he was to cope, as the Barbarians. In the mean time Scipio diſpatched reiterated expreſſes to Juba (N) for his ſpeedy aſſiſtance; but could not prevail upon him to move out of Numidia, till he had promiſed him the poſſeſſion of all the Roman dominions in Africa, if Cæſar could be expelled from thence. This promiſe immediately put him in motion; and, having ſent a large detachment to make head againſt Sittius, he marched with the reſt of his troops to aſſiſt Scipio. However, Cæſar at length overthrew Scipio, Juba, and Labienus, near the town of Thapſus, and forced all their camps. As Scipio was the firſt ſurpriſed and defeated, Juba fled into Numidia, without waiting for Cæſar's approach; but the body of the Numidians detached againſt Sittius having been broken and diſperſed by that general, none of his ſubjects there would receive him. Thus abandoned to deſpair, he ſought death in a ſingle combat with Petreius, whom he killed, and then compelled one of his ſlaves to deſtroy himſelf (O) [u].

[u] A. Hirt. de Bell. African. cap. 3, 4, 5, & ſeq. Appian. ubi ſup. lib. iv. p. 620, 621. Dio, lib. xliii. Plut. in Cat. & Cæſ.

(N) Juba, according to Dio, pretended to aſſiſt Pompey, not out of a motive of reſentment, but becauſe he was a defender of the ſenate and people of Rome. But princes frequently, in the place of the real cauſe, ſubſtitute the pretext (1).

(O) Hirtius intimates, that Juba killed Petreius in this combat, and was himſelf afterwards diſpatched by his ſlave. Oroſius relates, that Petreius run himſelf through with his ſword, and that Juba hired a perſon to kill him; but Appian, Eutropius, and Dio aſſure us, that they ſlew each other (2).

1) Dio, lib. xli. (2) Appian. de Bell. Civil. p. 490. Oroſ. lib. vi. cap. 16. ſub fin. Eutrop. lib. vi. cap. 23. Dio, lib. xliii.

After

Cæſar reduces Numidia to the form of a province.

After this deciſive action, and the reduction of Africa Propria, Cæſar made himſelf maſter of Numidia, which he reduced to a Roman province, appointing Criſpus Salluſtius to govern it in quality of proconſul, with private inſtructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and, by theſe means, put it out of their power to ſhake off the Roman yoke: however, Bocchus and Bogud ſtill preſerved a kind of ſovereignty in the country of the Maſſæſyli and Mauritania. The former of thoſe princes, having deſerted Cæſar, ſent an army into Spain to aſſiſt the Pompeians; and the latter, with his forces, was the means of obtaining victory for Cæſar at the ever memorable battle of Munda. Bogud afterwards joining Antony againſt Octavius, ſent a body of forces to aſſiſt him in Spain; at which time the Tingitanians revolting from him, Bocchus, with an army compoſed of Romans in the intereſt of Octavius, who paſſed over from Spain into Africa, and his own ſubjects, poſſeſſed himſelf of Mauritania Tingitana. Bogud fled to Antony; and Octavius, after the concluſion of the war, honoured the inhabitants of Tingi with all the privileges of Roman citizens. He likewiſe confirmed Bocchus, king of Mauritania Cæſarienſis, or the country of the Maſſæſyli, in the poſſeſſion of Tingitania, which he had conquered, as a reward for his important ſervices. In this particular he imitated the example of his great predeceſſor Julius Cæſar, who divided ſome of the fruitful plains of Numidia among the ſoldiers of P. Sittius, who had conquered great part of that country, and appointed Sittius himſelf ſovereign of that diſtrict. Sittius, having taken Cirta, killed Sabura, Juba's general, completely diſperſed his forces, and either cut off, or taken priſoners, moſt of the Pompeian fugitives that eſcaped from the battle of Thapſus, highly deſerved to be diſtinguiſhed in ſo eminent a manner. After Bocchus's death, Mauritania and the Maſſæſylian Numidia were, in all reſpects, conſidered as Roman provinces. What happened to Bogud after he was driven out of his dominions, as alſo the younger Juba, his ſon Ptolemy, and Tacfarinas, who gave the Romans no ſmall trouble in the reign of Tiberius, with other remarkable particulars relating to the period and country we are now treating of, our readers will naturally expect to find an account of in the hiſtory of the Moors or Mauritanians [w].

[w] A. Hirt. ubi ſup. & de Bell. Alex. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Auct. Comment. de Bell. Hiſp. Dio, lib. xlii. xliii. xlix. l. Strab. lib. iii. Flor. ubi ſupra.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXIV.

The History of the Mauritanians, to the entire Reduction of their Country by the Romans.

SECT. I.

Description of Mauritania.

MAURITANIA, or, as it is called by Strabo, Maurusia, and the country of the Maurusii, was bounded on the east by the Malva or Mulucha; on the west by the Atlantic ocean; on the south by Gætulia, or Libya Interior; and on the north by the Mediterranean. This kingdom, being reduced to a Roman province in the reign of Claudius, had the name of Mauritania Tingitana given it by that prince, as we are informed by Dio. From Pliny, and some inscriptions in Gruter, it likewise appears, that it was called by the Romans at that time, as well as afterwards, simply Tingitania, from its principal city Tingi, in order to distinguish it from Mauritania Cæsarienſis. If we may judge from what has been already observed of Numidia and Africa Propria, the ancients were not over-accurate in their descriptions of this country. However, all their errors cannot be discovered, much less corrected, since no modern accounts of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, answering nearly to the Tingitania of the ancients, can be entirely depended upon.

Limits and extent of Mauritania.

Though Tingitania, or Mauritania Tingitana, then was considerably broader than Mauritania Cæsarienſis, the corresponding parts of Mount Atlas, or the confines of Gætulia, lying more to the southward, yet Pliny and Martianus, according to the latest observations, exceed the truth when they affirm the greatest breadth of the Mauritaniæ to be four hundred and sixty-seven, or four hundred and seventy-three miles. Of the length of this region we may make a tolerable estimate, by observing that the Malva or Mullooïah, its eastern limit, about 1 degree 15 minutes W. of London, is rather more than two hundred and forty miles distant from the Atlantic ocean. Some of the modern geographers make the kingdom of Fez to be two hundred and seventy miles long, and that of Morocco, from cape Non to the mountains which divide it from Segelmessa, above three hundred and seventy; but this computation, with respect

ſpect to the ancient Tingitania, is undoubtedly more erroneous than that of Pliny, which amounts only to a hundred and ſeventy miles. The longitude and latitude of the ſouthern limits of Tingitania cannot be aſcertained, for want of a proper light from the old geographers; but Septa, the preſent Ceuta, its moſt advanced city to the northward, is about 35 degrees 58 minutes N. lat. and about 6 degrees W. long. from London. The Al-Magreb Al-Achſa of Abulfeda includes the Mauruſia of Strabo, or the country we are now mentioning, and part of Mauritania Cæſarienſis, as it extends from the Atlantic ocean which he calls the ſea Almohit, to Tlemſan. We muſt not omit obſerving, that Ptolemy places the Atlas Major, his ſouthern boundary of this kingdom, at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſouthern limits aſſigned it by Pliny, in the deſerts of Gætulia or Libya Interior. But it appears from what has been already advanced, as well as the beſt relations of modern travellers, that this ridge of mountains, if real, could not have appertained to Tingitania [x].

Whence ſo called.

Mauritania and Mauruſia are names of this region derived from the Mauri, an ancient people inhabiting it, frequently mentioned by the old hiſtorians and geographers. Authors are not agreed amongſt themſelves about the origin of this word. Bochart makes Maurus equivalent to Mahur; or, as an eliſion of gutturals in the Oriental languages is extremely common, Maur, i. e. *one from the Weſt*, or *a Weſtern perſon*, ſince Mauritania was weſt of Carthage and Phœnice. Procopius tells us, that in his time two pillars of white ſtone were to be ſeen there, with the following inſcription in the Phœnician language and character upon them: "We are the Canaanites, who fled from Joſhua the ſon of Nun, that notorious robber." Ibnu Rachich, or Ibnu Raquiq, an African writer cited by Leo, together with Evagrius and Nicephorus Calliſtus, mention the ſame circumſtance. How, in after-ages, that vaſt tract, extending from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean, came to be called Barbary, our readers will be informed in another place [y].

The Mauritanians, according to Ptolemy, were divided into ſeveral cantons or tribes. The Metagonitæ were ſeated

[x] Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſupra. Martian. de Duab. Mauritan. Geogr. Nubienſ. in clim. 3. Marmol, en l'Afrique, lib. vi. I. Leo Afric. paſſ. L'Afrique en pluſieres Cartes Nouvelles, &c. par le Sieur Sanſon D'Abbeville, à Paris, 1683. Shaw's Geograph. Obſervations relating to the Kingdom of Alg. p. 9. [y] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. ii. cap. 10 p. 257. Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 28. Niceph. Calliſt. lib. xvii. cap. 12. Theophan. in Hiſt. Miſcel. Ibni Raquiq. apud J. Leo African. part v. Aldret. lib. iii. cap. 13.

near

near the ſtreights of Hercules. The Succoſii, or Cocoſii, according to Bertius, inhabited the coaſt of the Iberian Sea. Under theſe two petty nations the Maſices, Verues, and Verbicæ or Vervicæ, ſettled themſelves. The Saliſæ or Salinſæ were ſituated lower towards the ocean; and ſtill more to the ſouth the Volubiliani. The Maurenſii and Herpiditani poſſeſſed the eaſtern part of this country, which was terminated by the Mulucha. The Angaucani or Iangacaucani, Nectiberes, Zagrenſii, Baniubæ, and Vacuatæ, extended themſelves from the ſouthern foot of Ptolemy's Atlas Minor to his Atlas Major; which is all that he has ſaid of them. Pliny mentions the Baniuræ, whom father Hardouïn takes to be Ptolemy's Baniubæ; and Mela the Atlantes, whom he repreſents as poſſeſſed of the weſtern part of this region. The names of the different tribes of Numidians we have deferred till we come to the hiſtory of the Gætulians, ſince the latter nation was ſo intermixed with the former towards the Roman times, that it is difficult to determine to which of them ſome tribes belong [z].

Tingis or Tingi, the metropolis, as it ſhould ſeem, of Tingitania, was a city of great antiquity. According to Mela, Solinus, and Pliny, Antæus, contemporary with Hercules, and conquered by him, laid the firſt foundations of it. Procopius ſeems to intimate, that Tingi was built before the time of Joſhua, ſince he tells us, that the Gergeſites, Jebuſites, and other Canaanitiſh nations or tribes, erected a caſtle in a city where Tingis, or, as he calls it, Tigiſis, ſtood. Pliny inſinuates, that Antæus had a palace at Lixus or Lixos, though he tells us, that the giant was buried at Tingis. Bochart thinks, that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians called it Tingir, Tiggir, and Tagger, which in their language ſignified an emporium. Now it muſt be owned, that the ſituation of Tingis was extremely commodious for carrying on an extenſive trade; which we may, from this circumſtance, reaſonably preſume the Tingitanians did, eſpecially as Pliny ſeems to inſinuate, that to ſome branches of commerce they aſſiduouſly applied themſelves. Bochart's notion, therefore, receives ſome weight from theſe conſiderations, as alſo from the modern name of this city, Tangier, which we are much inclined to believe is of Phœnician extraction. If we ſuppoſe the ancient Tingis to have occupied the ſpot on which Tangier at preſent ſtands, it was very near the ſtreights of Hercules, at the bottom of a gulph on the weſtern ſhore. Ptolemy ſeems to have looked *Tingis.*

[z] Mel. lib. i. cap. 4. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Hardouin. in Plin. ubi ſup. Salluſt. in Jugurth. & Aldret. lib. iii. cap. 31.

upon

upon Tingis as the most customary and applicable name of the city we are now treating of. Tangier, admitted to be the ancient Tingis, is in 6 degrees 30 minutes W. long. from London, and in N. lat. 35 degrees 56 minutes [a].

Zelis. Zelis or Zilis, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of Tingis, is situated near a river of the same name. The inhabitants were transported to Spain, as we learn from Strabo, and a colony of Romans or Italians transplanted thither in their room, as appears from Pliny. The kings of Mauritania, after the planting of that colony, exercised no jurisdiction over Zelis, it being under the dominion of the Roman governor of Spain. Some authors imagine, that the modern Arzilla answers to Zelis; which supposition if we allow, places it about seventy miles from the streights of Hercules [b].

Lixus. Lixus or Lixos seems to have been a place of considerable repute in the earliest ages, as, according to Pliny, Antæus had a palace, and therefore probably resided there. This circumstance renders it probable, that Lixus was superior to Tingis itself in point of antiquity: but some authors seem to have confounded these two cities, as we shall find by comparing the names given the former by Artemidorus, Eratosthenes, and Strabo, with Pliny. However, we are inclined to prefer the authority of Eratosthenes to that of the others in this respect, since it is supported by Pliny. Lixus, therefore, and Tingis, in consequence of this preference, we must consider as two different cities. Pliny relates, that Hercules vanquished Antæus near this place, which he places in the neighbourhood of the gardens of the Hesperides, thirty-two miles distant from Zelis. The same author intimates, that a Roman colony was settled here likewise by Claudius. As Lixus was called by different writers Linx, Linga, Tinga, Tingi, in all probability it was mistaken by some ancient historians or geographers for Tingis. Some learned men will have the present Larache to to be the ancient Lixus; and it must be owned, that the situation of that place gives great credit to such a supposition [c].

Thymiaterion. At some distance from Lixus, to the southward, Hanno, in his Periplus, says he built a city, which he called Thymiaterion. In Scylax the name is Thymiaterias; and in

[a] Pomp. Mel. lib. ii. cap. 5. Plin. ubi supra. Solin. cap. 24. Strab. lib. iii. & alib. [b] Ptol. Geogr. lib. iv. cap. 1. Antonin. in Itiner. Aldret. ubi sup. lib. iv. cap. 8. Vide & Cellar. lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 933. edit. Lipsi. 1732. [c] Hanno Carthag. in Peripl. Plin. ubi supra. Artemidor. & Eratost. apud. Strabon. lib. xvii. ut & ipse Strab. ibid. & alib. Ptol. ubi supra. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Bochart. Chan. lib. i. cap. 7.

Stephanus,

Stephanus, Thymiateria. Though this city was situated on the sea-coast, to the south of Lixus, the spot on which it stood cannot now be precisely determined.

Pliny mentions Sala, a town near a river of the same name, not far from the Atlantic ocean, at a considerable distance from Lixus. All that he observes of this town is, that the district adjacent to it was a desert, infested with numerous herds of elephants, and the excursions of the Autololes, a tribe of Gætulians. The situation, as well as name, of this place, sufficiently indicates it to be the modern Sallee, a city famous for its corsairs, who frequently commit great depredations in the Mediterranean [d]. *Sala.*

The port of Rutubis, where probably a town stood, was two hundred and thirteen miles south of Lixus. At some distance from this were the Mons Solis, the port of Mysocaras, the promontories of Hercules and Usadium, and the frontiers of the Autololes. These frontiers terminated Mauritania towards the south; and Ptolemy has undoubtedly carried them much farther in that direction than is consistent with truth. As for Tamusiga, Suriga, and other obscure places mentioned by that geographer, extending still farther to the south, it is necessary only to have noticed them. Thus much for the principal maritime towns of Tingitania, bordering on the coast of the Atlantic ocean. *Rutubis.*

The first maritime town to the eastward of Tingis seems to be the Exiliſſa of Ptolemy. Marmol takes the Ceuta of the moderns to correspond with this place, as it does likewise, in all probability, with the Septa and Arx Septensis of Procopius. That author, together with Isidorus Hispalensis and others, insinuates, that this name was derived from the seven hills, called the Septem Fratres by Mela, in its neighbourhood. Exiliſſa, Septa, or Ceuta, was a place of great note and eminence in the time of the Goths [e]. *Exiliſſa.*

Rusadir, a city and haven, taken notice of by Pliny, not far from the country of the Massæsyli. Ptolemy calls it Rysadirum; and, from the Itinerary, there seems to have been a Roman colony settled in it. Some authors will have Melila or Melilla, lately in the possession of the Spaniards, to be the Rusadir or Ryssadirum of the ancients. If so, it stood upon a plain at the bottom of a gulph, and was commanded by a mountain on the west side [f]. *Rusadir.*

The first inland town deserving notice near the frontiers of the Massæsyli, was the Ascurum of Hirtius. According *Ascurum.*

[d] Mel. & Plin. ubi sup. Ptol. ibid. Vide I. Leo African. Marm. Cellar. Moll. De la Croix, &c. [e] Mel. Ptol. & Marm. ubi sup. Plin. lib. v. cap. 2. Antonin. Itinerar. Marmol, De la Croix, Moll.

to that author this place was of ſome conſequence, ſince Bogud, king of Mauritania Tingitana, had a ſtrong garriſon in it, which ſallying out upon a body of the Pompeians, repulſed them with great ſlaughter, driving many of them into the ſea, and the reſt on board their ſhips. No traces of this city, as far as we can recollect, are now remaining.

Molochath and Galapha. Molochath or Mulucha, and Galapha, which Ptolemy places in Tingitania, muſt belong to Numidia, if the Molochath, Mulucha, and Malva, be the ſame river, as Dr. Shaw has rendered probable; and therefore we ſhall ſay nothing more of them here [g].

Herpis. Herpis, a town upon the Mauritanian bank of the Mulucha, lying at a conſiderable diſtance from the city Molochath, in a northern direction. As to any farther particulars of this place we are entirely unacquainted with them [h].

Volubilis Gilda, and Priſciana. Mela ranks Volubilis, Gilda, and Priſciana, amongſt the principal inland towns of Tingitania. Ptolemy ſays, that Volubilis was one of the moſt noted places of this country; and the Itinerary makes it a Roman colony. From various authors it appears to be the modern Fez. Gilda is taken notice of likewiſe by Stephanus, as a city of good repute. They were all ſituated in the center of the country; but the ſpots of ground occupied by them cannot, with preciſion, be aſcertained. However, Marmol aſſerts, that Mequinez anſwers to Gilda, which he corruptly calls Silda [i].

Tocoloſida. A little to the ſouth of Volubilis ſtood the Tocoloſida of Ptolemy. According to Marmol, Amergue, a city three leagues from the river Eguile, in the province of Habat, anſwers to the ancient Tocoloſida; but as this author is very inaccurate, we cannot, in this particular, entirely rely upon him.

Triſidis. The Triſidis of Ptolemy, according to that geographer, could not be far diſtant from the neighbourhood of Tocoloſida. Marmol ſays, that it was built by the Romans upon a riſing-ground. The ſame author intimates, that Aben Gezer, in his geography, will have it to have been built by the giants, ſome of whoſe bones, of an enormous ſize, he aſſerts to have been taken out of ſeveral ancient tombs in his time.

Gontiana. Gontiana ſtands ſouth-weſt of Tocoloſida, near the river Sala, and not far from mount Atlas. Marmol informs us, that a ſmall town, by the Moors called Gamaa, upon the road between Fez and Mequinez, is the ancient Gontiana;

[g] Shaw's Geogr. Obſerv. relat. to the Kingd. of Alg. p. 216.
[h] Ptol. ubi ſup. [i] Mel. lib. ii. ex Emend. Iſ. Voſſi. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Antonin. Itinerar. Marmol, Harris in Biblioth. Moll.

as likewiſe, that this place, though ſtrong by nature, has, for ſome time, been almoſt entirely depopulated and demoliſhed.

Banaſa, Banaſſa, or Banaſa Valentia, was ſeated in the neighbourhood of the river Subur, at a very conſiderable diſtance, in a northern direction, from Gontiana. Pliny ſeems to inſinuate, that Banaſa was ſeventy-five miles from Lixus, thirty-five from Volubilis, and as many from the Atlantic ocean. That author, in the ſame place, ſays, that Babba, which Ptolemy calls Babba Julia Campeſtris, was an inland town, forty miles from Lixus; and that Auguſtus planted a Roman colony there. This likewiſe the curious may find confirmed by the legends on ſome antique coins exhibited by Goltzius. *Banaſa.*

Chalce or Chalca, a city of Mauritania Tingitana, mentioned by Scylax Hecatæus; but in what part of that region we are to ſearch for it, cannot now be determined. *Chalce.*

Calamintha, a town of Libya, probably of Mauritania, taken notice of by Herodotus and Hecatæus, whoſe ſituation is unknown. However, Bochart has ventured to aſſert, that it ſtood on an eminence. This notion has been ſuggeſted to him by the word itſelf; for he looks upon Calamintha to be equivalent to the Syriac or Phœnician *galmitha*, an *eminence*, or a *city built upon an eminence*. From hence he likewiſe infers, that it muſt have been of a Phœnician original [k]. *Calamintha.*

As for Vobrix, Thicath, Ceuta, and many more inconſiderable towns mentioned by the ancient geographers, which are ſcarce ever taken notice of in hiſtory, and, all traces of which are, in a manner, loſt, we have thought proper to paſs over in ſilence. Nor are we apprehenſive, that, for this omiſſion, it will be deemed neceſſary to make any apology.

The firſt river of Tingitania, if it does not appertain to Numidia, is the Malva, Malvana, Chylemath, Molochath or Mulucha; for it went by all theſe names. It limited the two Mauritaniæ, and that part of Numidia joining to them. As it does not appear from hiſtory, that the limits of thoſe two kingdoms were ever changed, we may fairly infer, that the above mentioned variety of names points out one and the ſame river, the Mullooïah of the preſent weſtern Moors. 2. The next river, meriting any attention, is the Thaluda, Taluda, or Tamuda of Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy, which emptied itſelf into the Mediterranean conſi- *Rivers of Tingitania.*

[k] Herodot. & Hecat. apud Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Bochart. ubi ſupra.

derably nearer the Streights than the former. Pliny repreſents this as navigable, and conſequently as a conſiderable river. 3. The Lixus, on the banks of which ſtood the city ſo called. With regard to its courſe, or indeed any particulars whatever relating to it, we are entirely ignorant. 4. The Subur, a large and navigable river, fifty miles from the Lixus. It paſſed by the city of Banaſa. 5. The Sala, which took its courſe, according to Pliny, near the confines of the Sahara. 6. The Duus, Cuſa, Aſama, Phthuth, and other rivers either in, or upon the borders of Libya Interior, recited by Pliny, Ptolemy, &c. are entirely unknown to us, as indeed they were to thoſe geographers themſelves [l].

Promontories. The chief capes or promontories of Tingitania were the following: 1. The Metagonitis of Ptolemy, and the Metagonium of Strabo. This promontory, Marmol tells us, in his time was called cape Caſaſa, having a town of the ſame name built upon it. Strabo intimates, that a conſiderable extent of territory, in the neighbourhood of this promontory, went by the ſame name amongſt the Mauritanians. This was different from the Terra Metagonitis of Pliny, and the Metagonium of Mela, near the mouth of the Ampſaga. 2. The Seſtiarium Promontorium of Ptolemy, or the Ruſſadi of the Itinerary. 3. The Promontorium Oleaſtrum, ſo called, according to ſome, from the prodidious number of wild olives growing upon it. 4. The Phœbi Promontorium. 5. The cape Cotes, Cottes, or Ampeluſia, not far from Tingis, taken notice of by Mela, Ptolemy, and Strabo. It is called by the moderns cape Spartel. From Mela and Bochart it appears, that Cotes and Ampeluſia were words of the ſame ſignification in the Phœnician and Greek languages; and that they were deduced from the grapes the promontory abounded with. 6. Mons Solis, Promontorium Herculis, and Uſadium, of which Ptolemy has handed down to us nothing but the mere names [m].

Mountains. Amongſt the principal mountains of Mauritania Tingitana we are to rank, 1. Abyle, Abyla, Abila, Abina, Abinna, or Abenna (for ſuch a variety of names it had), a mountain on the African ſide of the Streights of Hercules, called, by the ancients, one of Hercules's Pillars. Abinna and Abenna ſeem to have been names given it by the Arabs, and the others it received from the Phœnicians. They were all

[l] Strab. Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. & alib. Antonin. Itinerar. Scylax. Caryand. in Peripl. ex Emend. Claud. Salmaſii. [m] Strab. Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Lucas Holſtenius ad Ortel. p. 121. Bochart. Chan. lib. i. cap. 24.

derived

derived from its height, as has been clearly evinced by Aldrete and Bochart. It has been mentioned by Strabo, Mela, Ptolemy, Silius Italicus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Feſtus Avienus, and others. It is now called, by our countrymen, Apes Hill; an appellation which very well agree with what has been related of it by the ancients, or, at leaſt, the country adjacent to it. 2. The Septem Fratres of Mela, and the Heptadelphi of Ptolemy, almoſt contiguous to Abyla. 3. Mount Cotta, not far from the Lixus. 4. That remarkable chain of hills called mount Atlas, which, according to Oroſius, ſeparated the fruitful land from the barren, or in the ſtyle of the natives, the Tell from the Sahara. The ancients likewiſe inform us, that theſe mountains were known by the names Dyris, Adyris, Dyrim, and Adderim, i. e. *great*, *high*, *lofty*, or *the ſouthern limit*, as mount Atlas is generally eſteemed to be with reſpect to Tingitania and Numidia. However, Dr. Shaw aſſures us, that the part of this long-continued ridge of mountains, which fell under his obſervation, in height could not ſtand in competition either with the Alps or Apennines. He tells us, that if we conceive a number of hills, uſually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or ſix hundred yards, with an eaſy aſcent, and ſeveral groves of fruit and foreſt-trees, riſing up in a ſucceſſion of ranges one behind another; and that if to this proſpect we interſperſe a rocky precipice of a ſuperior eminence, and difficult acceſs, and place upon the ſide or ſummit of it a mud-walled Daſhkrah, or village of the Kabyles, we ſhall then have a juſt and lively idea of theſe mountains.

The chief ports of this country were, 1. The Ruſadir of *Ports.* Pliny, or Ryſſadirum of Ptolemy, already mentioned. The Itinerary makes the town here a Roman colony, and tells us, that the neighbouring promontory was from thence denominated cape Ruſſadi. 2. That at the bottom of the Sinus Emporicus, where there ſeems to have been a town furniſhed with inns, ware-houſes, and all manner of accommodations for the Phœnician merchants, who frequented this place from almoſt the earlieſt ages to the time of Auguſtus. 3. Cotes, Cottes, or Cotta, a port or bay mentioned by Scylax, which may probably have been in the neighbourhood of cape Cotta; and, in this caſe, that author has not given it a right ſituation, ſince he places it between cape Mercury and the ſtreights of Hercules. 4. Ruſibis, or Rutubis, an harbour taken notice of by Pliny and Ptolemy, in the ſouth-weſtern part of Mauritania, between the rivers Cuſa and Diur. 5. Myſocaras, a port a few miles to the ſouth of Ruſibis, not far from the river Phthuth. This was

the laſt ſouthern port of Mauritania, mentioned by the ancients, being almoſt contiguous to the northern confines of Gætulia [n].

Iſlands. We ſhall now proceed to the principal iſlands, on the coaſt of Tingitania, which were known to the old geographers: 1. The Tres Inſulæ of the Itinerary already mentioned, where there is now good ſhelter for ſmall veſſels, were ſituated to the north-weſt of the Mulucha, at the diſtance of ten miles. 2. Gezira, or rather Jezeirah, a ſmall iſland in the river Lixus, about three leagues, according to Marmol and Leo, from the ſea, and thirty from the city of Fez. Pliny tells us, that in his time this iſland abounded with olives; and intimates, that the ancients placed the gardens of the Heſperides here. He farther relates, that there was an altar, ſacred to Hercules, ſtill remaining in it when he wrote. Aldrete believes, that this iſland, by the frequent inundations of the river, was, in proceſs of time, entirely inundated, and at laſt converted into that lake called, by the Spaniards, Laguna Grande, or the Great Lake, a little above the city and harbour of Larache. 3. Ptolemy's Pœna and Erythia (N), two ſmall obſcure iſlands in the Atlantic ocean, oppoſite to the tract between his Major and Minor Atlas. 4. The Inſulæ Purpurariæ, which Pliny aſſures us faced the country of the Autololes. The natives of theſe iſlands were famous for dying that colour called the Gætulian purple, which brought great advantage to king Juba, who, according to the ſame author, firſt diſcovered them. Father Hardouin aſſerts, that they are the iſlands called at this day Madeira (O) and Porto Santo, being induced thereto by

[n] Scylax, Plin. Ptol. Antonin. Itinerar. ubi ſupra, & alib. Bochart. ubi ſupra. Agrip. Comment. apud Plin. lib. v. cap. 1.

(N) The iſland Erythia is now called Mogador, and has a caſtle in it of conſiderable ſtrength. This is defended by a garriſon of two hundred men, who are poſted there to ſecure the gold-mines in the neighbouring country, from which it is about five miles diſtant (1).

(O) Madeira is an iſland of the Atlantic ocean, between 32 and 33 degrees N. lat. about ſixty miles broad, ſeventy-five long, and a hundred and eighty in circumference. Though it ſeems to have been known to the ancients, yet it lay concealed for many generations; and was at length diſcovered by the Portugueſe, commanded by Don Juan Zarco, and Don Triſtano Vaz, A. D. 1419. Others maintain, that one John Machin, an Engliſhman, diſcovered it in the year of our Lord 1344. Be that as it may, the Portugueſe

(1) Moll, de la Croix, &c.

took

by Pliny, who places them between the Streights and the Fortunate Iſlands. 5. The Inſulæ Beatæ (P), or Fortunatæ, of

took poſſeſſion of it in the year above mentioned, and are ſtill almoſt the only inhabitants. The modern name Madera, or Madeira, was derived from the vaſt ſtore of wood with which it was ſtocked; the Portugueſe, at their firſt landing, finding it little better than a thick foreſt. In order therefore to render the ground capable of cultivation, they ſet fire to this wood, which, according to their writers, occaſioned a conflagration of ſeven years continuance. It is now very fertile, producing, in great abundance, the richeſt wine, ſugar, the moſt delicious fruits, eſpecially oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, together with corn, honey, and wax. It alſo abounds with boars and other wild beaſts, likewiſe with all ſorts of fowls, beſides numerous groves of cedar-trees. The air of Madeira is more temperate than that of the Canaries; and conſequently its climate cannot be inferior to that of any of thoſe iſlands. The towns are Monchico, Santa Croce, and Funzal, its metropolis, ſo called from the prodigious quantity of fennel at firſt found growing in its neighbourhood. It is now the ſee of a biſhop, who is ſuffragan to the archbiſhop of Liſbon; and the ſeat of a Portugueſe governor. Notwithſtanding father Hardouin's opinion, ſome authors make it the Cerne, or Cerne Atlantica, of the ancients. If this be admitted, it was famous for the production of thoſe hawks ſo well known in Maſſylia, according to Pliny. As that author places this Cerne in the Atlantic ocean, and from the circumſtance juſt mentioned, it appears to have been not remote from Maſſylia, ſuch an opinion cannot well be deemed entirely groundleſs. If we adopt either of theſe notions, Madeira ſeems formerly to have belonged to Mauritania.

Porto Santo lies at a ſmall diſtance from Madeira, and is under the juriſdiction of the ſame biſhop and governor as Madeira. It is only eight miles in circumference; but the ſoil is extremely fruitful. It is remarkable, that this iſland produces the beſt honey and wax in the world.

Beſides thoſe two iſlands, there is another, called by the Spaniards Iſla Deſierta, i. e. the Deſolate Iſland, ſeven miles diſtant from the eaſtern coaſt of Madeira: but this being inconſiderable, on account of the ſterility of its ſoil, and its ſmall extent, it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned it (2).

(P) The Fortunate Iſlands, or, as they are at preſent called, the Canary Iſlands, are ſeven in number. They lie to the ſouthward of Madeira, weſt of the ſouthern coaſt of Mauritania, and between 27 and 30 degrees N. latitude. Their names are Palma, Hierro, Gomera, Teneriffe, Gran Canaria, Fuerteventura, and Lanzarote. Palma

(2) Plin. lib. x. cap. 8. lib. vi. cap. 3. & alib. Vide etiam Marmol. Dav. Voſſ. ad Mel, Moll, Pory, & Hakluyt, tom. iii. p. e, &c.

of Statius Seboſus, Juba, Pliny, and Strabo Ptolemy gives theſe iſlands too ſouthern a ſituation, affirming them to lie on

and Hierro lie moſt to the weſtward. Their ſoil is rich; they have good paſture-ground, produce excellent wine, ſugar, &c. and abound in fruit. They have each of them a town of the ſame name. The firſt is ſeven leagues long, ſix broad, and twenty-two in circumference; the latter ten leagues long, ſeven broad, and twenty-ſix in compaſs. Hiero had a commodious harbour; and Palma a volcano that emits vaſt quantities of ſulphurous matter, as we learn from Juan Nunez de Pena. On the weſtern point of Hierro moſt modern geographers place the firſt meridian. Gomera, ſituated to the ſouth of Palma, is very fruitful, affording plenty of grain, apples, ſugar, and wine, with paſtures for numerous herds of cattle. It is twenty-two leagues in circumference, and has a conſiderable town of the ſame name, beſides a very capacious harbour. Teneriffe, to the eaſt of Hiero, is ſaid to be ſixty miles long. Here is a famous mountain, called the Pico of Teneriffe, frequently covered with ſnow; which renders it probable, that this iſland was Pliny's Nivaria, and Ptolemy's Ninguaria. The Pico is an aſcent of about fifteen miles, and five in perpendicular height. We are told, that when theſe iſlands were diſcovered by M. Jean de Betancourt, a French gentleman, for Don Juan king of Caſtile, in 1405, the inhabitants of Teneriffe were governed by ſeveral kings, who lived in caves; and that they kept the bodies of their anceſtors dried like mummies. The towns are, St. Chriſtopher de la Laguna, Santa Cruz, Rotava, or Oratava, Rialejo, and Garachico. Canaria, or Gran Canaria, had the ſame name amongſt the ancients, as we learn from Pliny. Hence a probability ariſes that it was not given by the Spaniards, as ſome writers ſuggeſt; as likewiſe, that ſome knowlege of it has been retained from the time of the Romans, ſince the name aſſigned it by them has been preſerved to the preſent times. It is eleven leagues broad, twelve long, thirty-eight in compaſs, and about thirty from cape Boſador. Its ſituation is eaſt of Teneriffe, and its capital city Palma, Palmes, or Canaria. In fertility it equals, at leaſt, if it does not exceed, any of the others. Fuerteventura is eaſt of Gran Canaria, and about twenty-five leagues from the continent of Africa. It is likewiſe fruitful, and has four towns, Tarafala, Lanagala, Pozo Negro, and Fuerteventura. Lanzarote, north of the former, and in all points anſwering to the reſt, has three towns, Cayas or Lanzarote, Puerto de Naos, and Puerto de Cavallos. Though theſe ſeven are the principal iſlands that go under the name of the Canaries, yet there are ſeveral others in their neighbourhood of leſs note; as the Iſla de los Lobos, ſituated between Fuerteventura and Lanzarote; the Salvaticæ lying farther towards the north-weſt; beſides Rocca, Gratioſa, Santa Clara,

on the coaſt of Libya Interior; but they are in the ſame parallel with the ſouthern part of Mauritania, according to Strabo; which ſeems to agree with the beſt modern deſcriptions and obſervations. The ancients did not agree in fixing the number of theſe iſlands. Marcellus made them ten; ſeven of which he affirms to have been ſacred to Proſerpina, and the other three to Pluto, Ammon, and Neptune. Pliny and Ptolemy, from Juba, relate, that there were ſix of them; while Seboſus and Plutarch mention only two. One of them Pliny and Ptolemy call Ombros, Ombrios, and Pluvialia; the former author names two others Junonia; the latter, Junonia and the Inacceſſible Iſland. The other three Pliny and Ptolemy, according to Iſaac Voſſius, called Capraria, Canaria, and Ninguaria or Nivaria. Ombrios was uninhabited, and deſtitute of water at all times, but when it rained; from which circumſtance it derived its name. This iſland produced a ſort of canes, ſome of which were black, and others white; from the former the Mauritanians expreſſed a liquor of a bitter taſte, and out of the latter made a pleaſant kind of drink. In one of the Junonias there was a ſmall temple, built of ſtone. Capraria abounded with monſtrous lizards; Nivaria was always covered with ſnow; and Canaria over-run with dogs of an enormous ſize, two of which were preſented to king Juba. From hence they derived their names. They all abounded with apples, and other ſorts of fruit, as well as honey, and various kinds of birds. Their rivers were full of the ſiluri, a ſpecies of ſhad-fiſh. In fine, the ancients ſo highly eſteemed them, on acount of their happy climate, ſalubrious air, and fertile ſoil, that they ſtyled them the Fortunate Iſlands, and here fixed their Elyſian fields.

Curioſities.

The curioſites moſt worthy of obſervation were, 1. The vines, grapes, and reeds, towards the confines of Libya Interior, of a moſt prodigious and incredible ſize, mentioned by Strabo. 2. The trees growing in the iſland Ombrios, or Pluvialia, and the liquor extracted from them; which ſome learned men have imagined to be the ſugar-canes and mo-

Clara, and Alagranza, on the north of Lanzarote. They are all ſubject to the king of Spain; and Canaria is the ſee of a biſhop, ſubject to the metropolitan of Seville. Canaria formerly produced a ſort of dates, and pine-apples, in great abundance, according to Pliny. In the rivers alſo of theſe iſlands grew the plant papyrus, as in the Nile, if the ſame author may be credited (3).

(3) Plin. lib. vi. cap. 32. Hakluyt, Herbert, Mol. Atl. Geogr. &c.

loſſus

loſſus of the moderns. 3. The river, in the ſouthern parts of Tingitania, which overflowed all the adjacent country, and fertilized it in the ſame manner as the Nile did Egypt; for it appears there was ſuch a river in this diſtrict, according to the beſt modern obſervations compared with Strabo. 4. The ſeveral remarkable ruins of Roman antiquities ſtill remaining. 5. The narrow deſcent of many fathom deep, a few miles from Tangier, which leads into a ſort of cave, from whence are paſſages into ſubterraneous apartments, deſigned undoubtedly by the ancients as repoſitories for their dead, as in them were found many urns and ſtatues with Punic inſcriptions. We ſhall reſerve all other curious particulars for the hiſtory of the Sharifs in Fez and Morocco [a].

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Cuſtoms, Arts, &c. of the Mauritanians.

The antiquity of the Mauritanians.

THAT the deſcendants of Phut firſt peopled Mauritania, as well as the tract between the Triton and the Mulucha, has been already obſerved from various authors. That the Phœnicians likewiſe planted colonies here in very early ages, appears from the teſtimonies already produced. To which we may add, that, from Hirtius, Appian, and Dio, as explained by Aldrete, it may be inferred, that the Arabs are to be ranked amongſt the moſt ancient inhabitants of this country.

Government.

It is generally imagined, that abſolute monarchy prevailed in Mauritania from the earlieſt ages, as well as in Egypt and Numidia. Bocchar, Bocchus, and Bogud, from what we find related by the Roman hiſtorians, ſeem to have governed with an uncontrolable authority. However, we muſt obſerve from Appian, that ſeveral tribes of Moors, whom he calls αὐτόνομοι, were governed by their own laws, or, at leaſt, under the direction of their own chiefs and leaders, in oppoſition to that form of government which was eſtabliſhed in the greateſt part of this country. The independent Arabs, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, who are ſeated in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, and ſometimes hover about the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, may probably be the poſterity of theſe free-born Moors. Be that as it may, moſt of the provinces of Mauritania, if not the whole region, were ſubject to one prince in the reign of the elder

[a] Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſupra. L. Leo African. Marmol, De la Croix, Moll, &c.

Dionyſius.

Dionyſius. Juſtin ſays, that Hanno, a Carthaginian nobleman, in order to attain the ſovereignty of Carthage, to which he then aſpired, had recourſe to the king of the Mauri for aſſiſtance. Appian inſinuates, that not only in Numidia, whilſt regal government prevailed, but likewiſe in other neighbouring parts of Africa, and therefore probably Mauritania, ſeveral reguli, or heads of the Kabyles, as they now are termed, were engaged in bloody wars with one another; an aſſertion which evidently implies, that they muſt have exerciſed a ſovereign power. Notwithſtanding which, the great figure the Mauri or Maruſii made in Africa (that name extending even to the borders of Africa Propria, before the Romans grew formidable in that country, as appears from Juſtin), is a ſufficient indication that moſt of them were united under one common head [p].

Laws. That ſome of the Mauritanians had laws, or at leaſt certain political maxims and inſtitutions, which ſerved as rules for the conduct of their chiefs, may be naturally inferred from Appian; but none of theſe have been preſerved. Nay, the Mauritanian monarchs themſelves, however abſolute, might have had ſome immutable laws to ſteer their political courſe by, as we find the Medes and Perſians had. Appian's αὐτόνομοι, juſt mentioned, favour ſuch a ſuggeſtion, or, at leaſt, that laws were not entirely unknown in Mauritania.

Religion. Neptune was one of the principal objects of adoration in this country; which is a ſufficient proof, that the Naphthuhim, or Nephthuhim, of Moſes, extended themſelves into it; though the firſt ſeat of that people might probably, as Bochart and Arius Montanus imagine, have been in Marmarica and Cyrenaica. This deity and his wife Neptys received their names from hence, Neptune, Neptys, and Naphthuhim, ſignifying *the king, queen, and people, of the ſea-coaſts.* It is certain, that the Egyptians called the exterior parts of the earth promontories, and whatever bordered upon the ſea, and was waſhed by it, Neptys. They paid religious honours to the Sun and Moon likewiſe, in common with the other Libyan nations. That they offered human ſacrifices to their gods, in imitation, perhaps, of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, or ſome other ancient nation, from whom their anceſtors came, is aſſerted by Seneca. From what Nonnus and others have advanced, it is probable, that Bacchus was worſhipped by the Mauritanians, eſ-

[p] Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 29. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Plin. lib. v. cap. 2. Strab. lib. xvii. Appian. in Libyc. lxvii. Cellar. Geogr. Ant. lib. iv. cap. 5. & cap. 7. Aldret. ubi ſup. & lib. iv. cap. 20. Dr. Shaw in Pref. p. 8, & alib.

pecially

pecially as the Indians and Arabs adored him in a moſt particular manner. In ſhort, we are to form a notion of the Mauritanian religion from that of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Perſians, and Carthaginians, already deſcribed. What peculiarities, in this particular, the Mauritanians had, have many ages ſince been buried in oblivion. However, it ſeems probable from Mela, that they either worſhipped Antæus, or paid divine honours to his ſhield [q].

Language. The Mauritanian language undoubtedly differed from the Numidian in the ſame manner only as a dialect of one tongue does from another; ſo that there is no room for us to be prolix on this head. As for the Mauritanian character, it ſeems to have been the ſame with the Numidian, thoſe letters on the coins formerly mentioned bearing an equal relation to the inhabitants of Numidia and Tingitania. What has been juſt obſerved of the religion of the people we are now treating, that it bore a near reſemblance and affinity to thoſe of the nations from whom the Mauritanians deduced their origin, will hold equally ſtrong with regard to their language. The tongue of the preſent Kabyles Dr. Shaw has given us a ſpecimen of, and poſſibly ſome traces of that of the ancient Moors are ſtill retained; but of this we are far from being certain. However, ſeveral words of the African vocabulary, which that learned and ingenious gentleman has obliged the world with, are deducible from the Oriental languages, whatever he may have inſinuated to the contrary. The Arabeſca, at preſent ſpoken in Fez and Morocco, as well as over all other parts of Barbary, was not ſo much derived from the Saracens, who over-ran this vaſt tract, as from the ancient inhabitants of Numidia and Tingitania. The Punic tongue, not very remote from the Arabic, prevailed through that part of Africa extending from the Triton to the Atlantic Ocean, even to the time of St. Auſtin [r].

Cuſtoms. 1. The Mauritanians, as well as the other Africans, from what Hyginus inſinuates, fought only with clubs, till Belus, the ſon of Neptune, as that author calls him, taught them the uſe of the ſword. Sir Iſaac Newton makes this Belus to have been the ſame perſon with Seſoſtris, king of Egypt, who ſubdued a great part of the then known world. 2. All perſons of diſtinction in Mauritania went richly at-

[q] Herodot. lib. ii. Apollodor. paſſ. Pind. in Pyth. Od. iv. Apollon. Argonaut. lib. iv. Plutarch. de Iſid. Non. Dionyſiac. lib. iii. ver. 28. Senec. in Octav. Non. in Dionyſiac. ubi ſup. & alib.
[r] Hendreich. Bochart. Aldret. paſſ. Shaw's Phyſical and Miſcellaneous Obſervat. relat. to the Kingd. of Alg. and Tun. p. 288. & E. 52.

tired,

tired, wearing much gold and ſilver in their cloaths. They took great pains in cleanſing their teeth, and curled their hair in a curious and elegant manner. They combed their beards, which were very long, and always had their nails pared extremely cloſe. When they walked out together, they never touched one another, for fear of diſconcerting the curls into which their hair had been formed. 3. The Mauritanian infantry, in time of action, uſed ſhields made of elephants ſkins. They were clad in thoſe of lions, leopards, and bears, which they wore both night and day. 4. The cavalry of this nation was armed with broad ſhort lances, and carried targets or bucklers, made likewiſe of the ſkins of wild beaſts. They uſed no ſaddles. Their horſes were ſmall and ſwift, had wooden collars about their necks, and were ſo much under the command of their riders, that they would follow them like dogs. The habit of theſe horſemen was not much different from that of the foot; they conſtantly wore a large tunic of the ſkins of wild beaſts. The Phutæi, of whom the Mauritanians were a branch, were remarkable for their ſhields, and the excellent uſe they made of them, as we learn from Homer, Xenophon, Herodotus, and Scripture. Herodotus intimates, that the ſhield and helmet came from them to the Greeks. 5. Notwithſtanding the fertility of their ſoil, the poorer ſort of the Mauritanians never manured the ground, being ſtrangers to the art of huſbandry, but roved about the country in a wild ſavage manner, like the ancient Scythians or Arabes Scenitæ. They had tents, or mapalia, ſo extremely ſmall, that they could ſcarce breathe in them. Their food was corn and herbage, which they frequently ate green, without any manner of preparation; being deſtitute of wine, oil, and all the elegancies, as well as many neceſſaries, of life. Their habit was the ſame both in ſummer and winter, conſiſting chiefly of a tattered, though thick garment, and over it a coarſe rough tunic, which anſwered probably to that of their neighbours the Numidians, already deſcribed. Moſt of them repoſed upon the bare ground, though ſome of them ſpread their garments under them, not unlike the preſent African Kabyles and Arabs, who, according to Dr. Shaw, uſe their hykes for a bed and covering in the night. 6. If the moſt approved reading of a paſſage in Horace may be admitted, the Mauritanians ſhot poiſoned arrows; which clearly intimates, that they had ſome ſkill in the art of preparing poiſons, and were excellent dartmen. This laſt obſervation is countenanced by Herodian and Ælian, who affirm they were in ſuch continual danger of being devoured by wild beaſts, that they durſt not ſtir out of their tents or

mapalia

mapalia without their darts. Such perpetual exerciſe muſt have rendered them exceedingly ſkilful in hurling that weapon. 7. The Mauritanians ſacrificed human victims to their deities, as did the Phœnicians and Carthaginians [s].

Arts. With regard to the arts and ſciences of the Mauritanians, we have not much to ſay. The country people were extremely rude and barbarous: thoſe inhabiting cities muſt undoubtedly have had, at leaſt, ſome ſmattering in the literature of the ſeveral nations from which they deduced their origin. That the Mauritanians had ſome knowlege in naval affairs ſeems probable, not only from the intercourſe they had with the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, as well as the ſituation of their country, but likewiſe from Orpheus, or Onomacritus, who aſſerts them to have made a ſettlement at the entrance into Colchis, to which place they came by ſea. Magic, ſorcery, and divination they appear to have applied themſelves to, in very early times. Cicero and Pliny ſay, that Atlas was the inventor of aſtrology, and the doctrine of the ſphere, that is, he firſt introduced them into Mauritania. This circumſtance, according to Diodorus Siculus, gave riſe to the fable of Atlas's bearing the heavens upon his ſhoulders. The ſame author relates, that Atlas inſtructed Hercules in the doctrine of the ſphere and aſtrology, or rather aſtronomy, who afterwards brought thoſe ſciences into Greece. Some ſay that Neptune, and others that Atlas, firſt fitted out a fleet, and invented tall ſhips with ſails: be that as it may, it is generally acknowleged that both Neptune, and Atlas his ſon, reigned in this country; for which reaſon it cannot be denied, that aſtronomy, aſtrology, geography, geometry, and navigation, were known to ſome of the Mauritanians in early ages: that ſome of them were not deficient in point of genius, is evident from the great and illuſtrious figure the younger Juba made in the learned world [t].

Power. Although Mela repreſents Tingitania as a poor deſpicable country, ſcarce deſerving notice, yet Strabo aſſures us, it was a rich and opulent kingdom. The ancients in general, by fixing the gardens and golden fruit of the Heſperides here, ſeem to concur with him in that opinion. The Carthaginians had generally ſome bodies of Mauritanians in their ſervice; a proof that they were highly eſteemed by that famous republic. The name of Mauri, or Maurufii,

[s] Strab. lib. xvii. Herod. in Melpom. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vi. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Horat. lib. i. od. 22. Ælian. lib. xiv. cap. 5. Shaw, ubi ſupra, p. 289, 290. [t] Orpheus, vel Onomacritus, in Argon. ver. 741. Plin. lib. ii. cap. 8. & lib. viii. cap. 56. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Aldret. lib. iv. cap. 14. & alib.

extended

extended itſelf from the Atlantic ocean to the borders of Africa Propria, or at leaſt to the Ampſaga, as may be inferred from ſeveral authors; for it ſurvived thoſe of the Maſſyli and Maſæſyli, which muſt have been occaſioned by the ſuperior eminence of the Mauritanian nation [u].

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Mauritanians, to the entire Reduction of their Country by the Romans.

Accounts of the earlieſt tranſactions in Mauritania little to be depended on.

THE accounts tranſmitted by the ancients of the moſt early tranſactions in Mauritania are ſo enveloped in fable, that it is impoſſible to form any tolerable idea of them; though theſe accounts are ſo prolix, that they would fill a conſiderable volume. It will therefore be ſufficient, for the information of our readers, to give a conciſe relation of the principal of them, ſtripped as much as poſſible of fable, and rendered as conſiſtent with itſelf as the jarring traditions of the old poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians, will permit it to be.

Neptune and Antæus two of the firſt kings of Mauritania.

The two earlieſt princes of this country, except Neptune, mentioned by antiquity, were Atlas and Antæus. From ſeveral circumſtances, with which we are ſupplied by various authors, it appears extremely probable, that theſe were the ſame perſon; they were both of them the ſons of Neptune, who reigned over Mauritania, Numidia, and a great part of Libya; as may be naturally inferred from his having ſuch particular marks of diſtinction conferred upon him by the inhabitants of thoſe regions. They both ruled with abſolute power over a great part of Africa, particularly Tingitania. Hercules defeated and ſlew Antæus in the ſame war wherein he took the Libyan world from Atlas: both Atlas and Antæus invaded Egypt, and contended with Hercules in the wars with the gods, and were both vanquiſhed by him. Antæus, as well as Atlas, was famed for his knowlege in the celeſtial ſciences: from whence we may fairly conclude them to have been the ſame king of Mauritania.

Sir Iſaac Newton's opinion, in relation to the age wherein they lived, probable.

Antæus, in his wars with Hercules, who commanded an army of Egyptians and Ethiopians, behaved with great bravery and reſolution Receiving ſeveral large reinforcements of Libyan troops, he cut off vaſt numbers of Hercules's men: but that celebrated commander having at laſt inter-

[u] Pompon. Mel. lib. i. cap. 5. Strab. lib. xvii. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Appian. de Bell. Civil. & in Hiſpan.

cepted

cepted a ſtrong body of Mauritanian or Libyan forces, ſent to the relief of Antæus, gave him a total overthrow, wherein both he and the beſt part of his forces were put to the ſword. This deciſive action put Hercules in poſſeſſion of Libya and Mauritania, and conſequently of all the riches in thoſe kingdoms: hence aroſe the fable, that Hercules finding Antæus, a giant of an enormous ſize, with whom he was engaged in ſingle combat, to receive freſh ſtrength as often as he touched his mother earth, when thrown upon her, at laſt lifted him up in the air, and ſqueezed him to death. Hence likewiſe may be deduced the fable, intimating, that Hercules took Atlas's globe upon his own ſhoulders, overcame the dragon that guarded the orchards of the Heſperides, and made himſelf maſter of all the golden fruit. The golden apples, ſo frequently mentioned by the old mythologiſts, were the treaſures that fell into Hercules's hands upon Antæus's defeat, the Greeks giving the Oriental word מאל, *riches*, the ſignification affixed to their own term μῆλα, *apples*. After the moſt diligent and impartial examination of all the different hypotheſes of hiſtorians and chronologers, relating to Atlas and Antæus, we find none ſo little clogged with difficulties as that of ſir Iſaac Newton. According to that illuſtrious author, Ammon, the father of Seſac, was the firſt king of Libya, or that vaſt tract extending from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean; the conqueſt of which country was effected by Seſac in his father's life-time. Neptune afterwards excited the Libyans to a rebellion againſt Seſac, ſlew him, and then invaded Egypt under the command of Atlas or Antæus, the ſon of Neptune, Seſac's brother and admiral. Not long after Hercules, the general of Thebais and Ethiopia for the gods or great men of Egypt, reduced a ſecond time the whole continent of Libya, having overthrown and ſlain Antæus near a town in Thebais, from that event called Antæa or Antæopolis: this, we ſay, is the notion advanced by Sir Iſaac Newton, who endeavours to prove, that the firſt reduction of Libya, by Seſac, happened a little above a thouſand years before the birth of Chriſt, as the laſt, by Hercules, did ſome few years after.

Nothing farther remarkable till the Roman times.

We find nothing worth relating recorded of the Mauritanians from the defeat of Antæus to the Roman times. Livy only ſays, that Syphax's kingdom bordered upon the Mauri; which is nothing more than an implication, that ſuch a nation did then exiſt. Juſtin, indeed, from Trogus, intimates, that in ſome of the earlieſt ages of Carthage, the Mauri were neighbours to the Carthaginians, and had ſome diſputes with them; but he gives us no particulars of conſequence

ſequence concerning that people. Diodorus Siculus likewiſe aſſerts, that in the interval between the defeat the Carthaginians received from Gelon, and the firſt Punic war, they had ſometimes Mauritanian mercenaries in their armies, without hinting any thing farther relative to this nation. We are informed by Salluſt, that nothing of the Mauri, beſides their name, was known to the Romans ſo late as the Jugurthine war; and the moſt ancient Greek writers ſcarce ever conſidered them as a particular nation, but only as a branch of the Libyans.

Plutarch inſinuates, that the elder Juba pretended to be lineally deſcended from Hercules; but that biographer does not give much credit to ſuch a pretenſion. However, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the perſon who obtained this country, upon the diſſolution of the Egyptian empire, founded a family that might continue for many generations. Poſſibly Bocchar and Bocchus, ſon-in-law to Jugurtha, were of this family; ſince the affinity of names, and the country they governed, ſufficiently intimate that they were of the ſame family, and of the blood royal of Mauritania. Be that as it may, Bocchus, from the account Salluſt gives us of him, appears to have been a perfidious prince. After two defeats, the Romans, partly by promiſes and partly by threats, induced him to deliver his father-in-law Jugurtha into their hands, after the moſt ſolemn engagements to ſupport him, and even a promiſe made to put Sylla into his power. Jugurtha indeed was a prince not only capable, but even guilty of the moſt enormous crimes; but this will not vindicate, nor even palliate, the conduct of Bocchus. What is here hinted at may be found related in ſome former parts of this work [w].

What happened to Bogud.

Hiſtory is ſilent as to any farther particulars of the Mauritanian affairs, till the time of Bogud, who was contemporary with Julius Cæſar, and his adopted ſon Octavius. Bogud, in conjunction with Publius Sittius, contributed conſiderably to Cæſar's great ſucceſs in Africa. In Spain, likewiſe, he aſſiſted Cæſar when he gained the memorable victory at Munda, which gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the Roman republic. After that emperor's death he joined Antony againſt Octavius; and endeavoured to make a diverſion in favour of the former, in Spain: but whilſt he was employed in this expedition, the Tingitanians revolted, and, being ſupported by a body of Spaniards in the intereſt of Octavius, and ſome of Bocchus's trops, defeated him upon his return into Africa; an action which put Boc-

[w] Plut. in Sertor. Liv. & Salluſt. ubi ſupra.

chus in poſſeſſion of Tingitania. Octavius, or Auguſtus, afterwards confirmed this acquiſition to him, and honoured the inhabitants of Tingis with the privileges of Roman citizens. Bogud was at laſt killed by Agrippa at Methona; and after Bocchus's death Tingitania was reduced to the form of a Roman province [x].

Auguſtus gives the younger Juba the Mauritaniæ, and part of Gætulia.

Auguſtus gave the younger Juba the two Mauritaniæ, together with part of Gætulia, ſome time after his marriage with the younger Cleopatra, inſtead of his father's kingdom, i. e. Numidia, which ſtill remained a Roman province. It is true, Strabo, as has been obſerved by Mr. Bayle, affirms, that Auguſtus reſtored Juba to his father's kingdom, and likewiſe granted him the Mauſitaniæ; but this geographer limits the Roman province, and the kingdom of Juba, in ſuch a manner, as ſhews, that Numidia belonged to the Romans (Q). Suidas relates, that the younger Juba was

[x] Strabo, lib. xvii. Dio, lib. xli. Hirt. de Bell. Afric. Appian. de Bell. Civil. Cæſ. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Plut. in Pomp. & in Cæſ.

(Q) Juba had a liberal education beſtowed upon him at Rome, where he imbibed ſuch a variety of knowlege, as afterwards equalled him to the moſt learned Grecians. He did not leave that city, till he went to take poſſeſſion of his father's dominions. By the lenity of his government he ſo gained the hearts of all his ſubjects, who ever retained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the felicity they enjoyed, that they ranked him among the gods, and, according to Pauſanias, erected a ſtatue in his honour. He was extremely well verſed in the Aſſyrian, Arabic, Greek, Punic, African, and Latin hiſtories, as well as thoſe of other nations. He wrote the hiſtory of Arabia; the antiquities of the Aſſyrians and Romans; the hiſtory of theatres, of painting, and painters; of grammar; of the nature and properties of different animals; a particular treatiſe upon the herb euphorbia, which he called from his phyſician, who firſt diſcovered the many excellencies of it, in which he greatly celebrates its ſingular virtues; and a piece concerning the ſource of the Nile. Many other works are alſo aſcribed to him by Suidas, Ammianus, Marcellinus, Pliny, Athenæus, &c. a few fragments only of which are now extant. Pliny intimates, that his learning rendered him more illuſtrious than his crown; and frequently cites him, as a writer of great authority. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Juba, from ſome Punic authors, affirmed the Nile to have had its ſource in a high mountain of Mauritania. The abbé Sevin has favoured the world with a ſhort diſſertation on the life and writings of the younger Juba, wherein he has inſerted a catalogue of all his works. That he died in the year of Rome 776, or 777, may be inferred from Strabo and Tacitus (1).

(1) Vide M. Bayle in Juba, & M. l'abbé de Sevin, en tom. iv. des Mem. de l'Acad. de Belles Lettres.

publicly

publicly ſcourged when led in triumph: but this ſeems extremely improbable, and has not the countenance of any other author to ſupport it. Ptolemy, his ſon by Cleopatra, daughter to Antony and Cleopatra, ſurnamed Selene, ſucceeded him. How this prince was afterwards cut off by Caius, either through a principle of avarice or jealouſy, appears from Suetonius and Dio, as well as a former part of this hiſtory [y].

Tacfarinas raiſes troubles in Africa, but receives ſeveral defeats, and is at laſt killed.

Tacfarinas, a native of Numidia, who had ſerved among the Roman auxiliaries, juſt before the third conſulate of Tiberius, occaſioned freſh troubles in Africa. At firſt he aſſembled a great number of Barbarians, inured to robbery, and all kinds of rapine, by the allurement of plunder; out of which he formed a conſiderable army, and diſciplined it after the Roman manner. The greater part of the army conſiſted of Muſulanians, a powerful nation, bordering upon the Sahara, ſtill wild, and without towns, of whom Tacfarinas declared himſelf general. Theſe were joined by a large body of Mauritanians, commanded by their general Mazippa, whom Tacfarinas had found means to engage in the war. The Cinithians, likewiſe, a nation by no means deſpicable, he forced to adopt his meaſures. With the regular forces he encamped, and detached Mazippa to make excurſions, and harraſs the Romans by perpetual alarms, with the irregular troops. Furius Camillus, the Roman commander, advanced againſt the Africans with only a ſingle legion, and what troops the allies could ſpare him, in order to draw them to a general action, ſince they ſeemed willing to decline an engagement, it being their intereſt to protract the war. Though the troops of Camillus were but a handful, in compariſon of the Barbarians, he drew them up in order of battle, poſting the legion in the centre, and the light cohorts, with two wings of horſe, on the right and left. He had no ſooner made this diſpoſition, than the Barbarians attacked him, but were quickly routed, with great ſlaughter. Next year, however, Tacfarinas renewed the war, making dreadful incurſions into the very heart of the country, and doing irreparable damage. He moved from place to place with ſuch celerity, that none of the Roman detachments could intercept him. After he had committed many devaſtations, he ſurrounded a Roman cohort, commanded by Decrius, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, in a fort near the banks of the Pagida. The Romans behaved with great bravery; but their commandant being killed, they were forced to abandon the fort to the

[y] Strabo, lib. xvii. Dio, lib. liii. ad An. Urb. Cond. 729. Suid. in voc. Ἰόβας. Tacit. an. iv, Sueton. in Caio, cap. 26, 35. Dio, lib. lix. Plut. in Anton.

enemy, and betake themſelves to flight. Lucius Apronius, Camillus's ſucceſſor, cauſed this ignominious cohort to be decimated, and every tenth man, drawn by lot, in conformity to the ancient cuſtom, to be diſpatched with a club. This rigour had ſuch an effect, that Tacfarinas's army was routed, and forced to raiſe the ſiege of Thala, by a ſquadron of five hundred veterans only. This defeat determined Tacfarinas to reſolve, for the future, never to attempt a ſiege, but to carry on the war in a deſultory manner, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, aſſaulting the rear. As long as the African obſerved this method, he eluded all the efforts of the Romans; but, withdrawing to the maritime places, and being, by the proſpect of immenſe booty, confined to his camp, he was attacked by Apronius Cæſianus with a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, and a detachment of legionary foot. The diſpute was neither long nor bloody; for the Barbarians were ſoon overthrown, many of them ſlain, and the reſt obliged to diſperſe themſelves in the Sahara. However, Tacfarinas, though often repulſed, ſtill recruited his forces, and arrived at ſuch a pitch of arrogance, as to ſend ambaſſadors to Tiberius, threatening him with eternal war, unleſs he and his army ſhould be indulged with a comfortable ſettlement. Tiberius, incenſed to the laſt degree at ſuch unparalleled aſſurance, ordered Blæſus, who commanded the Roman forces in Africa, to offer a general indemnity to the Africans, and to endeavour, by all means poſſible, to get Tacfarinas into his hands. Blæſus, in order to terminate this war, made the following diſpoſition of his forces; he detached Scipio, his lieutenant, to a poſt from whence Tacfarinas committed his depredations upon the citizens of Leptis, and then retreated amongſt the Garamantes; he ſent his ſon to protect the territory of the Cirteſii; and he marched himſelf between both with the flower of his army, erecting forts and redoubts in proper places as he advanced. Theſe meaſures, with ſome others equally good, had the deſired effect; for Tacfarinas's forces were diſperſed, his brother taken, and himſelf obliged to take ſhelter in the deſert. Nevertheleſs, a great body of Mauritanians, through Ptolemy's indolence, having joined him, as likewiſe a ſtrong reinforcement from the king of the Garamantes (R), he once more faced the Romans;

(R) Tacitus intimates, that Tacfarinas aſſembled at this time a powerful army of Africans, by pretending, that the Romans were ſo embroiled with other nations, that they would be obliged gradually to abandon Africa; and that therefore, would the friends to liberty unite, they might ſoon cut off all that

Romans; but Dolabella, having fortified the proper poſts, and executed the chiefs of the Muſulani, who were meditating a revolt, advanced againſt the enemy, who, he was informed, had encamped near the caſtle of Auzea. After a forced march he came up with them, and entirely defeated them, putting Tacfarinas himſelf to the ſword, and a vaſt number of his followers. A body of Mauritanians, king Ptolemy ſent to aſſiſt Dolabella, chiefly contributed to this victory, which, for ſome time, ſettled peace in the Roman provinces, Mauritania and Gætulia [z].

Mauritania reduced to a Roman province.

Ptolemy having been cut off by Caius, as related above, Ædemon, one of his freedmen, in order to revenge his death, aſſembled a body of forces in Mauritania. Caius being ſoon after aſſaſſinated, his ſucceſſor Claudius, in order to diſperſe this corps, ſent thither a Roman army, which was the firſt that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no great exploits the firſt campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before the Romans, the ſenate perſuaded Claudius to accept of triumphal honours for the ſucceſs of his arms in Mauritania. In the following year, Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as Mount Atlas, and penetrated into Gætulia. Sidius Geta, who ſucceeded Paulinus in the command of the Roman army in Africa, twice vanquiſhed Salabus, the Mauritanian general, and purſued him into Sahara. Having been ſupplied with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of periſhing, Geta concluded a peace with Salabus upon his own terms. It is probable, that, by this treaty, Mauritania was delivered entirely into the hands of the Romans; ſince we find it ſoon after divided into two provinces, the one called Tingitania, or Mauritania Tingitana, from the city Tingis, and the other Mauritania Cæſarienſis, from Cæſar, a ſurname Claudius had in common with the other Roman emperors. That prince appointed two Roman knights to preſide over theſe provinces. Soon after, the Romans routed a body of Gætulians that infeſted ſome parts of Numidia, and by that action reſtored tranquility to all their African dominions.

[z] Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. iii. iv.

that remained there. The ſame hiſtorian alſo informs us, that, before the general action here mentioned, Dolabella forced Tacfarinas to raiſe the ſiege of Thubuſcum, which he abandoned at the Roman general's approach (2).

(2) Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 24.

CHAP. LXXV.

The Hiſtory of the Gætulians.

Limits of Gætulia.

AS the limits of Gætulia have not been ſettled, either by Ptolemy, or any of the other ancient geographers, it is impoſſible for us to define them. From ſeveral authors it may, however, be inferred, that they were not always the ſame. In Pliny's time the Gætulians poſſeſſed a conſiderable part, at leaſt, of Tingitania; the Mauruſii having been ſo extremely weakened by long and bloody wars, that they could not oppoſe them. Feſtus Avienus fixed their eaſtern boundary not far from the weſtern confines of Marmarica. However, nothing certain concerning the extent and ſituation of their country can be drawn either from thoſe authors or Strabo, who only intimates that the Gætulians were a large nation, taking up a conſiderable part of Libya Interior, and poſſeſſing ſome territories in the neighbourhood of the Syrtes. Pliny maintains, that Gætulia was terminated on the ſouth by the river Nigris, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Nigir, which, according to him, ſeparated it from Ethiopia: but notwithſtanding the indefinite terms in which the ancients have laid down this region, by comparing their ſeveral accounts and deſcriptions, we ſhall find the northern limits thereof contiguous to, and frequently coinciding with, the ſouthern parts of Numidia and the Mauritaniæ; and, by conſulting the beſt obſervations of the moderns, conclude, that it could not have reached to any great diſtance in the Sahara. Dr. Shaw, in one place, inſinuates, that the proper Gætulia did not extend farther to the eaſt than the meridian of Siga, provided Tackumbreet be the ancient Siga, as he imagines; ſince he affirms, that the Melanogætuli and Garamantes occupied the tract behind Numidia, Africa Propria, and the Regio Syrtica, from that meridian to Cyrenaica: whereas in another place he fixes ſome Gætulian tribes in the remoteſt part of the diſtrict of Zaab, and meridian of Conſtantina, above ſix degrees more to the eaſtward than Siga. Whether or no either of theſe ſeemingly jarring accounts be true, or which of them is ſo, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; but only obſerve, that Guzula, or Gezula, a province of the kingdom of Morocco, at the foot of Mount Atlas, has preſerved ſome traces of the ancient Gætulia. Could we lay any great ſtreſs upon an affinity of names, this province was a principal part of Gætulia; in which caſe Dr. Shaw's firſt

notion

notion would have probability on its ſide: but as the concurrent teſtimony of the ancients favours the latter, we know not what to ſay. However, the aſcertaining the bounds of this rude and barbarous region is not a matter of ſuch importance as to deſerve any great regard. We ſhall therefore leave our geographical readers to chooſe which of theſe notions they pleaſe, or to reject them both, if they think proper [a].

Towns, rivers, mountains, &c.

As the Gætuliana, before the time of Jugurtha, led their flocks from paſture to paſture, living generally in tents without any fixed habitation, our readers will not expect to find many towns in this country. Philoſtratus ſays, the Gætulians inhabited the interior part of Mount Abinna or Abyla, and conſequently, by intermixing them with the Mauruſii, allows ſome of them to have dwelt in towns. Pliny alſo intimates, that the Gætulians in his time poſſeſſed great part of Maſſæſylia; and Apuleius aſſigns them ſome diſtricts at leaſt of Numidia Propria; but Pliny and Ptolemy render it indiſputable, when they mention the cities of Autolala and Talubath, as appertaining to the Gætulians. The principal tribes of Proper Gætulia were the Baniuræ, Darræ, and Autololes. It is probable that the Baniuræ bordered upon Tingitania, as the Darræ did upon the Ethiopians called Perorſi and the Pharuſii. The Autololes ſeem to have been much the moſt powerful, and to have ſpread themſelves over that part of Tingitania bordering on the coaſt of the Atlantic ocean. Their capital city, Autolala, from which they derived their name, we know nothing farther of, than that it ſtood betwixt the Subus and the Salathus, the only two rivers of note except the Gir and the Nigir, that watered Gætulia. Nothing of Talubath has been tranſmitted down to us by the ancients, but the bare name. As the Sahara roſe near the ſouthern foot of Mount Atlas, this country was undoubtedly, for the moſt part, ſandy and deſert; however it was interſperſed with fruitful ſpots. Mount Sagapola, the limit of Gætulia on the ſide of the Melanogætuli, and containing the ſources of the Subus and Salathus above mentioned, ſeems to have been the only remarkable mountain in the region we are now deſcribing. As for promontories, we meet with none meriting any attention; though from Pliny it may be inferred, that the Promontorium Solis, and ſome ports already mentioned, were in a territory afterwards annexed to the

[a] Plin. lib. v. cap. 2. Philoſtrat. lib. v. Strabo, lib. xvii. Feſtus Avien. Ptol. Geograph. lib. iv. Agathem. Geogr. lib. ii. cap. 5, Shaw ubi ſupra, p. 132, & 136. Leo African. part. ii. Marm. lib. iii. cap. 51.

Proper Gætulia. The only curioſity here, deſerving a place in hiſtory, was the vaſt quantity of the purple-fiſh produced in that part of the Atlantic ocean waſhing the Gætulian ſhore, with which the rocks on this coaſt were frequently covered. The Teladuſii, Soræ, Dryitæ, Elulii, Mazices, Nacmuſii, and other obſcure nations, inhabiting either Numidia or the confines of that country and Gætulia, in the time of Ptolemy, deſerve ſo little regard, that our readers will ſcarce expect an enumeration of their names.

The antiquity of the Gætulians.

According to Joſephus and St. Jerom, Chavilah or Havilah, the ſon of Cuſh, was the father of the Gætulians; therefore we find them called Evilæi or Havilæi. As it is well known that Havilah or Chavilah, ſettled in Arabia Felix, and that from him his deſcendents aſſumed the name of Chaulotæi and Chaulaſii, it cannot be doubted but that Gætulia was firſt peopled from Arabia Felix. This fact likewiſe renders probable the authority of the ancients, who aſſert, that the Gætulians intermixed themſelves with the Perſians, and that the Pharuſii in particular were of Perſic extraction. For Perſia and Arabia being a manner contiguous regions, many Perſians probably joined ſome of the Arabian colonies paſſing into Africa, or at leaſt followed Seſac and Hercules in their Libyan expeditions.

Their government, &c.

The firſt Gætulians, according to the Punic hiſtorians, were ſome of the moſt ancient inhabitants of Africa, extremely rude and barbarous, without any form of government, laws, or manners. They lived upon the fleſh of wild beaſts, eating upon the ground, after the manner of cattle. They roved about the country, lodging wherever the night ſurpriſed them. Some of the Pharuſii, or Phauruſii, at firſt, if any credit may be given to Strabo, lived in caves like the Troglodytes: but this ſtate of barbarity, Salluſt tells us, continued only till they were civilized by Hercules. It is believed by ſome good authors, that the Gætulians, however rude and barbarous, at leaſt near the Roman times, were under the direction of certain phylarchs, or heads of Kabyles, as their poſterity are at this day. However, if they had any ſtated laws, we are now entirely ignorant of them. If they had any (S) cuſtoms like-

(S) One cuſtom, however, we muſt not paſs over here. Lucan ſeems to obſerve, that the Gætulians were mixed with their cattle in their mapalia, as Dr. Shaw relates of the Bedoweens in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis at this day. The former author alſo inſinuates, that many of the Gætulians were carried about the country with their Penates, in carts or waggons, after the manner of the ancient Scythians (1).

(1) Lucan, lib. iv. Shaw, ubi ſup. p. 288.

wiſe,

wiſe, different from thoſe of the Numidians and Mauritanians, the knowlege of them has not reached us. As all authors are entirely ſilent as to any particulars relating to their religion, we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been the ſame with that of their neighbours, or with that of their progenitors the ancient Arabs, which will hereafter be briefly deſcribed Leo relates, that many of the ancient Africans erected magnificent temples in honour of the Sun, wherein they preſerved a perpetual fire; though other tribes adored another planet. Probably the Gætulians were ſome of the former, as being partly deſcended from the Perſians, who profeſſed the Magian religion. Their language muſt undoubtedly have borne a near reſemblance to the ancient Arabic, and the other Oriental tongues. This does not only appear from what has been already advanced, but likewiſe from the Showiahan vocabulary publiſhed by Dr. Shaw, moſt, if not all, of whoſe words are eaſily deducible from the Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. Our readers will not expect to meet with any arts or erudition in ſuch a country as Gætulia, and therefore will not ſuppoſe that we have any thing to offer on that head [b].

A brief account of the Gætulians till the time of Veſpaſian.

With regard to the tranſactions of this nation we have not much to ſay. Herodotus and Scylax take no notice of the Gætulians; an omiſſion which renders it probable, that when thoſe writers lived they were very obſcure. The firſt authors that mentioned them were probably ſome of thoſe old hiſtorians from whom Livy extracted the materials for his work; ſince he informs us, that a corps of that people ſerved under Hannibal in the ſecond Punic war. That general, having taken and raſed Acerræ, formed a deſign upon Caſilinum, and ſent a body of Gætulians, under the command of their general Iſalca, to attack it. Iſalca ſoon inveſted the town, when finding in every quarter a profound ſilence, and not obſerving a creature to appear, he imagined that the garriſon kept themſelves ſtill within the town through fear; a circumſtance which encouraged him to attempt forcing the gates. But he was repulſed by two Præneſtine cohorts; who, ſallying out, cut many of the Gætulians to pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire, with great precipitation, to the Carthaginian army, which was advancing to ſupport them. Whether or no Maſiniſſa, who ſo greatly extended his conqueſts in Africa, ever ſubdued them, hiſtory is ſilent; but we are aſſured by Salluſt that his grandſon Jugurtha taught them to keep their ranks, and

[b] Strab. & Salluſt. ubi ſupra. Newton's Chronol. of the Emp. of Egypt. Aldret. ubi ſup. cap. 31. p. 445. I. Leo African. ubi ſupra. Shaw in Excerpt. p. 52.

inſtructed

inſtructed them in military diſcipline. However they ſerved that prince more effectually by plundering the allies of the Romans, than by their bravery in time of action; for the army he had raiſed and diſciplined in Gætulia was eaſily routed by Marius near Cirta. That part of Gætulia under the dominion of Juba revolted to Julius Cæſar; but when that with Numidia was reduced into a Roman province, we cannot poſitively affirm; eſpecially ſince Auguſtus beſtowed a part of Gætulia, probably this, with the Mauritaniæ, on the younger Juba, as an equivalent for Numidia, his father's kingdom, which, ſays Dio, had been before converted into a province. Be that as it may, it was ravaged by Sittius, as has been already obſerved, when Juba had drawn all his forces out of it in order to join the Pompeians; which might poſſibly occaſion the aforeſaid revolt. About the year of Rome 759, the Gætulians rebelled againſt king Juba, maſſacring all the Romans ſettled in his dominions, and committing moſt dreadful ravages in all the provinces ſubject to him. Dio aſcribes this defection to the reſentment of the Gætulians, who were extremely incenſed againſt the Romans for impoſing a prince upon them, and not permitting them to live under the Roman government. However, Cornelius Coſſus gave them ſo complete a defeat, that they were obliged to ſubmit upon the terms he thought fit to preſcribe. This was eſteemed at Rome as ſuch a conſiderable exploit, that he had triumphal honours decreed him, and was permitted to aſſume the cognomen Gætulicus. Notwithſtanding which diſaſter, this people ſo recovered themſelves, that in the elder Pliny's time they had ſettlements in Numidia and Tingitania, as may be inferred from that author and Philoſtratus [c].

CHAP. LXXVI.

The Hiſtory of the Melanogætuli or Nigritæ, and Garamantes.

The Melanogætuli, or Nigritæ.

PTOLEMY places the Melanogætuli, or Black Gætulians, between the mountains Sagapola and Uſargala, in a diſtrict ſouth-eaſt of Gætulia Propria, to which it is contiguous, and north of the river Niger. They were a na-

[c] Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 18. Salluſt. ubi ſup. Dio, lib. xliii. ſub init. Plin. & Philoſtrat. ubi ſup.

tion

tion undoubtedly different from the Gætulians, and conſidered in that view by Ptolemy, though Cellarius inſinuates they were a tribe of that people. Their complexion not only evinces this fact, but likewiſe ſhews that their progenitors were different from thoſe of the Gætulians. Of courſe, therefore, the Daræ ought not, as Cellarius imagines, to be conſidered as a clan of the Melanogætuli; nor does the ſituation of Leo's Dara quadrate with ſuch a ſuppoſition. Mount Uſargala is called by Leo, Guargala, and by Dr. Shaw, Huergla. The former of thoſe authors informs us, that near the foot of this ridge of mountains there were, in his time, ſome caſtles, and a great number of villages, whoſe inhabitants were very rich, being adjacent to the Agades, an opulent trading nation, and all of them perfectly black. Ptolemy ſays, that the Bagrada derives its ſtreams from ſome fountains on Mount Uſargala; but the lateſt obſervations demonſtrate this to be a miſtake. The modern diſtrict of Wad-reag in the province of Conſtantina, containing a collection of twenty-five villages, ranged in a north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt direction, correſponds with a part of the country of the Melanogætuli, according to Dr. Shaw. Ma-jyre, the neareſt of theſe villages to Zaab, a territory anſwering to the ſouth-eaſtern part of Gætulia, is ten leagues to the ſouth of El-Fythe, the laſt village of Zaab. Tummarnah, the next place of conſequence, lies ſix leagues to the weſtward of Ma-jyre, and twelve to the north-eaſt of Tuggart, the capital of Wad-reag, and the Tegort of Leo. Tuggurt ſtands in a plain, without any river running by it; the inhabitants, as well as thoſe of the other villages of Wad-reag, being ſupplied with water by wells, dug a hundred, and ſometimes two hundred fathom deep. This method they are obliged to have recourſe to, their terrritory being almoſt deſtitute both of rivulets and fountains. They dig through different layers of ſand and gravel, till they come to a kind of ſtone like ſlate, which is known to lie immediately above the abyſs, called by them the ſea below ground. This ſtone is no ſooner broken through, than a flux of water aſcends ſo ſuddenly, and in ſuch abundance, that the perſon let down to perform the operation has ſometimes been overtaken and ſuffocated, though drawn up with the greateſt expedition. The country likewiſe of the Beni Mezzab, ſituated thirty-five leagues to the ſouth of the mountains of the Ammer, ſuppoſed to be a part of the Mons Phruræſus of Ptolemy, the large village of En-gouſah, thirty leagues to the ſouth-weſt by weſt of Tuggurt, and the populous city of Wurglah, with their dependencies, even to the banks of the Niger, our learned traveller ſuppoſes to have been

been included in Menalogetulia. As Ptolemy places the Melanogætuli next to the Pharuſii, in a ſouthern direction, fixing his Nigritian Ethiopians in a tract lying to the north of the Niger; and as Mela, Pliny, and Strabo give the Nigritæ exactly the ſame ſituation with regard to the Pharuſii and the Niger, but are quite ſilent as to the Menalogætuli; we cannot help thinking the Melanogætuli and Nigritæ one and the ſame people. If this ſuppoſition be admitted, it will appear extremely probable, that their territories extended to the Niger, and that they had ſome remarkable places in thoſe parts; ſince, according to Ptolemy, many towns ſtood not far from that river, of which the principal were Peſſide, Saluce, Nigira, Thige, Cuphe, Thamondicana, and Vellegia. The moſt celebrated rivers of this country were the Gir and the Niger. The Gir, or as it is now called in our beſt maps, Ghir, had its fountains on Mount Phruræſus, or, according to Dr. Shaw, the mountains of the Ammer. It took its courſe through part of the Sahara, in a ſouth-eaſt direction, ſome degrees to the ſouthward of the tropic of Cancer. The ingenious traveller juſt mentioned believes the modern Wed Adge-dee to be the Gir of Ptolemy, Agathemerus, and Claudian: but the principal river of Nigritia, and one of the moſt famous in the world, is called by Ptolemy the Niger, by the Nigritians Wed, or Huid Nijar, i. e. The Black River, and by the Europeans the Niger. This river, according to the beſt modern geographers, has its ſource near a ridge of mountains in the kingdom of Gorhan, not far from the confines of Abaſſia, or Upper Ethiopia. It croſſes the whole region of Nigritia in a weſtern direction, and, after being ſwelled by the acceſſion of ſeveral rivers in its courſe, at laſt diſcharges itſelf into the Atlantic ocean. The negroes likewiſe call it the river of Senegal, and the Arabs the Nile of the Nigritians; this laſt nation conſidering it as a branch of the Nile, or rather the Nile and the Niger as two branches of the ſame river. According to Pliny and Leo, it overflows the adjacent terriories in the ſame manner as the Nile; which, if true, may be another reaſon for the Arabic appellation. If any credit is given to Leo and the African hiſtorians, Sabtecha, the ſon of Cuſh, firſt peopled the Sahara betwixt the mountains of Atlas and Nigritia, and therefore probably Nigritia itſelf, or at leaſt part of it. From the ſame author it appears, that the various Nigritian dialects bear an affinity to the Chaldee, Arabic, and Egyptian tongues; to which we may add, and conſequently to the Ethiopic, which does not differ widely from them. The Carthaginians had undoubtedly ſome knowlege of the Nigritæ,

gritæ, ſince it appears probable from Frontinus (T), that one part of their armies conſiſted of Nigritian troops. The Nigritæ uſed ſcythed chariots in their wars, and were armed after the manner of the weſtern Ethiopians, with bows and arrows, as we learn from Strabo. According to the ſame author the Pharuſii, and therefore, probably, the Nigritæ, travelled in caravans through the deſerts to Cirta, and kept open a communication with the Mauruſii. On theſe occaſions they carried bottles filled with water, tied to their horſes bellies, leſt they ſhould periſh of thirſt in the vaſt deſerts they were obliged to traverſe. From hence it is undeniably clear, that theſe Pharuſian and Nigritian merchants lived at a great diſtance from Cirta, and thoſe places of Mauritania to which they reſorted; as alſo that the Negroes or Blacks held an early correſpondence with the ancient Mauritanians, Numidians, and Carthaginians [d].

The Garamantes.

The Garamantes were ſituated to the S. E. of Gætulia, and E. of the Nigritæ. The limits of their country we cannot take upon us to aſcertain; though, from what the ancients have delivered in general concerning it, we may preſume that it extended to the borders of the Proper Ethiopia: that it conſiſted of many large territories, may likewiſe be inferred from Herodotus, Virgil, Feſtus Avienus, and others. However, it was not of any very conſiderable breadth, according to Strabo. Dr. Shaw believes, that part of the ancient Garamantes ſpread themſelves over that tract comprehending the diſtricts of Gad-demz, Fezzan, and ſome of the more diſtant cities and villages of the kingdom of Tripoli. Be that as it may, this region abounded with wild beaſts; and its moſt ancient inhabitants were ſo ſavage, that they fled at the ſight of a perſon belonging to any other nation. They were at the ſame time entirely deſtitute of

[d] Ptol. lib. iv. cap. 6. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 8. ſect. 2. p. 943. ed. Lipſ. 1732. Strab. lib. ii. & lib. xvii. Pompon. Mel. lib. i. cap. 4. Plin. lib. v. cap. 4. & cap. 8. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. i. cap. 11. ex. 18. I. Leo African. & Marm. paſſ. Shaw, p. 58, 87, 136, & alib.

(T) From the paſſage of Frontinus here referred to, it is evident that the Carthaginians had Melanogætulian or Nigritian troops in their ſervice before the time of Gelon, and conſequently that they had ſome knowlege of the Blacks above five hundred years before the birth of Chriſt. This will enable us to account for a ſtrange phænomenon in antiquity, i. e. ſeveral antique coins with a Negro's or Nigritian's head upon them.

arms,

arms, and had not the courage to defend themſelves, if attacked; from which circumſtances it is apparent, that at firſt they induſtriouſly avoided all kinds of correſpondence with other nations. However, in proceſs of time they built towns, or rather daſhkras, the principal of which were Garama, the metropolis, near Mount Girgiris, and the ſource of the Cinyphus, Debris, and Matelgæ. They likewiſe, when they became a little more civilized, aſſociated with the Marmaridæ, a neighbouring people; and carried on a trade with the Carthaginians, Arabs, Perſians, and Ethiopians. This could ſcarce be avoided, if one branch of the Carthaginian commerce extended to thoſe remote countries by means of caravans, paſſing to Carthage from thence through the ſandy deſerts of the Garamantes. Though ſeveral arguments might be offered in ſupport of this opinion, we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, as a ſtrong preſumption of its truth, that according to ſeveral authors, the Garamantes, Perſians, and Ethiopians, ſupplied the Carthaginians with vaſt numbers of gems, which were extremely valuable. Notwithſtanding the cowardice of the moſt ancient Garamantes mentioned by Herodotus, yet in after-ages their poſterity ſeem to have been of a different diſpoſition, as may be collected from Pliny, Tacitus, and Feſtus Avienus. Some of them roved about the deſerts of Libya in the ſame manner as their ſucceſſors the modern Bedoweens do at this day; whilſt others inhabited the daſhkras ſcattered up and down theſe parched and barren plains. The former lived very frugally in their mapalia, and ſupported themſelves by hunting, which ſometimes they continued purſuing to the winter-ſolſtice; the wild beaſts being refreſhed by the copious rains which fell at that time, affording them excellent diverſion: and according to Herodotus, they hunted the Troglodytes themſelves in vehicles, drawn by two pair of horſes, made for that purpoſe. Nigritia, and the country of the Garamantes ſeem, for the moſt part, to have been peopled at firſt from Egypt and Ethiopia, and conſequently the inhabitants appear to have been the deſcendents of Miſraim and Cuſh, though we doubt not but ſome colonies of Arabs likewiſe ſettled here. Some of the moſt perfect Egyptian mummies now remaining incline us to think, that the features of the ancient Egyptians much reſembled thoſe of the preſent Negroes; which is a proof that the latter muſt have been originally nearly related to the former. The language, or languages, therefore, ſpoken in theſe regions, bore a great affinity at firſt to the Egyptian, Arabic, and Ethiopic; and may at this

this time probably be corrupted dialects of theſe tongues. We have no farther particulars of moment with regard to the religion of the Garamantes, than that they, in common with the Arabs, Indians, and Ethiopians, worſhipped Jupiter Ammon, repreſenting him, for the moſt part, with a ram's head, or at leaſt with ram's horns, and had a celebrated temple ſacred to him. Pliny mentions a ſurpriſing fountain near Debris, whoſe waters, from noon to midnight grew extremely warm, but from that time to the ſun's next approach to the meridian were ſo cold as to be congealed. Matrimony did not prevail amongſt the Garamantes, the men making uſe of the women promiſcuouſly as they met with them. In the early times they were governed by heads of tribes, or phylarchs, as the Gætulians, and Arabs, but afterwards monarchy ſeems to have taken place amongſt them, as we learn from Tacitus. Pliny mentions a king of the Garamantes, who was brought back from exile by two hundred dogs, that repelled the efforts of all who oppoſed them. Though Ptolemy aſſerts they were a large and powerful nation, extending themſelves from Mount Uſargala to the lake or moraſs Nuba, yet we ſcarce meet with any of their affairs recorded in hiſtory. Maſiniſſa took refuge amongſt them, after he had been driven out of his dominions by Syphax. As the roads to their country from Mauritania were rendered impracticable by robbers, the Romans knew little of them till after the expiration of the republic. Lucius Cornelius Balba entirely ſubdued them, for which ſervice he had a triumph granted him by Auguſtus. However, they afterwards found means to ſhake off the Roman yoke, as we are informed by Florus, that ſome years after Coſſus detached Curinius with a body of troops againſt them, and the Marmaridæ; and Tacitus obſerves, that the king of the Garamantes joined Tacfarinas, in the reign of Tiberius, againſt the Romans. After the laſt defeat and death of Tacfarinas, they ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to aſſuage the reſentment of Tiberius; which we ſuppoſe was done by an entire ſubmiſſion to him, ſince it appears probable, that the Roman empire extended on that ſide almoſt, if not entirely, to the northern bank of the Niger [e].

As for the Nubæ, Perorſi, Tarualtæ, Mimaci, Aſtacuſi, Aroncæ, Dermones, Matites, Gongalæ, Nabathræ, and many other obſcure nations inhabiting that part of Libya

[e] Herodot. lib. iv. Mel. lib. i. cap. 8. Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. iii. iv. Strab. lib. xvii. Plin. lib. xxxviii. cap. 7. & Dalechamp. in loc. Ptol. ubi ſupra. Leo African. & Marm. ubi ſupra. Shaw, ubi ſupra, p. 136.

Interior

Interior called by the ancients the Weſtern Ethiopia, and extending from the Niger to the Line, we are entirely ignorant of them, except their names, which are the only veſtiges to be met with concerning them in the ancient geographers. However, it will be proper to obſerve, that the vaſt tract occupied by them comprehended the Upper or Proper Guinea, together with the kingdoms of Gago, Guber, Bito, Temian, Ouangara, Dauma, Biafara, Mujac, Medra, and ſome diſtricts of that of Gorhan. Hence it appears, that the ancient Nigritia was but a part of the modern Negroland; and that in early times the Nigritæ, or Negroes, went by the general name of Ethiopians. As we find likewiſe the promontory Soloes, or Soloentia, ſituated in the country we are now mentioning, and ſeveral places to the ſouth of it, taken notice of by Hanno in his Periplus, we may hence conclude, that the Carthaginians had a knowlege of the Blacks ſome hundred years before the deſtruction of their ſtate by the Romans: that the Greeks alſo were not ignorant of them in the age of Scylax, may be inferred from that author; but as both he and Hanno filled their journals with fables, ſcarce any thing probable relating to them can be drawn from thence. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have given us faint deſcriptions of the cuſtoms and diſpoſitions of ſome few of their tribes. Pliny and Ptolemy were ill informed with regard to all particulars of moment concerning the weſtern Ethiopians; and Strabo only intimates, that as ſcarce any intercourſe had ever been kept up between them and the Roman empire, the accounts publiſhed of them in his age were little better than mere fictions.

CHAP. LXXVII.

The Hiſtory of the Libyans and Greeks inhabiting the Tract between the Borders of Egypt and the River Triton, comprehending Marmarica, Cyrenaica, and the Regio Syrtica.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Libyans of Marmarica.

The Libyans of Marmarica.

MARMARICA, according to Scylax, Pliny, and Agathemerus, with whom Strabo and Ptolemy agree in regard to the moſt important objects, was bounded on the

the eaſt and weſt by Egypt and Cyrenaica; on the ſouth by the Sahara, or deſerts of Libya Interior; and on the north by the Mediterranean. After paſſing the Glaucum Promontorium, cape Deris, the port Leucaſpis, and other inconſiderable promontories and harbours, curſorily noticed by the ancient geographers, we come to Parætonium, called Ammonia by Strabo, a city of conſiderable note. Florus ſtyles this city and Peluſium the two horns of Egypt; from whence it appears, that he conſidered Marmarica as part of Egypt, and Parætonium as a fortreſs of great ſtrength. At ſome diſtance from Parætonium, towards the frontiers of Cyrenaica, ſtood Apis, a town ſo denominated from the Egyptian deity of that name. Triſarchis, Zagylis, and other places on the ſea-coaſts, enumerated by Ptolemy, are ſo obſcure that they merit no attention. The principal Libyan nations inhabiting this region were the Adyrmachidæ and Ammonii: as for the Zygritæ, ſeated near the Greater Catabathmus, and the Buzes, lying more to the ſouth, they are ſeldom mentioned by the ancients. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the chief towns of the former were Azicis, Tuccitora, and Tachorſa; and the capital of the latter Tanuthis. Pliny ſpeaks of the Mareotæ as a people ſeated near the Adyrmachidæ. Some authors ſeem to make the Marmaridæ a nation inhabiting a particular territory contiguous to the Greater Catabathmus; but we are inclined to believe, that Marmaridæ was a name common to all the Libyans of Marmarica. If ſo, all theſe Libyans drank chiefly beer brewed at Alexandria; though ſometimes they uſed Libyan wine. The Adyrmachidæ, according to Silius, fought with an enſis falcatus, or ſcymetar; and, if Scylax may be credited, were ſeated not far from the Canopic mouth of the Nile. It was cuſtomary for their wives to wear a chain of braſs on each leg; to take great pains in dreſſing their hair; and if they happened to find a louſe, to kill it with their teeth by way of retaliation. Their virgins, before marriage, were brought into the king's preſence, in order that if any of them particularly pleaſed him, he might cohabit with her. We learn nothing farther concerning them, except that they wore the Libyan habit, from whence probably they derived their name, *Addermuch* in Arabic denoting a particular kind of garment, and agreed almoſt in all points with the Egyptians. The Ammonii, ſo called from Jupiter Ammon, or Ammun, their chief deity, lay nearer Cyrenaica, and about ten days journey from Thebes in the Upper Egypt. Ptolemy mentions a place named Alexander's Camp, and the city of Ammon, as appertaining to this nation. Arrian, on the other hand, will

not allow Ammon to have been a city; but ſays, that it was only the ſpot of ground on which the temple of Ammon was erected. It ſeems probable from Herodotus, that the Ammonii were a pretty populous nation, had a king of their own, and waged war againſt their neighbours; though part of their territories could be conſidered only as a barren ſandy deſert. Pliny makes the temple of Ammon fifteen days journey from Memphis, and mentions the Ammoniac nome of Egypt. Diodorus Siculus relates, that though the aforeſaid temple was ſurrounded by a ſandy deſert, yet its proper diſtrict abounded with trees bearing great plenty of fruit, and was ornamented with fountains. It had alſo ſeveral ſtreets or villages in the neighbourhood of the temple, a caſtle fortified with a triple wall, and near it a holy fountain, called the Fountain of the Sun, becauſe the qualities of the water varied wonderfully every twenty-four hours. Pedonia, Pnigeus, Climax, and other inconſiderable Mediterranean towns, deſerve not the leaſt attention; nor are the ſmall iſlands on the coaſt, Pedonia, Phocuſæ, Æneſipaſta, Ædonis or Ædonia, of ſufficient importance to merit a deſcription. We learn from Herodotus, that Cambyſes, having advanced to Thebes in his way to Ethiopia, detached from thence a body of fifty thouſand men, to lay waſte the country of the Ammonii, and burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon: but after ſeveral days march over the deſerts, a ſtrong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the ſouth, raiſed the ſands to ſuch a degree, and occaſioned ſuch a torrent to flow in upon them, that the whole army was overwhelmed, and periſhed. Alexander the Great, near two hundred years after, met with better ſucceſs in his journey to that temple. Authors are not entirely agreed whether the Marmaridæ are to be looked upon as Libyans or Egyptians; but the greateſt part rank them amongſt the former. Father Calmet, in particular, thinks, that Marmarica was firſt peopled by the deſcendents of Lehabim, the ſon of Miſraim, mentioned by Moſes. Herodotus aſſures us, that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the Egyptians, in the moſt important points. Though, in compliance with the general opinion, we have, therefore, in this place detached Marmarica from Egypt, yet, as from very remote antiquity it was ſubject to the kings of Egypt, for an account of the tranſactions which here occured, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to the hiſtory of that country, as well as thoſe of the Perſians, Macedonians, and Romans, who ſucceſſively ſubdued this kingdom [f].

[f] Herod. lib. iv. Scylax Caryand. in Peripl. Polyb. in Excerpt. 115. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Strab. lib. xvii. ſub fin.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of Cyrenaica.

CYRENAICA was bounded on the eaſt by Marmarica, on the weſt by the Regio Syrtica, on the north by the Mediterranean, and on the ſouth by the Sahara. In the geography of Cyrenaica, we find none of the ancients inconſiſtent with themſelves but Strabo, who, almoſt in the ſame page, aſſerts it to have extended as far as Egypt, and maintains that Marmarica lay between thoſe two regions. The maritime towns Darnis, Cherſis, Phycus, and Aptungis, were of no great repute, and therefore we ſhall paſs over them; as likewiſe the promontories Phycus and Zephyrium, the ports Parætonius, and Nauſtathmus, with ſeveral other places of leſs note. The principal towns in this tract were Cyrene the metropolis, Arſinoe or Teuchira, Berenice, Ptolemais or Barce, and Apollonia, from whence the greateſt part of it was named Pentapolis. Adriane or Hadrianopolis, ſo denominated from the emperor Adrian, could not vie with the others in point of antiquity, though it was no contemptible place. The caſtle Diacherſis, Tower of Hercules, port Diarrhœa, promontory Boreum, near the Greater Syrtis, merit little attention; nor is any thing farther neceſſary to be ſaid of Automala, or Automalax, than that it was a fortreſs of conſiderable ſtrength upon the frontiers of the Regio Syrtica [g]. *Limits of Cyrenaica.*

The city of Cyrene, now called Cairoan, or Corene, ſtood at ſome diſtance from the ſea, upon a ſpot of ground reſembling the figure of a table, according to Strabo. It was large and populous, abounding with all the elegancies, as well as neceſſaries of life. Its territory produced great numbers of excellent horſes; a circumſtance which probably induced the Cyreneans, whether Libyans or Greeks, to apply themſelves to the ſtudy and practice of every thing relative to thoſe animals. Berenice, Teuchira, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Adriane, ſtood along the coaſt of the Mediterranean; and their inhabitants carrried on a conſiderable trade. Cyrene derived its name from the fountain Cyre, near which it was ſituated. We ſhall not dwell upon the religion, language, and cuſtoms, of the proper Cyreneans; whatever has been ſaid of their Greek anceſtors, on each of theſe heads, is equally applicable to them [h]. *City of Cyrene.*

[g] Herodot. Scylax. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſupra. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 38. p. 996. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii. cap. 40. Suid. Steph. Byzant. Auct. Fab. Auguſt. &c. [h] Strabo, ubi ſupra. Pind. in Od. ad Arceſilaum Cyren. Herodot. lib. iv. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vi. Pauſan. lib. vi. p. 366, & alib.

Nature of the ſoil, &c. of Cyrenaica.

Though a great part of Cyrenaica and the Regio Syrtica was a perfect deſert, yet there were ſome fruitful plains in both thoſe countries. The inhabtiants were ſubject to fevers, which ſome have attributed to the inſalubrity of the air. Except the Lathon, we find no conſiderable river of Cyrenaica taken notice of by the ancients, and ſome of them have even placed this in Mauritania. The Montes Velpi and Anagombri are the only mountains that ſeem to claim any relation to the country we are now noticing; and the Paulus Paliuri is the only fountain or lake. Some authors have placed the gardens of the Heſperides here, but others in Mauritania. Some parts of Cyrenaica and the Regio Syrtica were famous for the production of the ſilphium, a plant or ſhrub greatly celebrated by the ancients. The Libyans looked upon the ſtalk, juice, leaves, fruit, and every thing belonging to this plant as very precious; conſequently eſteemed it infinitely above all other vegetable productions. Strabo intimates, that the Libyan Barbarians had deſtroyed almoſt all the roots of the ſilphium in their excurſions before his time. Pliny ſays it was ſo ſcarce in his age, that a ſtalk of it was preſented to Nero as a ſingular curioſity; and yet, that the laſer, a gum proceeding from the ſilphium, or laſerpitium, as we find it ſometimes called, was not difficult to be met with in the reign of Severus, may be inferred from Galen. Ariſtotle, Ariſtophanes's ſcholiaſt, Tzetzes, Heſychius, and Suidas, inſinuate the figure of the ſilphium to have been ſtruck on the Cyrenean coins; a circumſtance which is confirmed by many of them, that are ſtill to be found in the cabinets of the virtuoſi. The Carthaginians carried great quantities of the laſer and ſilphium from Charax, a city near the confines of Cyrenaica, into their dominions, in exchange for which they ſupplied the Cyreans with wine. This vegetable the Cyreneans offered to their firſt king Battus, whom they deified, looking upon it as the moſt valuable production of their country; for which reaſon we find it on the reverſes of ſeveral of that prince's coins. That Cyrenaica likewiſe abounded with a rich and uncommon oil, we are informed by Theophraſtus. Athenæus relates, that the roſes, violets, and all other flowers growing in this country, except ſaffron, were famous for the fragrant odours they emitted; and that, in the time of Berenice, a moſt valuable ointment was made of the Cyrenean roſes. As for the ſilphium, great quantities of it were imported into Greece, and many other countries. The ancients prepared it various ways, as well for food as phyſic, which appears from Athenæus and Hippocrates [1].

[1] Herodot. Scylax, Strabo, Plin. Ptol. ubi ſupra.

The

The principal nations of this tract, or at leaſt contiguous to it, were the Barcæi, the Pſylli, and the Naſamones; the Aſbyſtæ, and Macatutæ, being too obſcure to merit any attention. Barce or Barca, the capital of the Barcæi, we find mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Scylax, and Ptolemy; the two former ſay it occupied the ſame ſpot that Ptolemais afterwards did, but the two latter are of a different opinion. It ſeems to have ſtood to the weſt of Cyrene, and had a port near the Greater Syrtis. As Ptolemais was a maritime city, it is moſt probable that it ſtood by the port of the Barcæi, and not where Barce did; eſpecially, as that capital was a hundred ſtadia from the ſea, according to Scylax. Herodotus affirms Barca to have been built by the brothers of Arceſilaus III. king of Cyrene, more than a generation before the beginning of Cyrus's reign: but we are rather inclined to think, that it was of Phœnician, if not Egyptian, or Libyan extraction; for Barca was a Phœnician name, well known in theſe parts of Africa, as appears from Silius Italicus, and others. Servius intimates, that its citizens came originally from Carthage, which would induce one to believe that Barca, Dido's brother, who attended her into Africa, with ſome of his countrymen, ſettled here. It is evident from Virgil and Silius, that the Barcæi ſpread themſelves over ſeveral conſiderable parts of Libya; and according to Servius, their metropolis made the greateſt figure of any city in this region, except Cyrene. St. Jerom confirms the laſt authorities, when he aſſerts this town was ſituated in a deſert; and that its inhabitants, or at leaſt their deſcendents, diſperſed themſelves over ſeveral diſtricts lying as far to the weſtward as Mauritania, and the eaſtward as India. The Barcæi learned, (ſays Stephanus,) the art of managing horſes from Neptune, and of driving chariots from Minerva. They agreed, in moſt particulars, with the other Libyan nomades already mentioned. The modern kingdom and deſert of Barca, extending from Egypt to the confines of the kingdom of Tripoli, correſpond with the ancient Marmarica and Cyrenaica; though they undoubtedly received their name from the Barcæi. This may be conſidered as an additional proof of the rank this people formerly held among the various nations of Libya [k].

Principal nations of this tract.

The Pſylli and Naſamones, according to Pliny, Silius, and Lucan, muſt have been ſeated near the Greater Syrtis; or behind the Regio Syrtica and Cyrenaica, if we adopt Strabo's opinion. The Pſylli, as Herodotus informs us, having once had all their reſervoirs of water dried up by the

[k] Herodot. Scylax, Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſupra.

ſouth wind, advanced into the Sahara, in order to make war upon that wind; but it blowing with extreme violence, they were overwhelmed with torrents of ſand, and all periſhed. After this tragical event, their neighbours the Naſamones annexed the territories they poſſeſſed to their own dominions. Herodotus repreſents the Naſamones as a powerful nation in his time, and remarkable for ſome ſingular cuſtoms then prevalent amongſt them. During the ſummer-ſeaſon, they left their cattle on the coaſt, and diſperſed themſelves over the plains of Ægila, in order to gather the fruit of the palm-trees, with which that place abounded. Here likewiſe they found an immenſe quantity of graſhoppers, which, having dried in the ſun, they pulverized, and infuſed into milk. The liquor compoſed of theſe two ingredients was highly eſteemed by them, as a moſt pleaſant beverage. They had many wives, which they uſed in public, like the Maſſagetæ, after having erected a ſtaff for a mark. The bride, amongſt them, lay the firſt night with all the male gueſts invited to the wedding; and received from each of them the next morning a preſent, which he had brought with him for that purpoſe. When they took an oath, they laid their hands on the ſepulchres of thoſe who had been generally eſteemed the moſt juſt and excellent perſons amongſt them. At their divinations, they went to the tombs of their anceſtors, where, after certain prayers, they fell aſleep, and grounded their predictions upon the dreams that then occurred to them. In pledging their faith to each other, they mutually preſented a cup of liquor; and, if none was at hand, the parties took up ſome duſt from the ground, which they put into their mouths. According to ſome authors it appears, that the Naſamones were looked upon by the ancients as little better than a numerous gang of banditti; as they made frequent incurſions upon the territories of their neighbours, which they plundered and ravaged in a barbarous manner. We learn from Philoſtratus, that a people of the ſame name inhabited part of Ethiopia. The Libyan nations here mentioned poſſeſſed the countries they inhabited long before the Greeks built Cyrene [1].

Tranſactions of Cyrenaica till ſubject to the Romans.

Battus the Theræan, according to Herodotus, with a colony of his countrymen, ſettled firſt in Platæa, an iſland on the coaſt of Libya. From thence they removed to that part of the continent oppoſite to this iſland, and took poſſeſſion of a delightful province, ſurrounded with agreeable hills,

[1] Herodot. Strabo, Plin. Ptol. ubi ſupra. Lucan. lib. ix. v. 439, & ſeq. Sil. Ital. lib. i. v. 408. Philoſtrat. lib. vi. cap. 12.

and

and watered by two rivers running on each ſide, called Aziriſtus. After ſix years reſidence here, the Libyans conducted them to Iraſa, a charming country to the weſt of Aziriſtus. In this region, near a fountain ſacred to Apollo, they fixed their habitations, and built Cyrene, about the third year of the thirty-ſeventh Olympiad, according to Euſebius. We find nothing farther remarkable related of Battus I. except that he was cured of a ſtammering in his ſpeech by the following accident: being one day wandering alone in a deſert place, he was ſurpriſed by a lion, which, unexpectedly ruſhing upon him, ſtruck him with ſuch terror, that he raiſed his voice in an extraordinary manner. This, according to ſome authors, ſo frightened the lion, that he immediately fled, and at the ſame time delivered Battus from the impediment he before laboured under. His ſon Arceſilaus I. probably made no great figure, ſince hiſtory is entirely ſilent as to any particulars of his reign. Battus II. ſon to Arceſilaus, built the city of Zoa, and reigned forty years, and his ſon Arceſilaus II. governed ſixteen. Battus III. ſon to Arceſilaus II. ſurnamed the Happy, being ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of a great number of Greeks, who came to live under his government, defeated Apries king of Egypt, in a great battle, near the fountain of Theſtis in Iraſa. The victory was ſo complete, that ſcarce any of the Egyptian troops returned home; ſo that Adicran, a neighbouring Libyan prince, who had induced Apries to attack Battus, could not afterwards make head againſt the Cyreneans, nor give them any obſtruction in the poſſeſſion of thoſe territories they had before wreſted from him. Arceſilaus III. the ſon of Battus III. ſucceeded him; whoſe brothers, on account of ſome miſunderſtanding they had with him in the beginning of his reign, retired out of his dominions, and as Herodotus aſſerts, built Barca. Before that city was finiſhed, they found means to excite Arceſilaus's Libyan ſubjects to a revolt. However, he marched againſt them with an army, and purſued them into the eaſtern parts of Libya. But, having there aſſembled a numerous body of troops, they came to a reſolution to give him battle, in which he was totally routed. Arceſilaus, a ſhort time after this diſaſter, was diſpatched by his brother Aliarchus, who, in his turn, was put to death by that prince's wife Erixo. Battus IV. Arceſilaus's ſon, ſurnamed the Lame, mounted the throne after his father's death. In his reign Demonax, a Mantinean legiſlator, arrived at Cyrene; and, at the king's deſire, introduced ſeveral alterations into the preceding form of government. Arceſilaus IV. ſon to the former prince, endeavouring to reſtore the

Cyrenian conſtitution to its former ſtate, was driven by his ſubjects to Samos; his mother Pheretima at the ſame time eſcaping to Salamis in the iſland of Cyprus. Euelthon, who then reigned there, made her many magnificent preſents; but found means to evade ſending an army to reinſtate her ſon in the poſſeſſion of his dominions. Arceſilaus afterwards retired to Barca, having married the daughter of Alazar, king of the Barcæi; and was aſſaſſinated there, together with his father-in-law, as he was walking in the market-place. In the mean time Pheretima eſtabliſhed her authority at Cyrene; and, after her ſon's death, applied to Aryandes, the Perſian governor of Egypt, for aſſiſtance, to revenge Arceſilaus's death, who, ſhe pretended, was murdered for his attachment to the Medes. She had ſome grounds for ſuch an application, as her ſon had put himſelf under the protection of Cambyſes, and acknowleged himſelf tributary to him. Aryandes firſt ſent an herald to Barca, to inquire whether the Barcæi had been guilty of the aſſaſſination of Arceſilaus; and, upon their acknowleging it, he ſent a land-army, commanded by Amaſis, and a fleet, under the conduct of Badres, to take vengeance of the aſſaſſins. The Perſians ſoon inveſted the city of Barca, and carried on the ſiege ineffectually for the ſpace of nine months. However, at length they gained poſſeſſion of it by treachery. Amaſis, after the reduction of Barca, put the city into the hands of Pheretima; who cauſed all the men concerned in the murder of Arceſilaus to be impaled round the walls, and affixed near them the breaſts of their wives, which ſhe ordered to be cut off for that purpoſe. The place, by her conſent, the Perſian general gave up to his ſoldiers to be plundered; though he ſpared thoſe perſons who had been averſe to the aſſaſſination of Arceſilaus, and permitted Pheretima to give Barca into their cuſtody. Badres, the Perſian admiral, had a ſtrong deſire, before his return to Egypt, to plunder Cyrene; but was prevented by Amaſis. The Libyans extremely harraſſed the Perſians in their march, cutting in pieces all the ſtragglers, and attending their army as far as the borders of Egypt. All the priſoners were ſent to Darius Hyſtaſpis, who ſettled them in a diſtrict of Bactria, which was from them denominated Barca. Pheretima is ſaid afterwards to have been devoured alive by worms; a fate which the hiſtorian looks upon as a puniſhment inflicted upon her by Providence for her enormous cruelty. From this time the Cyreneans, and Libyans, with whom they were intermixed, till the conqueſt of the Perſian empire, are not very remarkable in hiſtory. Ariſtotle gives us to underſtand, that in his time Cyrene was a republic; which

which ſeems to imply, that, upon the extinction of Battus's line, Demonax's form of government took place; though the Cyrenians might have been tributary to, or at leaſt under the protection of, the Perſians. It appears from Salluſt, that the people of Cyrene were free, when the contention happened between them and the Carthaginians about a regulation of limits; and that they were governed by their own laws, till the Macedonians ſubdued Egypt, as we find aſſerted by Strabo. Towards the beginning of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, one Ariſton ſeized upon Cyrene, put five hundred of the principal citizens to death, and obliged all the others to abandon the city: but matters were ſoon after compromiſed, and all former acts of hoſtility buried in oblivion. Alexander had not been long dead, when Thimbro invaded Cyrenaica, overthrew the Cyreneans, and obliged them to purchaſe a peace with five thouſand talents of ſilver, and half of their armed chariots. However, Mnaſiclus a Cretan, one of his officers, afterwards excited them to revolt againſt him, when they forced him to abandon the port of Cyrene, and obtained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over him. Nevertheleſs Thimbro, bringing them to another general action, entirely defeated them, though he was ſoon after defeated by Ophellas, and taken priſoner. This victory rendered that general maſter of Cyrenaica, and he ceded it to Ptolemy. However, it ſeems probable, from what we have obſerved, in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians, that Ophellas, by ſome means, obtained the ſovereignty of this country. Magas, the brother of Ptolemy Lagus, whoſe daughter Ptolemy Philadelphus married, reigned, according to Agatharcides, at Cyrene fifty years. That this prince was a man of genius, appears from Polyænus, who has tranſmitted to us an account of one of his ſtratagems. Plutarch intimates, that Nicocrates, tyrant of Cyrene, being in love with Arctaphila, the wife of one Phædimus, or, as Polyænus aſſerts, Melanippus, the prieſt of Apollo, ſlew her huſband, in order to enjoy her; and that ſhe diſſembled her reſentment, till ſhe found an opportunity of deſtroying him; an aim which ſhe at laſt effected, and thereby delivered her country from ſervitude. But whether this laſt event happened before the time of Magas, or afterwards, we cannot determine. Be this as it may, it remained under the kings of Egypt, till Ptolemy Phyſcon transferred it to his natural ſon ſurnamed Apion, who, in the year of Rome 658, left it by will to the Romans. The ſenate, inſtead of accepting it, permitted all the cities to be governed by their own laws; a permiſſion which immediately filled the country with tyrants, thoſe who

who were moſt powerful in every diſtrict endeavouring to make themſelves ſovereigns of it. This contention threw the kingdom of Cyrenaica into great confuſion; but Lucullus in a great meaſure reſtored the public tranquility, on his arrival, during the firſt Mithridatic war. The deſcendents of thoſe (E) Jews, ſettled here by the firſt Ptolemy, are ſaid to have greatly contributed to thoſe diſturbances. However, all troubles could not be finally removed, till this country was reduced to the form of a Roman province, about twenty years after the death of Apion, and ſeventy-ſix before the birth of Chriſt. Strabo tells us, that in his time Crete and Cyrenaica formed one Roman province. Upon a revolt Cyrene was deſtroyed by the Romans; but they afterwards rebuilt it. In proceſs of time it fell to the Arabs, and at length to the Turks, who are the preſent poſſeſſors of it[m] (F).

SECT.

[m] Herodot. lib. iv. Pauſan. in Phocic. Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. Polyæn. lib. ii. cap. 28. ex. 1, 2. & lib. viii. cap. 38, 41. Pauſan. in Attic. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Agatharchid. Strab. lib. xvii. Euſeb. in Chron. ad An. 3. Olymp. 37. p. 122. Plut. in Lucul.

(E) Amongſt the deſcendents of theſe Cyrenean Jews may be ranked Jaſon, who wrote the hiſtory of the Maccabees, in five books, of which the ſecond book of Maccabees, ſtill extant, is an abridgment; Simon, who carried our Saviour's croſs; and others mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles (1).

(F) This country produced ſeveral perſons who made an illuſtrious figure in the republic of letters, amongſt the principal of whom may be ranked the following:

1. Ariſtippus, a diſciple of Socrates, and the chief of the Cyrenaic ſect.

2. Areta, daughter to Ariſtippus, who preſided over the Cyrenaic ſchool after the death of her father.

3. Ariſtippus the younger, ſon to Areta, by whoſe inſtructions he became a famous philoſopher, and from thence was ſtyled Metrodidactos.

4. Anniceris, who reformed the Cyrenaic ſect, or rather founded another that was called the Annicerian.

5. Callimachus, a celebrated poet and hiſtorian, the ſon of Battus and Meſatma, and diſciple of Hermocrates the grammarian.

6. Eratoſthenes, the ſon of one Aglaus, or, according to others, Ambroſius, a celebrated philoſopher and mathematician, in great favour at the Egyptian court. He was the ſcholar of Ariſto the Chian, Lyſanias the grammarian, and the poet Callimachus.

7. Carneades, the ſon of Epicomus, or Philocomus, and founder of the third academy, which differed but little from the ſecond founded by Arceſilaus.

(1) Act. cap. ii. ver. 1. &. cap. vi. ver. 9.

8. Cronus

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Regio Syrtica.

THE Regio Syrtica, ſo called becauſe the two Syrtes were the northern extremities of its eaſtern and weſtern limits, was bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the ſouth by the country of the Naſamones, and the Sahara; on the eaſt by Cyrenaica; and on the weſt by Africa Propria. The tower of Euphrantas and the town of Charax, above mentioned, were the principal maritime places in the neighbourhood of Cyrenaica, as Auxiqua, Leptis Magna, Garapha, Abrotonum, Sabrata, and Tacape, were on the ſea-coaſt betwixt the rivers Cinyps and Triton. With reſpect to Geriſa, Iſcina, Amuncla, Sicapha, Muſta, Butta, and ſeveral other obſcure Mediterranean towns mentioned by Ptolemy and the Itinerary, we ſeldom find them taken notice of by any ancient hiſtorian. The Cinyps of Scylax, however, ſeems to have been a city of ſome repute. Pliny and Herodotus intimate, that there was in this region a fruitful diſtrict called Cinyphe, which, as well as the city above mentioned, might have been ſo called from the river of the ſame name. To paſs by the Samamycii, Damenſii, Nigbeni, Nycpii, Nigintimi, Muchthuſii, and many other inconſiderable tribes recited by Pliny and Ptolemy, the only nations of this country deſerving any attention were the Cinethii, Gindanes, Macæ, and Lotophagi. The Cinethii, or Cinithii, mentioned by Ptolemy, ſituated behind the Machyni, about the Leſſer Syrtis, were a reſpectable nation, as we learn from Tacitus. The Gindanes, according to Herodotus, were ſeated not far from the Cinyps: their wives wore as many borders on their gowns as they had lovers, and ſhe who had the greateſt number was the moſt eſteemed. The Macæ were contiguous to the Garamantes, and were a pretty potent nation. They ſhaved their heads all over, except the middle, where they permitted a lock of hair to grow. When they made war upon any of their neighbours, they wore the ſkins of oſtriches in-

Deſcription of the Regio Syrtica.

8. Cronus Apollonius, the maſter of Diodorus the logician, whoſe name was aſſumed by his ſcholar (2).

(2) Strab. lib xvii. p. 576. Diog. Laert. in Ariſtip. in Carnead. & alib. Poſidon. apud Athen. Deipnoſoph. lib. vii. Suid. in Ἐρατοσθένης, in Καλλίμαχος, & alib. Schol. in Ariſtoph. Ran. act. iv. ſc. 2. Aul. Gell. lib. vii. cap. 14. & lib. xvii. cap. 15.

ſtead

ſtead of armour. In the winter they drove their flocks to the ſea-ſide, and in ſummer to the inland places near ſome fountain or river, for the ſake of water, according to Scylax. They are likewiſe called by the ancients Macæ Cinyphii, and Macæ Syrtitæ, from their vicinity to the Cinyps and the Greater Syrtis; but the Lotophagi were the moſt famous people of the tract we are now mentioning. If we may credit Scylax, they extended themſelves almoſt from the Greater to the Leſſer Syrtis. That author calls them Libyes Lotophagi, and tells us, that the lotus ſerved them both for meat and drink; from which circumſtance they derived their name. Pliny ſays, that ſome authors called them Alachroæ, and that many of them were found about the Philænorum Aræ. Strabo likewiſe affirms that the country of the Lotophagi extended from the Leſſer Syrtis, which he calls Lotophagitis Syrtis, to the confines of Cyrenaica; and that this people were not ſenſible of the want of water in the burning ſandy region they inhabited, as the root and ſtalks of the lotus ſupplied them with rich liquor as well as delicious food. A good part of the Regio Syrtica was a perfect deſert; but the other part productive of corn, oil, fruit, and particularly the tree and plant of the lotus. Herodotus tells us, that the fruit of the tree was of the ſame ſize with that of the Lentiſcus, but exceedingly ſweet like the date; as alſo that the Lotophagi made wine of it. Pliny ſays, that the lotus was tranſplanted to Italy, but that its qualities were much altered by that tranſplantation. He likewiſe aſſerts its fruit to have been of the ſize of a bean, and of the colour of ſaffron, when ripe. In Africa it reſembled that of a myrtle. The beſt ſpecies of this tree produced a fruit without a kernel; but that of the other had a kernel in it as hard as a ſtone. The wine expreſſed from it taſted like mead, being extremely ſweet; which quality it derived from the fruit itſelf, but would not keep above ten days. The berries, bruiſed and mixed with wheat, the Libyans laid up in large veſſels; and this mixture ſerved them for food. Theophraſtus and Dioſcorides ſay, the plant lotus reſembled a lily, and repreſent it both as phyſic and food. Some of the moderns think one ſpecies of it to have been the ſame as the Colocaſia, or Faba Ægyptia, and the other as the Nymphæa Nilotica; but though it might agree with theſe plants in many particulars, yet that it differed conſiderably from them in others, is evident from the figure of it, which we find on the reverſes of many ancient Egyptian coins. Several of theſe coins, ſtruck in the times of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, exhibit the leaves, ſtalk, and fruit, of the plant lotus, and

and conſequently give us a tolerable idea of it: however, the moderns can arrive at no certain concluſions concerning either the plant or the tree. The principal river of this tract was the Cinyps, which derived its ſtream from a fountain, or a hill, called Zuchabari, in the country of the Macæ, and emptied itſelf into the Sinus Syrticus. The word Zuchabari, in Punic, Phœnician, or Libyan, ſignified the Hill of the Graces, as we find it called by Herodotus. The river Cinyps, according to Bochart, took its name from the great number of porcupines produced in the country adjacent to it. The chief mountains of the Regio Syrtica were Gigius and Thizibi, of which, however, we find nothing related but the bare names. The promontories Hippus and Cephalæ ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned. Of the iſlands appertaining to this country the moſt noted were Meninx and Cercina; Ptolemy's Gaia, Pontia, and Miſynus, being quite obſcure. The iſland Myrmex more properly belonged to Cyrenaica, as it was not far diſtant from the port of the Barcæi. Pliny makes Meninx (G), near the Leſſer Syrtis, twenty-five miles long, and twenty-two broad; and farther obſerves, that it had two towns, Meninx, facing the coaſt of Africa, and Thoar, oppoſite to the Leſſer Syrtis. We find it named Lotophagitis, not only by the authors above mentioned, but likewiſe by Polybius and Eratoſthenes. As for Cercina, it lay N. E. of Meninx, was twenty-five miles in length, about twelve in breadth, had a tolerable good town of the ſame name, and two commodious harbours. Thus ſtands the geography of the Regio Syrtica, with which tract the northern part of the kingdom of Tripoli ſeems at preſent to correſpond [n].

Its inhabitants ſubject to the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Cyreneans, Numidians, and Romans.

As the inhabitants of this region agreed in all material points with the other Libyan Nomades, whoſe hiſtory has already been given, we can ſay nothing farther of their antiquity, government, laws, religion, and language (H). The tranſactions

[n] Herodot. Strab. Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſupra. Scylax Caryand. in Peripl. Antonin. Itinerar. Theophraſt. Hiſt. Pl. lib. iv. cap. 10. Plut. de Iſid. p. 355, 378, & alib. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 92. Dioſcorid. lib. iv. cap. 114.

(G) This iſland was called Girba about the middle age, and is at this day known by the name of Zerbi or Zarbi (1).

(H) From Egypt to the lake Tritonis the Libyans were breeders of cattle; eat fleſh, and drank milk; but abſtained from beef and pork, as well as the Egyptians. The women of Cyrene accounted it a crime to ſtrike a cow. For the cuſtoms,

(1) Cellar. Geogr. Ant. lib. iv. cap. 3.

manners,

tranſactions they were concerned in, before they became ſubject to Carthage, could not, we apprehend, have been very conſiderable. However, we believe them to have been ſubdued by the founder of the Egyptian empire, whom Joſephus and Sir Iſaac Newton take to be the ſame prince with Sefac. How long they remained ſubject to the Egyptians, hiſtory is ſilent; but it is probable a body of them compoſed a diviſion of Zerah's numerous army. Part of the Regio Syrtica ſeems to have been under the dominion of the Cyreneans till the regulation of limits agreed upon between that people and the Carthaginians mentioned by Salluſt; but at what period this happened, cannot be preciſely determined. After that regulation it continued in the hands of the Carthaginians, till they were deprived of it by Maſiniſſa. In after-ages it met with the ſame fate as the reſt of his dominions [*].

Some particulars relating to Libya, hitherto omitted.

Herodotus obſerves, that the Libyans in general went by the name of Atlantes or Atlantides, though at the ſame time he remarks that appellation to have been applied to one particular nation, who, he tells us, curſed the Sun every day, as he advanced towards the meridian, purſuing him with the bittereſt invectives, becauſe he conſumed both them and their country with his burning rays. From that author and Diodorus it likewiſe appears, that the Atlantides were ſeated upon, and in the neighbourhood of, Mount Atlas, which, from its height, the Libyans ſtyled the Pillar of Heaven. Herodotus alſo intimates, that no one of this nation either eat fleſh, or was ever diſturbed in his ſleep by dreams. In the territories of the Atlantides, as well as the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants reaped conſiderable advantages from ſeveral mines of ſalt, which was of two colours, white and purple. Herodotus farther ſays, that many of the Libyans built houſes of this ſalt, which, as no rain ever fell in thoſe parts, were very durable. To what has been already offered with regard to the Nigritæ, we muſt beg leave to add, that they were known to the Egyptians, Ammonii, and Cyreneans, before the time of Herodotus; for that author, when in Egypt, learned from ſome Cyreneans, who had the relation from Etearchus, king of the

[*] Salluſt. in Jugurth. Appian. in Libyc. cap. 63. ed. Tol. Amſt. 1670.

manners, and religion, of the Libyans inhabiting the country to the weſt of the Triton, we muſt refer our readers to Herodotus (1).

(1) Herodot. lib. iv.

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Ammonii, that five bold Naſamonian youths, ſent to make new diſcoveries through the deſerts of Libya, at laſt came to a city inhabited by men of a low ſtature, by which flowed a great river abounding with crocodiles, which Eteárchus judged to be the Nile. This relation agrees extremely well with Marmol, who aſſures us, that the people ſeated on the northern bank of the Nigir are dwarfs; and alſo ſeems to add ſome weight to the authority of the Arabian geographers, who make the Nile and the Niger different branches of the ſame river, and aſſert the ſource of this river to be in Ethiopia (H). The iſland Cerne, taken notice of by Hanno and Scylax, ſeems to have been ſomewhere on the coaſt of Libya Interior; but in what part of the ocean it lay, cannot be diſcovered from the ancients, who differ widely amongſt themſelves with regard to its ſituation. We muſt own ourſelves likewiſe as much in the dark with regard to Plato's iſland Atlantis, which he makes of a larger extent than Aſia and Africa together. Some of the moderns are diſpoſed to think, from ſeveral circumſtances, that it was the vaſt continent now called America; others ſuppoſe, that it lay nearer the Pillars of Hercules; and, laſtly, others ſuggeſt, that every thing related of it is to be conſidered as an undoubted fiction. Much may be ſaid in defence of each opinion; however, the firſt appears to us the moſt probable. Ammianus Marcellinus affirms, that Plato on this occaſion has not written a fable, but a true hiſtory; and Proclus cites Marcellus, an Ethiopic hiſtorian, in defence of what that philoſopher has advanced concerning this iſland. Crantor alſo, Plato's firſt interpreter, takes this relation to be a true hiſtory. That the iſland here alluded to was not ſo near the Streights as ſome modern authors ſuppoſe, ſeems probable from Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, that the Phœnicians in early times ſailed beyond Hercules's Pillars, along the African coaſt, and there meeting with ſtorms and tempeſts, were carried to the remoteſt parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a large iſland at a great diſtance from Libya, and lying very far weſt. This country, continues the ſame author, had a fruitful ſoil, and navigable rivers, and, from the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians came to the knowlege of it. And in the ſame place he ſays, that the Carthaginians would not permit any other nation

(H) The word Libya may be deduced from the Hebrew *Laab*, corresponding with the Arabic *Lub*, ſignifying *a dry parched country*.

Africa is by Dr. Hyde derived from the Phœnician or Punic *Havarca*, *Havreca*, or *Avreca*; i. e. *the Barca*, or *the country of Barca*, which was one of the moſt remarkable parts of this continent.

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to ſettle in this new region, but reſerved it for themſelves, that, if ever they ſhould be driven from their native ſoil, they might have an aſylum. Ælian ſays, Silenus expreſly aſſerted to Midas, that there was an extenſive continent beyond Europe, Aſia, and Africa, which ought to be conſidered as iſlands ſurrounded by the ocean. Theſe, and other paſſages, that might be extracted from the ancients, induced the learned Perizonius to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had ſome faint knowlege of America, derived to them either from the Egyptian and Carthaginian traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not unknown to them [p].

CHAP. LXXVIII.

The Hiſtory of the Ethiopians.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Ethiopia.

The Proper Ethiopia, where ſituated.

SEVERAL of the ancients gave the name of Ethiopians to all perſons either perfectly black, or of a very ſwarthy complexion. The Arabs, therefore, and other Aſiatics, as well as a great number of Africans, fell under this denomination. The Africans we find divided into the weſtern or Heſperian Ethiopians, and the Ethiopians above Egypt, ſituated to the eaſt of the former. The Heſperian Ethiopians inhabited that vaſt tract called Libya Interior, the hiſtory of whoſe principal nations we have already given. The eaſtern African Ethiopians (for ſo thoſe above Egypt may be properly ſtyled) were much better known to the ancients than the others, on account of their commerce with the Egyptians, who conſidered them as the proper Ethiopians. Theſe are the people whoſe tranſactions, from the earlieſt accounts of time, we are now to relate.

Limits and extent of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia, or rather Ethiopia Propria, was limited on the north by Egypt, on which ſide it extended to the Leſſer Ca-

[p] Herodot. lib. ii. & lib. iv. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. I. Leo African. Ælian. de Animal. paſſ. Agathemer. lib. ii. cap. 2. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. iv. part. 1. Hyde in Peritſol. p. 13, 14, 15, 16. Plat. in Timæ. & in Crit. Strab. lib. ii. p. 33. Polyb. & Corn. Nep. apud Plin. lib. vi. cap. 31. Hanno & Scylax in Peripl.

taract,

tract, and the island Elephantine; on the west by Libya Interior; on the east by the Red Sea; and on the south by a part of Africa unknown to the ancients, but probably that space including the modern kingdoms of Gingiro, Alaba, Machida, and part of Adel or Zeila. However, as the Proper Ethiopia might be of a different extent at different times, particularly on the sides of Libya Interior and Libya Incognita, we cannot pretend to fix, with any precision, its frontiers. Nevertheless it seems, for many ages at least, to have been the same tract which at this day comprehends the kingdoms of Dongola, Sennar, and Abassia, with part of Adel or Zeila; and consequently to have taken up seventeen degrees of longitude, and to have reached from the tropic of Cancer to within six degrees of the line [q].

Different names of Ethiopia.

The Proper Ethiopia was variously denominated by the ancients. Sometimes they called it India, and its inhabitants Indians; which appellation they applied to many of the remotest nations. This country, or at least a neighbouring part of Libya, was likewise named Atlantia and Ætheria, according to Pliny and Strabo, or, as Hesychius asserts, Aeria. It also bore, in very early ages, the name of Cephenia: but we apprehend it to have been most usually called Abasene, a word approaching very near, both in sound and signification, to the modern Habash, Habesh, or Abassia; the true etymology of which will be given to our readers, when we come to the history of Arabia [r].

On the other hand we find Chaldæa, Assyria, and Persia, styled Ethiopia by some very good authors; and, it must be allowed, that the ancients called all those countries, extending themselves beyond each side of the Red Sea, indiscriminately India or Ethiopia. The eastern people at this day sometimes denominate that kingdom India, which the Europeans call Abassia, particularly the Persians, who for the most part give the appellation of Siah Hindou or Hindi, to an Abassine or modern Ethiopian. It appears from several authors, that the Red Sea itself went formerly under the name of the Indian Sea; and Ludolfus observes, that the ancients called all those nations under the Torrid Zone, whose names they were ignorant of, Indians [s].

[q] Strab. lib. xvii. Plin. lib. v. cap. 9. Ptol. ubi sup. Job. Ludolf. in Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 2. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 88, 89. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. [r] Plin. lib. vi. cap. 29. Herodot. Strab. ubi sup. Hesych. Vide etiam Le Grand. Dissert. ii. [s] Procop. Gaz. Comment. in 1 Reg. cap. x. ver. 1. Jos. Scalig. in Comp. Eccles. Æthiop. Theodor. in Hist. Eccleasiast. lib. i. cap. 22. Le Grand. ubi sup. & I. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 1.

Called in Scripture Cuſh.

According to the Jews, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and other verſions, Cuſh, when taken for a country in Scripture, is always to be underſtood of the Proper Ethiopia. This opinion is ſupported by Philo, Joſephus, Eupolemus in Euſebius, Euſtathius, the author of the Alexandrian Chronicon, and the concurrent teſtimony of the Greek and Latin fathers.

Different nations of Ethiopia.

The ancients believed the black complexion of the Abaſſines or Abyſſinians to be occaſioned by the intenſe heat of their climate, and therefore called them Ethiopians. We find them, likewiſe called Ætherii and Aerii by Heſychius, Pliny, and Strabo. Pliny relates, that the Blemmyes, an Ethiopian nation, ſeated near the borders of Egypt, had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed on their breaſts. This deſcription ought undoubtedly to be looked upon as fabulous, and might poſſibly proceed from their having very ſhort necks. However, that ſome Blemmyan captives made a very extraordinary appearance at Rome, we learn from Vopiſcus. The Nobatæ inhabited one of the banks of the Nile, near the iſland Elephantine, having been removed thither from Oaſis, in order to have a watchful eye upon, and repreſs the incurſions of the Blemmyes. Some authors refer the Troglodytes to Egypt, and others to Ethiopia. Be that as it may, they were a very ſavage nation, living in caves, according to Strabo, feeding upon ſerpents and lizards, and having a language of no articulate ſounds, but reſembled the ſhrieking of bats, according to Herodotus. The Nubians we find juſt mentioned by the ancients as a people of Ethiopia, but nothing particular related of them. Some authors aſſert, that the Pygmies were a canton of the Troglodytes; but it is generally agreed, that they had their ſituation not far from the Ethiopic ſhore of the Red Sea. Nonnoſus in Photius tells us, that they were extremely ſhort, black, and hairy all over their bodies. Moſt of theſe nations are repreſented by Strabo as inconſiderable, and little better than ſo many gangs of robbers. Bochart thinks, that the Troglodytes, including the Pygmies or Pygmæi, were ſtyled by the Hebrews סכיים, i. e. Succhæi, from סכה, *ſuccach, a den*; for that word ſignifies as well a cave or den, as a tent. Hence it is natural to ſuppoſe, the Troglodytic town Succha, on the coaſt of the Red Sea, mentioned by Pliny, the modern Suaquem, the ſeat of a Turkiſh baſhaw, deduced its name. In ſupport of this notion it may be obſerved, that the Septuagint and Vulgate verſions render סכיים Τρωγλοδύται, Troglodytæ, a word derived apparently from τρώγλη, i. e. *a cave, den*, or *paſſage*; and rank this people among the Cuſhites, Lybians, and other nations, that

that formed the numerous army of Seſac. The Aualitæ or Abalitæ were ſeated near the Abalitic gulph; which is all that we can collect of them. Agatharchides, Diodorus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Agathemerus, inform us, that the Struthophagi, who lived upon oſtriches as large as ſtags, were ſituated immediately to the ſouth of the Memnones. The Acridophagi, Chelonophagi, Ichthyophagi, Cynamolgi, Elephantophagi, Rhizophagi, Spermatophagi, Hylophagi, and Ophiophagi, derived their names from the locuſts, tortoiſes, fiſh, bitches milk, and elephants, they fed upon. The Acridophagi were very ſmall, ſwift, black, and ſhort-lived, the oldeſt of them not exceeding forty years of age: locuſts were their food, with which they were plentifully ſupplied by certain winds, which covered their country with them, as we learn from Diodorus and Strabo. As for the Chelonophagi, they covered their houſes with the ſhells of tortoiſes, and lived upon their fleſh. The Ichthyophagi occupied a maritime part of Ethiopia, bordering on the Red Sea, and not far from the frontiers of Egypt: as they lived upon all kinds of fiſh, large and ſmall, Aben-Ezra takes them to be the ציים Tziim of the Pſalmiſt, to whom God, for meat, gave the heads of Leviathan, under which name, according to that author, Moſes comprehends all fiſh of a vaſt ſize. The Troglodytes made their bread of the fleſh of fiſhes dried in the ſun. The Pſalmiſt, in the paſſage referred to, is ſpeaking of Pharaoh and the Egyptians who were drowned in the Red Sea, and afterwards thrown upon the Troglodytic ſhore. Tziim properly imports a nation inhabiting a barren dry country, ſuch as was that of the Troglodytes; and other texts of Scripture, compared with this, not a little favour ſuch an opinion. They built their houſes of whalebones and ſhells of fiſhes. The ribs ſerved for rafters, and the jaws for portals. They fed their cattle with fiſh, and inhabited caves in mountains. The Cynamolgi kept great numbers of dogs, in order to hunt wild beaſts, and ſometimes fed upon bitches milk: Pliny fabulouſly relates, that they had dogs heads. The Elephantophagi ſeem to have inhabited the ſouthern parts of Ethiopia, and deſtroyed elephants in a very dexterous manner. The Rhizophagi were ſeated not far from the conflux of the Aſtaboras, Aſtapus, and the Nile. Their territory abounded with moraſſes that produced a great number of canes, whoſe roots ſerved them for food. The Spermatophagi and Hylophagi formed two neighbouring cantons; the firſt of which fed upon the fruits that fell from the trees in ſummer, but the reſt of the year upon a ſweet plant, with a ſtalk ſomewhat reſembling that of a turnip; and the latter,

with their wives and children lived upon the buds and tender ſhoots of trees. The Hylogones, neighbours to the Elephantophagi, reſided for the moſt part in the woods, and generally ſlept on trees: their curious method of killing lions, leopards, and other wild beaſts, we ſhall hereafter deſcribe. The Pamphagi uſed every thing indiſcriminately for food; and the Agriophagi fed upon the fleſh of wild beaſts. The Ophiophagi, or Serpent-eaters, inhabited a very fertile tract, as we learn from Pliny. The Ethiopian Anthropophagi, or Man-eaters, mentioned by Marcianus and Ptolemy, ſeem to have been the Cafres, and not a people of Proper Ethiopia. As for the Gapachi, Ptoemphanes, Catadupi, Pechini, Catadræ, and other obſcure Ethiopic tribes, we know nothing of them but their bare names. The number of nations inhabiting Ancient Ethiopia will not ſurpriſe us, when we have ſeen Ludolfus's deſcription of the kingdom of Abyſſinia [t] (D).

Cities.

Axume.

This region did not abound in cities and towns of any conſiderable note. Auxume, Auxumis, or Axome, the metropolis of Ethiopia, according to Arrian and Nonnoſus in Photius, undoubtedly was the ſame city as the modern Axuma, or, as the Abaſſines call it, Aſcum. The noble palace and beautiful ſtructures this city was formerly ſo famous for, ſufficiently appear from the preſent remains of it. It ſtands about forty-five Portugueſe leagues from the Red Sea, and in 14 degrees 30 minutes N. lat. It reſembles now a village, being almoſt totally deſtroyed, and ſcarcely affords ſhelter to a hundred inhabitants. Some authors relate, that there may be ſeen here the remains of a magnificent temple. The Portugueſe, who firſt viſited this coun-

[t] Herodot. lib. iv. Philoſtratus & Cteſius Cnidius apud Phot. Agatharchides Cnidius de Mar. Rubr. lib. iii. in Excerptis Photii. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Strab. lib. xvi. & lib. xvii. Mel. lib. iii. cap. 8. & alib. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 24, 29, 30. & alib. paſſ. Arrian. in Peripl. Mar. Erythr. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 5.

(D) To the clans or tribes here enumerated may be added the following: 1. The Hippophagi or Horſe-eaters of Agathemerus, who were bounded on the ſouth by the northern borders of Libya Incognita. 2. The Macrobii, a powerful nation, ſome of whom attained to the age of a hundred and twenty years, according to Herodotus. 3. The Sambri, not far from the Nubian city Tenupſis upon the Nile, all whoſe quadrupeds, even the elephants themſelves, were without ears. 4. The Aſachæ, a mountainous people continually employed in hunting elephants (1).

(1) Herodot. lib. iii. Agath. lib. ii. cap. 5. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 30.

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try, called Axuma corruptly Chaxumo or Caſſumo. Behind the temple above mentioned, which was a hundred and ten feet in length, had two wings on each ſide, and a double porch, with an aſcent of twelve ſteps, ſtand ſeveral obeliſks of different ſizes, and others have been delapidated by the Turks. Amongſt the rubbiſh is a great ſquare ſtone, on which appears ſome part of an ancient inſcription, ſo effaced by time, that it is not legible, and nothing can be diſtinguiſhed except ſome Greek and Latin letters, and the word Baſilius. When the Abaſſine monarchs were formerly crowned here, they ſat on a throne of ſtone in the inner porch of this temple. Pſelchius or Pſelcha, and Premmis, through which Petronius marched in his Ethiopic expedition, ſtood upon the weſtern bank of the Nile; but their true ſituation cannot be traced. Napata, where Candace queen of Ethiopia reſided, was on the oppoſite bank; but in what direction it is to be ſought for we cannot preciſely inform our readers. Ptolemy mentions two towns called Premis or Primis, one of which might poſſibly have been the Premnis of Strabo. The emporia or marts of Malis, Mondus, Abalis, Moſylon, Coloe, and Opone, probably made a good figure in ancient times, though we have no particulars of moment handed down to us concerning them. Petronius reduced Pſelcha, Premnis, and Napata, in the above mentioned expedition, raſing Napata, and leaving a garriſon of four hundred men in Premnis, with proviſions for two years. Pliny mentions a city of the Nubians upon the Nile called Tenupſis, with which poſſibly either Couxa, Nuvâla, Galva, Duncâla or Ielâc, all placed by the Nubian geographer near the conflux of the Nile and the Aſtaboras, may correſpond. Duncâla, the Dumcâla of Jacutus, the Dungâla of Leo, and the preſent Dungola, the capital of the Nubians, all the cities of which are ſeated upon the Nile, ſeems to bid the faireſt for being the place. None of the other towns taken notice of by the old geographers deſerve the leaſt attention [u].

Mountains. Ethiophia, as appears from the beſt modern geographical deſcriptions of Abaſſia, as well as the ancients, was extremely mountainous; though we find no mountains of note mentioned by the ancients, except the Mounts Garbata and Elephas or Phalangis. Whether the mountains of Tigre, the higheſt of which is Lamalmon, beginning about two days journey from the Red Sea, anſwer to either of theſe, we ſhall not preſume to determine; but that they did, by

[u] Strab. Mel. Plin. Arrian. Ptol. Marcian. Heracl. Steph. Byzant. ubi ſup. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. part. 4. Leo African. lib. vii. cap. ult. Vide etiam Ludolf. lib. ii. cap. 11. & Le Grand, Differt. ii.

the ſituation aſſigned them, ſeems not improbable. Be that as it may, the path over Lamalmon, whoſe aſcent is exceedingly ſteep and dangerous, is ſo narrow, that two perſons cannot paſs one another, and he who falls is irrecoverably loſt. Several provinces of Abaſſia, namely Bagemdra or Bagemeder, Gojam, Waleka, and Shewa, make but one continued chain of mountains, the principal of which are thoſe of Ambara and Samen. The Aorni, as the Abaſſines call them, are rugged rocks of ſuch an incredible height, that the Alps and Pyrenees are but low hills in compariſon of them. Amongſt the mountains, and even frequently in the plains of Abaſſia, ſteep and craggy rocks of various forms are to be met with, ſome reſembling towers, and others pyramids, ſo ſmooth on the ſides, that they ſeem to be the effect of labour and art; inſomuch that men and cattle are craned up by the help of ladders and ropes. And yet the tops of theſe rocks are covered with woods, meadows, fountains, and fiſh-ponds, which very copiouſly ſupply the animals which graze there with all the conveniences of life. The moſt remarkable of theſe rocks is Geſhen or Amba-Geſhen, on the confines of Amhara, towards Shewa, prodigiouſly ſteep, in the form of a caſtle built of freeſtone, and almoſt impregnable. Its ſummit is about half a Portugueſe league in breadth, and its circumference would take near half a day to go round it. The aſcent at firſt is eaſy, but afterwards ſo ſteep and rugged, that the Abaſſine oxen, which will otherwiſe climb like goats, muſt be craned up and let down with ropes. Here the princes of the blood were formerly confined, in low cottages, amongſt ſhrubs and wild cedars, with an allowance barely ſufficient to keep them alive. There is, according to Kircher, in the province of Gojam, a rock ſo curiouſly hollowed by nature, that at a diſtance it reſembles a looking-glaſs; and oppoſite to this another, on the top of which nothing can be ſo ſoftly whiſpered but that it may be heard at a great diſtance. Between many of theſe rocks and mountains are vaſt precipices or abyſſes, which appear moſt dreadful to the eye. The natives call every one of the rocks above mentioned Amba, as Amba-Salam, Amba-Geſhen, Amba-Dorho, Amba-Damo, Amba-Samet, &c[w].

The climate of Ethiopia.

In ſo mountainous a region as Ethiopia the air cannot be always alike, and perhaps there is no country in the world where ſo many different ſeaſons may be found in ſo ſmall a compaſs. The Ethiopic, as well as the oppoſite coaſt of the

[w] Strab. lib. xvii. Agathemer. Geogr lib. ii. cap 15. Ludolf. lib. i. cap. 6. Curt. lib. viii. Le Grand, Differt. ii. Athan. Kirch. in Muſurg. Univerſ tom. iii. lib. ix. cap. 6.

Red

Red Sea, together with thoſe low open places called by the modern Abaſſines Kolla, and the iſlands of this ſea, are intolerably ſcorched by the ſolar rays in the ſummer ſeaſon. Nay, Gregory the Abaſſine reported, that the heat in the iſland of Suaquema or Suaquena, was ſo intenſe, as to excoriate any part of the body, melt hard Indian wax in a cabinet, and ſear a garment with red-hot iron. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts; and, according to father Tellez, the ſummer heats are milder in ſeveral diſtricts of Abaſſia than in Portugal; and even in Samen the cold is more dreaded than the heat. In ſome provinces of Ethiopia the winter is extremely ſevere, in others as warm as the ſummer in ſeveral parts of Europe. The Ethiopians have little or no ſnow, but only a ſmall ſort of hail that ſometimes covers the ground, and at a diſtance reſembles ſnow. Frequent and dreadful thunders, however, they have, attended with tempeſts, that terrify both man and beaſt, which proceed from the exceſſive variety of air. Ludolfus thinks that Gregory's four ſeaſons, Matzau, Tzadai, Hagai, and Cramt, are in reality but three; namely, the ſpring, ſummer, and winter. The ſpring begins on the twenty-fifth day of September; the ſummer conſiſts of two parts, the firſt called Tzadai, beginning upon the twenty-fifth of December, and the ſecond denominated Hagai in the Abaſſine tongue, commencing on the twenty-fifth of June; laſtly, Cramt, or the winter, concludes the Ethiopic year. The climate here in general is ſo healthy, that it is no uncommon thing for the natives to attain a hundred years of age. However, towards the beginning of the ſpring, that is to ſay, in the months of September and October, an epidemic fever ſometimes makes great havock amongſt the inhabitants of Tigre [x].

The days and nights in Ethiopia, as lying betwixt the tropic of Cancer and the Line, are for the moſt part nearly equal. The winds that blow on the mountains are, generally ſpeaking, ſalubrious and pleaſant; but the atmoſphere over the plains, for want of them, ſtagnates, and becomes unwholſome. The wind Sendo, however, is far from being beneficial to the Abaſſines. It is a whirlwind ſo impetuouſly violent, that it levels all before it; and therefore in ſome reſpect may ſeem to anſwer its name, which, in the Amharic dialect, ſignifies a *ſerpent* or *ſnake*. Gregory informed Ludolfus, that it might be ſeen, and repreſented an immenſe ſerpent whoſe head moved on the ground, and

[x] Nonnoſus apud Phot. not. 3. p. m. 2. Gregor. Abaſſin. apud Job. Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 5.

the body erected itſelf in curls and windings up to the ſky. The ſoil in thoſe parts capable of cultivation is extremely fertile, and produces vaſt quantities of grain, pulſe, and fruit. Metals likewiſe, particularly gold, minerals, vegetables, and a ſurpriſing variety of animals, it abounds with; but theſe our readers will expect a deſcription of in another place. We find it aſſerted by the beſt authors, that the Abaſſines have ſometimes two, and at others three, harveſts in a year. They neither ſow nor mow for the ſake of their cattle, the perpetual heat, and continual diſtillation of moiſture from the mountains, producing graſs in great abundance, and covering the fields with a moſt beautiful verdure through all the different ſeaſons of the year. Though they have delicious grapes, and honey is very cheap amongſt them, yet they almoſt entirely confine themſelves to malt-liquor, which is not very unlike that brewed in ſome parts of Europe [y].

Rivers. The Nile. Of all the rivers that water Ethiopia, the moſt famous is the Nile, which has its ſource in that country. Many of the ancient geographers, and in particular Ptolemy, placed the ſource of this river beyond the line, on ſome mountains which they called the Mountains of the Moon: but the moderns, particularly the Portugueſe, have diſcovered this opinion to be erroneous. What they have advanced on this ſubject has been, in a great meaſure, confirmed by Gregory the Abaſſine, in a letter to the famous Job Ludolfus. According to that curious perſon, the ſpring-head of the Nile firſt appears in a tract called Secut, upon the top of Dengla, near the frontiers of Gojam, to the weſt of Bagemdra, Dara, the lake of Tzana, and Bada. From thence it takes its courſe towards Amhara, leaving Gojam on the right, and Bagemdra on the left. Having paſſed the limits of Amhara, and in ſuch a manner ſurrounded the kingdom of Gojam, as always to leave it on the right, it waſhes the confines of Waleka, and then approaches the fartheſt bounds of Mugara and Shewa. Then, running between Bizama and Gonga, it comes into the country of the Chankalas; from whence, winding to the right, and gradually leaving the weſtern climate on the left, it advances towards the kingdom of Sennar: but before its arrival there, it is greatly increaſed by the influx of two large rivers from the eaſt, namely, the Tacaza iſſuing out of Tigre, and the Guangua deſcending from Dambea. After taking a view of the kingdom of Sennar, it moves to the borders of Dongola,

[y] Strab. lib. xvii. Greg. Abaſſ. ubi ſup. PP. Hieronym. Lup. Balthaz. Tellez. Alphonſ. Mendez. & Job. Ludolf. paſſ.

and

and proceeds to the kingdom of Nubia (E). From hence, turning to the right, it reaches at laſt a region called Abrim, where its ſtream becomes unnavigable, occaſioned by the cliffs and rocks, and ſoon afterwards enters Egypt. The travellers therefore from Sennar and Abaſſia, after having paſſed through Nubia, leave the Nile to the eaſt, and croſs upon camels a deſert of fifteen days journey, where neither tree, water, nor any thing elſe but ſand, is to be ſeen. From Abrim it continues its courſe to Rif or Upper Egypt, where the above mentioned travellers again meet it; and, after having traverſed the kingdom of Egypt in a northern direction, diſcharges itſelf into the Mediterranean near Alexandria. Father Payz, who viewed the fountains of the Nile himſelf, ſays, that the ſource of this river conſiſts of two round ſpring-heads, very deep, upon an eminence, the ground about which is marſhy. However, the water does not iſſue immediately from theſe two ſpring-heads, but from the foot of the hill, about a muſquet-ſhot from whence, towards the eaſt, the river begins to flow. Then, winding to the north about the fourth part of a Portugueſe league, it is joined by another river, and a little farther by two more from the eaſt, ſoon after which it enlarges itſelf with the addition of ſeveral other ſtreams. Laſtly, about a day's journey farther it ſwallows up the river Jema; and, after flowing twenty Portugueſe leagues in a weſtern direction, turns to the eaſt, and plunges itſelf into a vaſt lake (F). It is remarkable, that all the rivers of Ethiopia, at any conſiderable diſtance from the ocean, except the Hanazo riſing in

(E) It is obſervable, that Gregory here diſtinguiſhes the kingdom of Sennar from that of Nubia, though at preſent they are looked upon to be the ſame. However, in our opinion, Gregory's authority is ſuperior to that of Pomet and the miſſionaries, upon which that of the modern geographers depends.

(F) This is probably the lake of Tzana, through which the Nile paſſes, ſtill preſerving the colour of its own water. From hence, turning to the ſouth, it waſhes on the left-hand the principal kingdoms of Abaſſia, namely, Bagemdra, Amhara, Waleka, Shewa, Damota, &c. and takes with it the rivers of thoſe countries, viz. the Baſhlo, Tzohha, Kecem, Jema, Roma, and Woncit. Then on the right-hand ſurrounding Gojam, and ſwelled with the Muga, Abaja, Aſwari, Temei, Gult, and Tzul, all rivers of that region, it bends again towards the weſt; leaves Abaſſia upon the right; and runs in a northern direction through ſeveral thirſty nations, and ſandy deſerts, in order to fertilize Egypt with its inundations (1).

(1) Greg. Abaſ. apud Ludolf. lib. i. cap. 8. Ludolf. Comment. ad Hiſt. Æthiop. p. 122, 123, & ſeq.

Hangota

Hangota or Angote, and the Hawaſh or Aoaxe running through the kingdoms of Dawara and Fatagara or Fategur, flow into the Nile. The Eteſian winds contribute little or nothing to the inundations of the Nile, as ſome authors have imagined; nor the ſnow melted from the Ethiopian mountains, according to others: but they are occaſioned by the prodigious rains with which the countries under the torrid zone are waſhed, when the ſun returns into the winter ſigns. The modern Abaſſines, though they are not ignorant of the fountains from which the Nile deduces its ſource, are far from being perfectly acquainted with the courſe of that river after it leaves them. However, the conſtant and ancient tradition amongſt them is, that near a certain mountain, at ſome diſtance from the city of Sennar, it divides itſelf into two ſtreams, one of which runs to the weſtward, and forms the river Niger, and the other in a northern direction takes its courſe through Egypt. This circumſtance we learn from the Nubian geographer, who at the ſame time intimates, that the channel running to the eaſt of this mountain, watering Nubia and the land of Egypt, is divided in the Lower Egypt into four parts, three of which fall into the Syrian ſea, and the other diſcharges itſelf into a ſalt lake near Alexandria. It is probable, that the ſeparation of theſe two ſtreams is cauſed by ſome rocky mountain uniting this river, and ſplitting it into two channels. Leo Africanus adds great weight to the authority of the Nubian geographer, when he aſſures us, that the Nile flows through the region of the Nigritæ. The Abaſſines, according to Gregory, ſay, that the Niger ſeparates from the Nile in the country of Dongola; that the greateſt flow of water paſſes into Egypt; and that the other ſtream, deſcending towards the region of Elway, at laſt diſembogues itſelf into the Atlantic ocean (G). The preſent Ethiopians

(G) It is obſervable, that the kings of Abaſſia are ſtill perſuaded, that the keys of the Nile are in their hands; and that they can, when they pleaſe, change its courſe, as the king Teklimanout intimated to the baſhaw of Cairo towards the beginning of this century, that is, about the year 1706. That prince, being greatly incenſed at the aſſaſſination of the ſieur Du Roule, a Frenchman, at Sennar, threatened the baſhaw with his reſentment, in caſe an immediate ſtop was not put to ſuch flagrant violations of the law of nations. He told him, that he could make the Nile the inſtrument of his vengeance, ſince God, by placing in his hands the fountains, paſſage, and increaſe, of that river, had put it in his power to make it do either good or harm (2).

(2) See the Sequel to Father Lobo's Voyage to Abaſſinia.

call

call their part of this river Abawi, though in the ancient Ethiopic language we find it ſtyled Gejon or Gewon, probably by an early miſtake from the Greek word Γεὼν *Geon*, or Hebrew *Gihon*, Gen. ii. 13. ſince ſome authors have imagined that river to be the Nile. The prophets Jeremiah and Iſaiah give the river under conſideration the name of Sihor or Sichor, i. e. *the Black River*, from the colour of its water, as the Greeks did that of Melas, and the Latins Melo, for the ſame reaſon. Dionyſius Afer, and Stephanus Byzantinus ſay, that the Ethiopians denominated that part of this river running through their territories Siris, which is evidently the ſame as Sihor; but that, as ſoon as it reached Syene, it received the name of (H) Nile. Beſides the

(H) To what has been ſaid of the Nile, we ſhall beg leave to add the account of the rivers flowing into it, given us by the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez: "The Nile (ſays he) receives ſeveral rivers, the moſt remarkable of which are the Baxilo or Bachilo, which divides the kingdoms of Bagemeder or Bagemdra and Amhara; the Gulcem, which bounds the ſame kingdom of Amhara and Oleca; the Maleck and Auguer, which, having joined their ſtreams, water the countries of Damot, Narea, Bizamo, the Gafates, and the Gongas. The Tacaza, called by the ancients Aſtaboras, hath three different ſources near the mountains, which ſeparate the two kingdoms of Angote or Angota and Bagemeder; it runs towards the weſt through the deſert of Oldeba; then, entering Dambar, falls into a large bed of ſands; and afterwards, having croſſed part of the kingdom of Decan, diſcharges itſelf into the Nile. It is ſaid, that, beſides crocodiles and river-horſes, there are in this river abundance of torpedoes, which immediately benumb the arm of any man that touches them. The Mareb, riſing two leagues from Debaroa, falls, after a long courſe, from a rock thirty cubits in height, and ſinks under-ground; but in the winter it runs through many other provinces, and by the monaſtery of Alleluja, and then loſes itſelf. The army, when they invaded theſe regions, dug into the ſand, and found underground both good water, and excellent fiſh." To which we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin a ſhort deſcription of the courſe of the Nile, as delivered to us by the beſt modern geographers ſince the time of Gregory and Ludolfus. It riſes in the kingdom of Gojam, and proceeds from thence in a N. E. direction to the lake of Dambea or Tanza. Afterwards it moves S. E. to the kingdom of Bagemeder, or, as Gregory calls it, Bagemdra. Then, ſtill running S. E it approaches the kingdom of Amhara. From whence, continuing its motion S. E. it advances to the kingdom of Oleca, between which and Amhara it receives a conſiderable river, as it did before the Bachilo on the confines of Amhara and Bagemdra. From the kingdom of Oclea it moves to that of Choa in the ſame direction, and from thence

the Nile, the ancient geographers mention two other rivers, called Aſtaboras and Aſtaphus, meeting near the iſland or peninſula of Meroe, and joining the Nile ſoon after. As theſe rivers had their ſources to the eaſt of the Nile (the firſt deducing its ſtreams from the lake Coloe in the diſtrict of Amaza, and the other from ſome fountains between the mounts Garbata and Elephas, not far from the Aualitic Gulph), we muſt ſubmit it to our readers, whether the preſent Tacaza and Mareb, conſidering the ſituation and direction aſſigned them by the modern geographers, do not entirely correſpond with them. Pliny, Heliodorus, and Strabo, mention a third conſiderable river falling into the Nile, whoſe name they do not entirely agree in: but as it has been omitted by ſeveral of the ancient geographers, and eſpecially by Ptolemy, who had the beſt means of informing himſelf with reſpect to the truth of every particular relating to it, we ſhall ſuperſede all farther accounts of it, and conclude here what we have to ſay of the rivers of Ethiopia [z].

Lakes, promontories, ports, &c.

We find no remarkable fountains and lakes in Ethiopia, beſides the ſources of the rivers above mentioned, except the lake of Pſeboa above Meroe, that of Tzana being, as far as we can collect from the old geographers, unknown to the ancients. The principal promontories were, Baſium, Mnemium, Aſpis, Saturni promontorium, Moſylon, Dire, Zengiſa, Noti Cornu, Praſum, and Raptum, the laſt of which was inhabited by cannibals or anthropophagi: but

[z] Greg. Abaſſ. apud. Ludolf. & ipſe Ludolf. in Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 8. Mel. lib. i. cap. 9. & alib. Strabo, lib. xvii. & alib. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 5. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 34. & alib. Diod. Sic. lib i. Plin. lib. v. cap. 9. & alib. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. Leo African. lib. i. cap. 7. PP. Pays & Tellez. apud Ludolf. lib. i. cap. 8.

thence by Debra through Galla, and the kingdom of the Cafates, to that of Gonga. Afterwards it viſits the country of the Changalas, N. E. of Gonga. From thence, in a northern direction, it flows to the city and kingdom of Sennar. And then to Corte or Corti in Nubia, through the deſert of Bahiouda N. E. of Sennar. Between Sennar and Corti it paſſes by Barbar, near which is a cataract N. E. of the former place, from whence it turns to the weſt and reaches Corte. Kaniſe weſt of Corte next receives a viſit from it; and then Dongola north of Kaniſe. Continuing its courſe N. E. it arrives at the Greater Cataract, and afterwards takes its leave of Nubia, near the Leſſer Cataract. Laſtly, having traverſed Egypt in a northern direction, it diſcharges itſelf by ſeveral mouths into the Mediterranean (3).

(3) Alphonſ. Mendez. apud Le Grand, Diſſert. iii.

the

the three laſt capes ſeem rather to have belonged to the Cafres or African Barbarians, than the Proper Ethiopians. The chief ports and empories of Ethiopia were thoſe of Adulis, Mondus, Opone, Moſylon, and the principal city of the Aualitæ, ſeated upon the Red Sea. The Arabs imported from their country into thoſe parts fruit, corn, wine, and cloaths, and exported from thence to Ocelis and Muſa, oppoſite harbours in Arabia, ſpices, caſſia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and ſeveral other commodities. To which we may add the haven and fortreſs of Sabid, probably the Sabat of Ptolemy, now in a ruinous condition. The moſt noted iſlands appertaining to Ethiopia were Meroe, if that ſhould not rather be conſidered as a peninſula, the Sporades of Agatharchides, Aſtratæ, Ara Palladis, Gythitis, Myronis, Daphnine, Magi, Acanthine, Iſis, Mondus, and Menuthias (K). Meroe contained a large tract, together with a very conſiderable city, its metropolis, of the ſame name. Joſephus informs us, that its original denomination was Saba; but that Cambyſes, from his ſiſter's name, afterwards called it Meroe; which ſeems to be confirmed by Strabo, though it does not appear from Herodotus, that this prince penetrated ſo far into Ethiopia. Timoſthenes, Ptolemy Philadelphus's admiral, related, that the city of Meroe was ſixty days journey from Syene. Eratoſthenes made this diſtance ſix hundred and twenty-five miles; Hipparchus in Strabo five thouſand ſtadia, which agrees with Eratoſthenes; Artemidorus ſix hundred miles; and Seboſus computed ſixteen hundred miles from the fartheſt or moſt northern part of Egypt to this famous city: but according to Pliny, the road between Meroe and Syene was diſcovered in the reign of Nero to be eight hundred and ſeventy-four Roman miles long. The Numidian geographer does not differ greatly from ſome of theſe computations; for he intimates, that travellers are generally above two months in traverſing Nubia, or that vaſt tract lying betwixt the confines of Egypt and Abaſſia. We find, that when Ethiopia was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, the city of Meroe made a prodigious figure, inſomuch that, if ſome of the ancients may be credited, it could ſend into the field an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men, and contained four hundred thouſand artificers, though in Pliny's time it was but a ſmall

(K) To which we may add the iſland in the great lake of Pſeboa, ſometimes occupied by the Libyans, and at other times by the Ethiopians, juſt as ſucceſs attended their reſpective arms, according to Strabo (1).

(1) Strab. lib. xvii.

town.

town. Several queens of this part of Ethiopia, called Candace, that having for a conſiderable number of years been a ſort of ſurname to them, made this the place of their reſidence. Strabo places it ten thouſand ſtadia from Alexandria, and the capital of Ethiopia. As the other iſlands are in a manner obſcure, they merit no attention; only it may be proper to obſerve, that Hardouin, Bochart, and Salmaſius, believe Madagaſcar to be the ancient Menuthias, though Iſaac Voſſius imagines it to have been the ſame with that iſland which the moderns call Zanzibar. How far either of theſe notions may be true, we cannot take upon us to determine [a].

Curioſities. The principal curioſities of this country are: 1. The rocks called Amba-Dorho, or the Rock of the Hen above mentioned. 2. The ſolid gold found on the banks of ſeveral rivers about the ſize of a tare or vetch, taken notice of by Pliny, with which the provinces of Damot and Enarea are ſaid to abound. 3. The iron, copper, and gold mines ſome parts of it are ſo famous for. 4. The mountains of ſalt in a diſtrict upon the confines of Tigre and Angota, called the Land of Salt. In the mountains the ſalt is ſoft, and cut out with little labour, but hardens by being expoſed to the open air. 5. The mountain of red ſalt mentioned by the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, and ſaid to be endued with many medicinal virtues. 6. The mineral ſtibium, called in the Ethiopic tongue cuehel or cohol, which is produced in ſeveral provinces. 7. The various extraordinary animal and vegetable productions, which our readers will meet with in the hiſtory of Abyſſinia [b].

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Cuſtoms, Arts, &c. of the Ethiopians.

Antiquity of the Ethiopians. IT appears from what has been obſerved in the former ſection, that the ſacred writers did not always apply the name of Cuſh to one particular country. They ſometimes

[a] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 29. Strab. lib. xvii. Plin. lib. ii. cap. 73. & lib. vi. cap. 29. 30. Joſeph Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 5. Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. lib. v. ubi ſup. Ptol. Arrian. Marcian. Steph. Byzant. ubi ſupra. Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 878. Bochart. Chan. lib. i. cap. 37. Athan. Kirch. in Oedip. Ægypt. Synt. i. cap. 7. p. 57. Ludolf. ubi ſupra, cap. 8. [b] Strab. lib. xvii. Plin. apud Ludolf. ut & ipſe Ludolf. lib. i. cap. 6, 7.

underſtood

underſtood by it that region watered by the Araxes, which was the ſeat of the ancient Scythians or Cuthites; and ſometimes that country bordering on the Red Sea, contiguous to Egypt. In ſome paſſages likewiſe they ſeem to have had in view the whole peninſula of the Arabs, or at leaſt the greateſt part of that peninſula. Cuſh, the eldeſt ſon of Ham was, in all probability, the great progenitor of the Ethiopians.

A body of Arabs, croſſing the ſtreights of Bab-al-Mandab, paſſed into Ethiopia.

Many authors are agreed, that ſome of the early deſcendents of Cuſh firſt ſettled in the land bordering on the eaſtern ſide of the Red Sea, moving gradually from thence to the ſouthern extremity of Arabia; and afterwards, by means of the eaſy paſſage over the ſtreights of Bab-al-Mandab, tranſplanted themſelves into Ethiopia. According to Euſebius, this migration happened whilſt the Iſraelites were in Egypt; but Syncellus places it in the time of the Judges. The Arabian Cuſhites were anciently called Abaſeni, and made up a great part of the Sabæans or Homerites, as may be adduced from ſeveral authors. The Ethiopians went under the ſame name, agreed in many points with the Arabian Cuſhites, and were believed by moſt of the Aſiatic nations in Joſephus's time to have had the ſame origin. Diodorus Siculus, it muſt be allowed, maintains, that they never came from any other country, and that they never were corrupted by foreign cuſtoms; though he aſſerts, that in ſeveral things they correſponded with the Egyptians. Notwithſtanding what is advanced by that hiſtorian, our readers will naturally conclude, from what has been already ſuggeſted, that part of Cuſh's poſterity moved gradually along the weſtern ſhore of the Red Sea into Ethiopia, which by this migration was tolerably well peopled, when the Arabian Cuſhites firſt found their way into it. The great difference of at leaſt a conſiderable body of the Abaſſines from the Arabs, as well as other nations, the ſituation of the kingdom of Midian, where ſome of the earlieſt Cuſhites probably fixed themſelves, and the concurrent voice of antiquity, both ſacred and profane, tend to evince the juſtneſs of ſuch a concluſion. The Ethiopians, therefore, might very well vie with the Egyptians, and even be deemed ſuperior to them, in point of antiquity, ſince Cuſh their great anceſtor was the eldeſt ſon of Ham. They might likewiſe have been eſteemed of equal antiquity with the Arabians, as from the kingdom of Midian the Cuſhites penetrated both into the ſouthern parts of the peninſula of the Arabs and Ethiopia. The communication between Egypt and Ethiopia, as well as the proximity of blood of Cuſh and Miſraim, introduced that ſimilitude of manners obſervable amongſt

amongſt their reſpective inhabitants, which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to take notice of [c].

Government of the Ethiopians.

Pliny relates, that Ethiopia was anciently divided into forty-five kingdoms, of which he inſinuates that of Meroe to have been the moſt powerful and flouriſhing; but whether theſe were independent of each other, or under one ſupreme head, he no where informs us. Be that as it may, as all the old Oriental governments were abſolute, and the Abaſſine princes known to the Europeans ſince their firſt intercourſe with Abaſſia have been deſpotic, there is no reaſon to doubt but that the kings of Ethiopia always ruled with an uncontroulable ſway. If we admit the Ethiopian tradition, that a long ſucceſſion of princes deſcended from Solomon reigned in this country, it can ſcarce be denied, that their authority was unlimited, as that of the Hebrew monarch knew no bounds. It appears from Strabo and Pliny, that ſome Ethiopic nations were governed always by queens, whoſe common name was Candace, as that of the Egyptian kings was Pharaoh, and Ptolemy. Diodorus Siculus gives us to underſtand, that a great part of Ethiopia was compoſed of ſeveral elective monarchies, the heads of which were choſen out of their prieſts; and that all theſe princes made the laws of their reſpective kingdoms the baſis of their government. The Greeks knew very little of the Ethiopians; and therefore from their authors we can form no adequate idea of any thing relative to them. Seſoſtris and Zerah muſt undoubtedly be conſidered as princes bearing an abſolute ſway over the dominions they governed, of which the Proper Ethiopia was a part. The ſurpriſing conqueſts made by the one, and the prodigious army commanded by the other, to effect the reduction of a powerful neighbour, ſeem to ſet this point beyond diſpute [d].

Laws.

According to Diodorus Siculus, the laws of Ethiopia agreed in ſubſtance with thoſe of Egypt. This conformity, continues the ſame author, the Ethiopians accounted for by aſſerting, that Egypt was firſt peopled by colonies that migrated out of their country. In order to evince that point, they maintained the land of Egypt to have been at firſt, for a conſiderable period, entirely covered with water, and afterwards raiſed gradually, ſo as to become habitable, by the freſh acceſſion of mud which the Nile brought every year

[c] Euſeb. in Chron. Syncell. in Chronog. Uranius apud Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Ptol. lib. iv. Joſ. Scalig. in Comput. Eccleſ. Æthiop. de Emend. Temp. lib. vii. Job. Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 1. Le Grand, Differt. ii. [d] Plin. lib. vi. cap. 29. Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. ii. cap. 3, 4. Diod. Sicul. Strab. Plin. ubi ſupra. Newt. Chron. of the Empire of Egypt.

out

out of Ethiopia. This notion is likewiſe confirmed by Herodotus, who affirms Egypt to be the gift of the Nile; and that the whole region, except the territory of Thebes, in the time of Menes, was one continued moraſs. However, he makes the Ethiopians to have been civilized by the Egyptians, and to have learned the cuſtoms and manners of that people ſo late as the reign of Pſammiticus I. which, conſidering what has been already advanced, will not eaſily be admitted for fact. Yet ſome cuſtoms and manners, as well as laws, the former nation might poſſibly have received from the latter about that time, though in many particulars they agreed long before. We cannot pretend to give our readers a detail of the particular laws, or political maxims that prevailed anciently in Ethiopia; but the following ſeem to have been the principal: 1. Several tribes of Ethiopians looked upon it as a fundamental law to elect their princes out of the different orders of their prieſts. 2. No public executioner ever made his appearance in many parts of Ethiopia, the malefactors there being obliged by a particular law to fall by their own hands. 3. According to the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion amongſt ſome Ethiopic nations, upon the death of the king, his ſiſter's ſon (L), mounted the throne; and in caſe the female branches of the royal family failed of iſſue, they choſe the moſt beautiful and valiant perſon amongſt them for king. 4. It was eſteemed a moſt enormous crime in any perſon capitally convicted to attempt making his eſcape into a foreign country. Diodorus relates, that a criminal condemned to die, having once meditated a flight out of Ethiopia, after the ſign of death had been ſent him by the king, was detected by his mother, who

(L) We are informed by Plutarch, that a certain Ethiopian nation always elected a dog for their king, and paid him divine honours. The ſame author, however, judiciouſly obſerves, that all the high poſts were filled with men. Poſſibly the modern kingdom of Zendero, governed always by an elected monarch, who is ſaid to reſemble an ape, or rather to be an ape, may correſpond with this nation. It is certain Diodorus Siculus and Pliny ſtyle the animal now called a baboon, cynocephalus, from the reſemblance its head bears to that of a dog; which renders it not improbable, that the creature denominated cyon or dog by Plutarch was an ape or baboon; eſpecially ſince the cynocephalus was produced only in Ethiopia. However, this we can only propoſe to our readers as a conjecture (1).

(1) Plutarch. adverſ. Stoic. Diod. Sicul. lib. iii. Plin. lib. viii. cap. 34. Fernand. & Tellez. apud Job. Ludolf. in Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 6.

thereupon ſtrangled him with a garter, he not offering the leaſt reſiſtance, leſt an indelible ſtain ſhould thereby be fixed upon his family. 5. The king of this region was obliged to diſpatch himſelf (M), whenever he received a meſſage from the prieſts of Meroe, the moſt revered of any in Ethiopia, with an intimation that the gods commanded him, for the good of his ſubjects, to die. 6. If the king became maimed or wounded by any accident, his domeſtics were obliged to wound and maim themſelves juſt in the ſame manner. 7. At the king's death all his houſhold ſervants, either in compliance with the laws, or an indiſpenſable cuſtom, killed themſelves, this being looked upon as the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of their ſincere attachment to him. 8. Some of the Ethiopic tribes above Meroe on both ſides the Nile, the preceding laws being chiefly confined to that peninſula, and the parts of Ethiopia near Egypt, elected the moſt induſtrious ſhepherds to preſide over them. Others beſtowed the kingdom upon the moſt opulent perſons they could find, imagining them the moſt capable of adminiſtering with their riches to the wants and exigencies of the public [e].

Religion. Jupiter Ammon, according to the Greek and Latin authors, appears to have been the principal object of religious worſhip in Ethiopia, though the natives (N) paid likewiſe divine honours to Iſis, Pan, Hercules, Æſculapius, and others, whom they conſidered as the greateſt benefactors to mankind. In fine, if theſe authors may be credited, their religion differed not much from that of the Egyptians.

[e] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 5. & alib. Agathar. ebid. Cnid. apud. Phot. Nic. Damaſcen. in Excerptis Valeſii, p. 518, 519.

(M) This enormous power the prieſts enjoyed till the time of Ergamenes, king of Ethiopia, contemporary with Ptolemy Philadelphus, who being a martial prince, advanced to the golden temple of Æſculapius, where they reſided, with a body of troops, and put them all to the ſword. After this he made ſeveral regulations, and in a great meaſure new-modelled the public worſhip of the Ethiopians, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus.

(N) Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Ethiopians valued themſelves upon their being the firſt nation that had a religious eſtabliſhment. They believed, that for this reaſon, adds he, their ſacrifices were more acceptable to the gods than thoſe offered by any other people. Which notion, continues Diodorus, Homer himſelf ſeems to adopt, when he introduces Jupiter, attended by the other gods, as preſent at an anniverſary ſacrifice, or grand entertainment, prepared for him by the Ethiopians.

Dio-

Diodorus, however, aſſures us that ſome of them were atheiſts, who looked upon the ſun, on account of his ſcorching rays, as their implacable enemy. Could we depend upon a tradition of the modern Abaſſines, the Ethiopians, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of them, adhered zealouſly to the law of Moſes from the time of Solomon to their converſion to Chriſtianity. According to this tradition, the queen of Sheba, whom our Saviour calls the queen of the ſouth, and who ruled over a powerful nation of Ethiopia, had a ſon by Solomon named Menilehec, who was educated at that prince's court, and inſtructed in the law of God, through the great care of his father. Being afterwards anointed king of Ethiopia, and ſent home to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom, at the deſire of ſeveral eminent Iſraelites, and doctors of the law, that attended him, he introduced his father's religion, which continued amongſt his ſubjects and their poſterity till the time of St. Athanaſius. What credit is to be given to this tradition, we ſhall not pretend to determine; ſince the learned are much divided in their ſentiments concerning the ſituation of the kingdom of Sheba, whoſe queen had an interview with Solomon at his own court. St. Cyprian, Epiphanius, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Cardinal Baronius, Suarez, Lorinus, Pineda, Bochart, and the Arabs in general, fix their reſidence in Arabia Felix. The laſt call her Belkis, and affirm her to have been the daughter of Hod-Had, king of the Homerites. On the other hand, the Abaſſine nation, Joſephus, Origen, St. Auſtin, the learned Hugo Grotius, the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, the fathers Balthaſar Tellez, and Joan Dos-Santos, have placed this celebrated princeſs in Ethiopia. We have not room to inſert here the arguments offered on both ſides in defence of their reſpective opinions, but ſhall only obſerve, that the kingdom of Abaſſia ſeems to correſpond better with the queen of Sheba's country, according to our Saviour's deſcription of it, as being more to the ſouth of, and remote from, Judæa, than Arabia. To which we may add, that it appears from Scripture, that ſome perſons of diſtinction amongſt the Proper Ethiopians were of the ſame religion with the Jews, or nearly ſo, in the apoſtolical age. For queen Candace's treaſurer, baptized by Philip, went with an offering to Jeruſalem, to worſhip God there, and was not unacquainted with the writers of the Old Teſtament; which cannot, we apprehend, be ſaid with ſo much propriety of the Arabians. This circumſtance ſeems to us in ſome degree a proof, that the Moſaic law was held to be of divine inſtitution in Meroe, and the other parts of Ethiopia dependent on it, even before the birth of our Saviour,

if not as early as the age of Solomon; and conſequently adds ſome weight to the arguments of thoſe writers who have aſſerted, that the queen of Sheba came from Ethiopia. However, it muſt be owned, that Strabo ſuggeſts the people of Meroe in his time to have adored Hercules, Pan, and Iſis, with another foreign god. He likewiſe informs us, that the Ethiopians ranked in the number of their deities all their moſt eminent benefactors, and thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by their birth. The Sun, according to him, the people under conſideration in the moſt early times ſo highly adored, that they reputed thoſe to be atheiſts who curſed him at his riſing, as ſome ſuch there were inhabiting the torrid zone, becauſe he forced them to ſhelter themſelves from his intenſe heat in moiſt and marſhy places: for this reaſon the Greeks and Romans gave the Sun the name of the Ethiopian Jupiter. The Ethiopians themſelves called him Aſſabin or Aſſabinus, as we learn from Pliny. They likewiſe conſecrated to him the cinnamon-tree, an odoriferous ſhrub, which grew in their country. The prieſts only were allowed to gather that harveſt, which they always uſhered in with ſacrifices of forty-four oxen, goats, and ſheep, beginning the work that followed before ſun-riſing, and finiſhing it before his ſetting. The crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts with a ſpear, which was never uſed but on that occaſion. They carried away two portions of it, and left on the ſame ſpot that which fell to the Sun; and forthwith, ſay Pliny, Solinus, and Theophraſtus, if the diviſion had been diſtributed with equity, the ſun's portion took fire of itſelf, and was conſumed. This ceremony ſeems to have been common to the Ethiopians above Egypt, and the Sabæans ſeated in Arabia Felix. Banier is of opinion that the Ethiopians had gods natural, and gods animated, as well as the Egyptians; that they worſhipped the moon under the name of Iſis, and univerſal nature under that of Pan. They alſo paid divine honours to their deceaſed kings as did thoſe nations together with the Mauritanians. Among the princes deified by this people were the famous Juba and Verſotina, which laſt was probably either one of their queens, or ſome other woman of the firſt diſtinction rendered illuſtrious by her glorious actions. The Ethiopians of Meroe, according to Herodotus, in his time, worſhipped Jupiter and Bacchus, and had an oracle of Jupiter. Some Ethiopian nations offered ſacrifices to the Day, which they eſteemed as a god, according to Lucian. An ancient tradition prevails amongſt the Abaſſines, that the firſt Ethiopians adored a monſtrous ſerpent called in their language Arwe-midre; but this favours

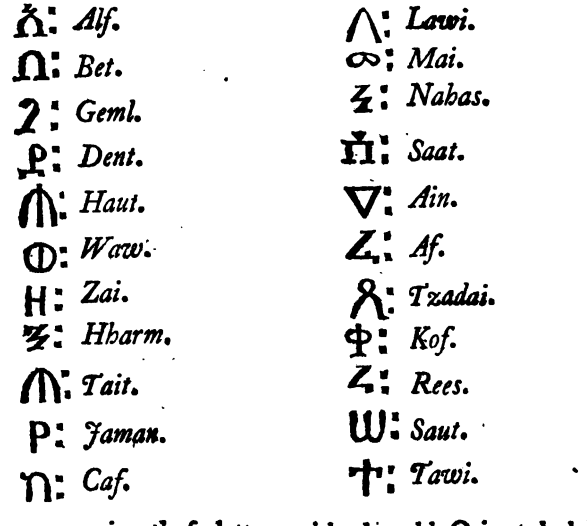
vours ſo much of the fabulous, that our readers will probably think it deſerves little credit [f].

In a country of ſo vaſt an extent as Ethiopia, inhabited by various nations, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that no ſmall variety of languages, at leaſt of dialects, muſt have prevailed. The moſt ancient of theſe was undoubtedly that called by the learned the Ethiopic, into which the Scripture was formerly tranſlated, and in which all the books of the Abaſſines, both ſacred and profane, are written. Some authors have informed us, that this language nearly reſembles the Chaldee; but, according to Ludolfus, who paſſed above ſixty years in the ſtudy of it, it bears as great an affinity to the Hebrew and Syriac, and approaches nearer ſtill to the Arabic, from which to him it appears immediately to be derived. In ſhort, there is ſo perfect an agreement between them, that whoever underſtands the one, may, without any difficulty, make himſelf maſter of the other. He alſo aſſerts, that a competent knowlege of the Hebrew, or any other of the Oriental tongues, will enable a ſtudent ſoon to make a very rapid progreſs in the Ethiopic. As ſeveral Hebrew roots, and genuine ſignifications of Hebrew words, are ſtill preſerved in the Ethiopic, which would be ſought for in vain either in their own or any other language except this, it certainly merits the eſteem of all who would diligently apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the Scriptures. Beſides, it is impoſſible to attain a thorough knowlege of the Abaſſine affairs, this being the language in which all their hiſtories, and other treatiſes, are written, without being tolerably well acquainted with it. The pureſt dialect of this tongue was that uſed in the kingdom of Tigre, which was the place of reſidence of Axuma and the old Ethiopian kings. Here it continued till the failure of the Zagean line; after which, a Sewan prince aſcending the throne, the Amharic dialect was introduced at court, and gradually diffuſed itſelf over the whole empire. However, the language ſpoken in Tigre at preſent approaches the neareſt to the old Ethiopic; which ſtill retains its priſtine dignity not only in their books, but alſo in their divine worſhip, as alſo in their kings letters patents, commiſſions, and all other public acts. Beſides, father Tellez informs us, that in his time there were as many languages as *Language.*

[f] Herodot. lib. ii. Strab. lib. i. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Plin. lib. xii. cap. 19. Solin. cap. 31. Lucian. in Jup. Trag. p. 699. Greg. Abaſſ. apud. Ludolf. ubi ſupra, lib. ii. cap. 2. Banier, lib. vi. cap. 9. Joſeph. Orig. Auguſt. Cyprian. Epiphan. Cyrill. Alexandr. Baron. Suarez. Lorin. Pined. apud Ludolf. ubi ſupra, lib. ii. cap. 3. Pocock. Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 59.

kingdoms, or large provinces, in Abaſſia; and that there were different dialects in one and the ſame kingdom. As the language of Tigre is at preſent deeply tinged with the ancient Ethiopic, ſo thoſe of moſt of the other kingdoms partake greatly of the Amharic; though they conſiderably differ one from another. The people of Bagemdra or Bagemeder uſe a dialect peculiar to themſelves. Thoſe of Haugota, Ifata, Gojam, and Shewa, have one common to them all. The Gafatas have many Ambaric words, but their tongue is extremely difficult to be underſtood by any of the other Abaſſines. In the kingdom of Dambea a language is ſpoken very different from both the Amharic and Ethiopic. The dialect of Gonga agrees with that of Enarea, though it does not bear a near reſemblance to any of the others in Ethiopia [g].

Letters. As it will be expected, that we ſhould ſay ſomething of the letters, or alphabetic characters, of this nation, our readers will not be diſpleaſed to find here the ancient Ethiopic alphabet, as given by the learned Job Ludolfus, in his hiſtory of Ethiopia.



From comparing theſe letters with the old Oriental alphabets, taken from antique coins and inſcriptions by Lœſcher, and conſulting what we have already obſerved in our ac-

g Mariani Victorii Inſtitutiones Linguæ Æthiop. Romæ, 1552. Wemmer. Inſtitut. Grammat. Æthiop. Jo. Potken. Pſalter. Æthiop. Brian. Walton. in Introd. ad Lect. Linguar. Oriental. Job. Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 15. ut & Balthaz. Tellez. apud Ludolf. ibid.

count

count of the Carthaginian, it may perhaps not ſeem improbable, that ſome of them were derived from the old Aſſyrian, Phœnician, Samaritan, and Syriac characters. The number of the letters likewiſe in this alphabet, and the names of ſeveral of them, tend to eſtabliſh the ſame ſuppoſition; though Ludolfus believes theſe characters to have been invented by the Axumites or Ethiopians themſelves, and to be much older than even the Cufic character of the Arabs. It is remarkable, that the Abaſſines have no grammar; and that, when Gregory was taught the uſe of one, he could not forbear returning thanks to God, as though ſome ſecret of great importance had been diſcovered to him. We muſt not forget obſerving, that the Ethiopians both wrote and read from the left-hand to the right, contrary to the cuſtom of the Orientals; a circumſtance which indicates, that their alphabet was not entirely of the ſame extraction with that of the Arabs [h].

Cuſtoms.

The Ethiopians agreed in ſeveral points with the Egyptians, though they had many cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves, ſome of which were very ſingular and uncommon. As we have not room to expatiate upon every cuſtom to be found in hiſtory, we muſt content ourſelves with touching upon ſome of the principal of them. 1. The Egyptian Ichthyophagi differed from other nations in ſeveral particulars. By ſtopping up the paſſages of certain caverns on the coaſt of the Red-ſea with ſtones, they incloſed vaſt numbers of fiſhes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left as in a net, and ſerved them for food. The women and children employed themſelves in throwing on ſhore thoſe of a leſſer ſize, whilſt the men ſecured the ſharks, ſea-calves, congers, and monſtrous lobſters, with which that ſea abounded, killing them with ſharp goats-horns, and rough ſtones broken off the rocks. Theſe they expoſed to the ſolar rays in ſtone pots turned towards the ſouth, where the fleſh was ſoon ſeparated from the bones by the intenſe heat. This they boiled up with the ſeeds of paliurus. The maſs formed by theſe two ingredients was at firſt liquid, and of a reddiſh colour; but, being ſpread upon tiles, and dried, or rather baked, by the ſun, it became hard and ſavoury. This they commonly fed upon; but, when any inundations happened, ſo that they could not, for ſeveral days together, approach the ſhore, they were conſtrained to eat ſhell-fiſh, ſome of which were ſo large, that they weighed four minas. If theſe at any time failed, they found themſelves com-

[h] Job. Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. iv. cap. 1. Gram Æthiop. ed. Lond. 1661. & Comment. ad Hiſt. Æthiop. p. 34, 555, 556, 562, & alib. paſſ.

pelled to have recourſe to the bones, though deſtined for another uſe, which preſerved them till the ſea ſent their uſual ſupplies. They drank water only every fifth day, but that in ſuch immoderate quantities, that they were ſcarce able to breathe. They ſeemed not to utter any articulate ſounds, and conſequently to be void of language. Some of them, according to Agatharchides, never drank at all, living only upon raw fiſh. Theſe, continues the ſame author, might have been deemed real Stoics, as being never ruffled or diſcompoſed by the violence of any prevailing paſſion. However barbarous their neighbours might eſteem them, they had the art of teaching the phocæ or ſea-calves, produced by the neighbouring gulph, to aſſiſt them in catching other fiſh. Several tribes lived in ſuch caves as we have deſcribed in the former ſection; others erected huts of fir-trees, which grew there in great abundance, bearing fruit like a cheſtnut, of the boughs and leaves of which they formed a ſort of canopy. This, together with the pleaſant breezes coming from off the ſea, ſheltered them from the ſcorching rays of the ſun. Laſtly, others fixed their habitations in inacceſſible hollows ſurrounded with high precipices and the ſea. The Ichthyophagi generally enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of health; but few of them attained to old age. They carried their dead to the ſea-ſhore, where they lay expoſed till the return of the tide, which carried them off; ſo that, as they fed upon fiſh in their life-time, they after their death in return afforded thoſe animals a repaſt. 2. The Chelonophagi already mentioned not only uſed the fleſh of tortoiſes for food, but likewiſe covered their huts or cottages with the ſhells of thoſe animals. As both in ſize and figure theſe ſhells reſembled a ſmall fiſhing-veſſel, the Chelonophagi employed them as boats, on ſome occaſions. They had a particular manner of ſurpriſing this fiſh, which we find deſcribed from Agatharchides by Diodorus Siculus. 3. Another Ethiopic canton lived upon fiſh of the cetaceous kind, which they found thrown upon the ſhore by chance. When they were preſſed by famine, they devoured the bones of thoſe creatures, whoſe fleſh at other times ſuſtained them. 4. The Ethiopian Rhizophagi, after they had waſhed the roots of the canes growing in marſhy ground, bruiſed them, and preparing them by the heat of the ſun, fared deliciouſly upon them. This canton was greatly infeſted with lions, which iſſued from the deſerts in vaſt numbers, and would have depopulated the country they inhabited, had not a prodigious multitude of gnats of an enormous ſize annually expelled them. At the ſame time the Rhizophagi, in order to avoid theſe gnats, retired

retired towards the moraſſes. The Hylophagi were people of ſuch ſurpriſing activity, that they ſkipped from one tree to another, like birds. They always went naked, lived upon the young ſhoots of trees, had their wives in common, and frequently quarreled about their reſpective habitations. On theſe occaſions they fought with clubs, after the manner of the Libyans, which ſometimes did great execution. 6. One tribe of Ethiopians, watching an opportunity, killed leopards and buffaloes, with clubs burnt at one end, ſtones, and darts, in the manner deſcribed by Agatharchides and Diodorus Siculus. They trained up their children in throwing the dart, and would not ſuffer them to eat till they had hit the mark. 7. Another Ethiopic nation had two very particular ways of taming elephants, for a full deſcription of which our readers muſt have recourſe to the authors laſt mentioned. 8. The Struthophagi had ſeveral arts and devices to take oſtriches, on which they fed. That animal defended itſelf againſt them with ſtones, which it threw with its feet to a great diſtance. The Struthophagi of the ſkins of theſe oſtriches made both garments and coverlets for their beds. 9. The Acridophagi had a deep valley in their country, many furlongs in extent, which they ſtrewed with wood, and other combuſtible materials; and, when the ſouth wind drove vaſt numbers of locuſts thither, ſet them on fire, the ſmoke ſuffocating all thoſe animals. Such infinite numbers of locuſts were deſtroyed on theſe occaſions, that the ground for ſome leagues was covered with their bodies, which the people preſerved with ſalt, produced moſt plentifully in their territories, and lived upon for the following year. But they were probably very unwholeſome food; for the Acridophagi did not exceed the age of forty years, and at laſt died in a miſerable manner. They were devoured by winged inſects of different ſpecies, of a ſtrange and hideous form, expiring for the moſt part in exquiſite torture. Poſſibly the air itſelf, as well as the locuſts, might have greatly contributed to ſo uncommon and fatal a malady. 10. The Cynamolgi, ſeated in the ſouthern parts of Ethiopia, wore long beards, and kept dogs extremely fierce, in order to hunt Indian oxen, prodigious herds of which came every year amongſt them. 11. The nations placed ſtill more to the ſouth, according to Agatharchides and Diodorus, lived the life of ſavages, if not that of the worſt of brutes. From hence we are inclined to believe, that the Cafres were not unknown to the ancients, and conſequently that they had ſeen more of the ſouthern parts of Africa than the moderns imagine. 12. The above mentioned authors inform us, that the greateſt part

of

of the Troglodytes in their manner of life nearly reſembled the Libyan Nomades, that they were divided into tribes, and that all of theſe were under one ſupreme head. 13. The Troglodytes, during the time of the Eteſian winds, drank a liquor compoſed of blood and milk boiled together. In the ſummer months they lived about the moraſſes with their flocks, where they frequently ſought for convenient paſtures. The old and infirm cattle always ſupplied them with food, for which reaſon they called the males their fathers, and the females their mothers, never giving thoſe denominations to their natural parents. They had no other garments than the ſkins of beaſts, with which they covered only their loins. 14. They held all their old women in the higheſt veneration, inſomuch that, in their moſt bloody conteſts, if any of them appeared, they threw down their arms. When the men were worn out with age, they tied themſelves by the neck to an ox's tail, and were dragged about till they expired; and, if upon an admonition from a friend they declined uſing this expedient, they might be ſtrangled without any crime. As it was deemed an unpardonable offence to deſire life when a perſon was incapable of contributing to the welfare of the public, if any one was ſeized with an incurable diſtemper, or maimed by accident, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to diſpatch him. They carried their dead to the top of ſome hill, where they firſt covered them with ſtones, and then fixed a goat's horn upon them. So devoid were they of compaſſion, that the ceremony of burying the deceaſed in this manner was one of their moſt celebrated diverſions. In a word, like nine-tenths of the inhabitants of this globe, they lived in the moſt deplorable ignorance and brutality. 15. The Ethiopians made uſe of bows and arrows, darts, lances, and ſeveral other weapons (O), which they managed with great ſtrength and dexterity. 16. Circumciſion was a rite obſerved amongſt them, as well as the Egyptians, from very early antiquity, though which of theſe nations firſt received it, cannot certainly be known. 17. The Ethiopian ſoldiers tied their arrows round their heads, the feathered part of which touched their foreheads and temples, and the other projected like ſo many rays, which formed a kind of crown. Theſe arrows were extremely ſhort, pointed with ſharp ſtones inſtead of

(O) The Megabari, a canton of the Troglodytes, fought with clubs, and carried before them round ſhields made of raw ox-hides. Many of their neighbours, however, were armed with bows and arrows (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Strab. lib. xvi. p. 776.

iron,

iron, and dipped in poiſon, inſomuch that all the wounds given by them were attended with immediate death. The bows from which they ſhot theſe arrows were four cubits long, and required ſo much ſtrength to manage them, that no nation could uſe them but the Ethiopians. According to ſeveral authors, when they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouds or ſhowers of theſe arrows. Many tribes of the people now under conſideration, particularly the Blemmyes, were wonderfully ſkilful in theſe weapons, taking aim ſo well, and hitting the mark ſo exactly, that ſome of the ancients imagined every individual to have had four eyes. The Ethiopians retreated fighting in the ſame manner as the Parthians, diſcharging vollies of arrows with ſuch dexterity and addreſs, whilſt they were retiring full-ſpeed, that they terribly galled the enemy. 18. Their lances or darts were of an immenſe ſize. 19. The Macrobian or long-lived Ethiopians fed for the moſt part upon roaſted fleſh, drank milk, and frequently attained to the age of a hundred and twenty years. It is ſaid, that this longevity was principally owing to their bathing in a rich and fragrant fountain, which rendered their bodies ſmooth, as if anointed with oil, and perfumed them with the odour of violets. 20. Theſe Ethiopians looked upon braſs as the moſt valuable of metals, and held gold in ſuch little eſteem, that they fettered their priſoners with golden chains. 21. Some Ethiopic cantons buried their dead in earthen coffins about their temples, and ſwore by their manes; and others threw them into the river, conſidering this as the beſt ſort of burial. 22. Some of the Ethiopians had no regular meals, or ſtated times of eating, but always refreſhed themſelves when ſtimulated by hunger and thirſt. 23. The Ethiopian anthropophagi lived upon human fleſh, as we learn from Philoſtratus, Pliny, Solinus, and Ptolemy[1].

As the Ethiopians agreed with the Egyptians in moſt of their laws, their ſplendid funerals, the deification of their princes, the ſeveral colleges of prieſts, circumciſion, and in moſt of their ſacred and civil inſtitutions, it is highly probable that the ſame arts, ſciences, and learning, as well as religion, prevailed in both nations. *Arts, &c.*

[1] Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Herodot. lib. ii. iii. vii. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. iib. v. cap. 12—31. apud Phot. p. 1343—1360. Strab. lib. xvii. & alib. Xenoph. Ἀνάβασ. lib. iii. Heliodor. Æthiopic. lib. ix. & alib. Ptol. Georgr. lib. iv. cap. 9. Scylax Caryand. p. 12. Ælian. de Animal. lib. vi. & lib. xiv. cap. 5. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 1. Joan. Tzetz. cap. i. lib. 8. 1220. Joan. Geometr. hym. ii.

The

Character of the Ethiopians.

The Ethiopians were naturally bold and intrepid, but violent in their temper. They likewiſe ſurpaſſed moſt other nations in beauty and ſize, to which a proportionable degree of ſtrength was generally annexed. For which reaſon Herodotus intimates, that the Macrobii conferred the royal dignity upon the moſt beautiful, large, and ſtrong perſon they could find amongſt them. Both they and the Arabians had an invincible averſion to mice, as we learn from Plutarch. If the modern Abaſſines reſemble their anceſtors, they were well-ſhaped, of a generous diſpoſition, and exceeding quick parts. According to various authors, the Proper ancient Ethiopians were, in general, perfectly black, as we find their poſterity at this day, though ſome particular cantons were white, called by Pliny White Ethiopians. It is probable they were pleaſed with their natural colour, and preferred it to thoſe of other nations. Some writers affirm, that the children of the preſent Abaſſines, are terrified at the ſight of an European, as much as our's are at that of a Negro; and that they paint the devil white, in order to ridicule all complexions bordering upon that colour. Others relate, that in ſome provinces of Abaſſia the people are of an olive colour; that in general they are born white, with a ſpot upon their navel, which in a ſhort time after their birth ſpreads over their whole body; and that, being tranſported into Europe, they become white at the ſecond or third generation. Gregory, the Abaſſine, informed Ludolfus, that his countrymen came into the world of a reddiſh hue, but in a ſhort time turned black. Their women are ſtrong and luſty, and bring forth with little pain. When they are in labour they kneel down as the Hebrew women did, and are delivered without the help of a midwife. Many, if not all, of theſe particulars undoubtedly held equally true of the ancient Ethiopians, who, from what is obſervable in their poſterity, appear to have been likewiſe very patient of labour, capable of bearing the greateſt fatigues, and endued with uncommon vivacity. Laſtly, from Herodotus, compared with the relations of ſome modern authors, it is not unlikely, that they died of old-age, a few only excepted, who either fell by the ſword or were devoured by wild beaſts, as Salluſt has obſerved of the ancient Africans [k].

[k] Herodot. lib. iii. Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. P. Balthazar Tellezius, & Greg. Abaſſ. apud Job. Ludolf. in Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. iii. cap. 14. ut & ipſe Ludolf. ibid. If. Voſſius de Orig. Nil. &c. P. Auguſtin. Calmet. Dict. Bibl. in voc. Æthiopia, &c.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Ethiopians, to the Uſurpation of the Zagæan Family, which commenced about the Year of Chriſt 960.

Where the firſt kingdom of Cuſh was ſituated, uncertain.

NOT only the vaſt tract ſtretching from the ſouthern limits of Egypt to Libya Incognita, and the peninſula of Arabia, as well as a particular part of that peninſula contiguous to Egypt, but likewiſe Suſiana, called by the Orientals Khuzeſtân, and the country watered by the Araxes, the ſeat of the ancient Scythians, ſometimes went under the denomination of Cuſh amongſt the Aſiatic nations. Where Cuſh himſelf ſettled immediately after the diſperſion, authors are far from being agreed; ſome placing him in Suſiana or Khuzeſtân, others in Arabia Felix, and others in that diſtrict near the confines of Egypt, called in Scripture the Land of Midian or Madian. Poſſibly ſome of his deſcendents might contribute towards peopling all the different regions here mentioned; but it is probable that many of them advanced towards Arabia and Egypt, ſince the poſterity of Elam, the ſon of Shem, peopled, in all likelihood, ſeveral of the provinces of Perſia, and particularly Elymais, or Elam, contiguous to Suſiana or Khuzeſtân. Be that as may, it is certain, the land of Midian went by the name of Cuſh before the age of Moſes, when, it is natural to ſuppoſe, the country waſhed by the Araxes was but thinly peopled, and even ſcarce known. That many of the children of Cuſh ſhould have migrated into Arabia, and eſpecially that part of Yaman bordering upon the ſtreights of Bal-al-Mandab, has a great appearance of truth; ſince ſuch a ſituation ſeems to be commodious for throwing large numbers of Cuſhites into the Proper Ethiopia, as well as the inland parts of Africa. To ſupport farther the conjecture offered to the conſideration of our readers, it may be obſerved from various authors, that a great part of the Upper Egypt was poſſeſſed by the Cuſhites in the earlier ages; and the city of Coſs, Kûs, or Kûſh, ſituated upon the Nile in that country, took its name from Cuſh the father of the Ethiopians. The Arabs call Ethiopia not only Habaſh, from Habaſh the ſuppoſed ſon of Cuſh, but likewiſe Cuſh or Couſch, in like manner as the Hebrews. The firſt kings of this country we have no account of, that deſerves the leaſt regard. It is probable that ſeveral princes reigned here at the ſame time, before

before any of the great empires were formed, as in Egypt. Some of the modern Abaſſines pretend, that Arwe was the firſt king of Ethiopia; but they relate nothing memorable of him. This prince was aſſaſſinated by Angab, who afterwards aſcended the throne, and was ſucceeded by Senabut, Gedur, &c. As for the catalogue annexed to the fabulous hiſtory of Tzagaxus, and what we find on this ſubject in Jerom Vecchietti, not the leaſt degree of credit is due to them. The preſent king of Ethiopia, or emperor of Abaſſia, is ſtyled by his ſubjects *negus*, i. e. *king*; but as the governors of provinces are ſometimes honoured with that appellation, his proper title is *neguſa nagaſt Zaitiopia*, i. e. *king of the kings of Ethiopia*[1].

Moſes conquers Ethiopia.

It may be inferred from ſome authors that the Ethiopians poſſeſſed Thebais before Moſes' time, and conſequently that they were a powerful nation from the remoteſt antiquity. According to theſe authors, they made an irruption into the Lower Egypt whilſt Moſes was in that country, and penetrated as far as Memphis. Having defeated the Egyptians in a pitched battle, they threatened them with immediate deſtruction. Whereupon the Egyptian gods being conſulted, ordered their votaries to put an Hebrew at the head of their forces, and then march againſt the enemy. The king, in purſuance of this order, prevailed upon Moſes to accept the command of his army, and to take an oath of fidelity to him. Moſes, being veſted with unlimited power to act as he ſhould think proper for the good of his maſter's ſervice, immediately advanced at the head of his troops into the heart of the enemy's country. As he did not judge it expedient to march along the banks of the Nile, in conformity to their expectations, but to puſh through ſome interior provinces, greatly infeſted with ſerpents of an enormous ſize, towards Meroe, the capital of Ethiopia, he was obliged to have recourſe to the following ſtratagem to preſerve his men: he filled many cheſts or panniers, made of the Egyptian plant Papyrus, with vaſt numbers of the ibis, an Egyptian bird, that had a natural antipathy to ſerpents of all kinds, and made great havock of them. When he approached the tract abounding with thoſe animals, he let out his birds, which deſtroyed all they met with, and opened a paſſage for the Egyptian forces. Moſes, therefore, without any difficulty, ſurpriſed the Ethiopians, gave them a

1 Ptol. Aſiæ tab. 5. Bochart. Phal. lib. ii. cap. 2. & alib. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 25. Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. xii. cap. 13. Hyde de Relig. Vet. Perſar. p 80, &c. Num. cap. xii. 1. Calmet, in Art. Cuſh & Æthiopia D'Herbel. Biblioth. Oriental. in voc. Habas. Job. Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. ii. cap. 1, 2, &c.

total

total defeat, and at laſt ſhut them up in Meroe; but this place was rendered in a manner impregnable by the Nile, the Aſtapus, and the Aſtaboras, which ſurrounded it in ſuch a manner, that it was almoſt impoſſible for an army to approach it. However, Moſes' good fortune interpoſing, he found means to reduce the town. The king of Ethiopia's daughter obſerving from the walls Moſes' bravery in repulſing ſeveral ſallies of the beſieged, and being charmed with his ſucceſs, fell in love with him, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome friends ſhe could confide in, offered to deliver up the place, provided he would ſwear to marry her. This overture, continue the ſame authors, Moſes complied with, was thereupon admitted into the town, and married the princeſs. However, he treated the citizens with great rigour and ſeverity, firſt plundering them, and then putting moſt of them to the ſword. In fine, having ravaged the whole country, raſed or diſmantled all the places of ſtrength, and conſequently rendered the Ethiopians for a long time incapable of making head againſt the Egyptians, he returned with great glory. Cedrenus intimates, that this war laſted ten years [m].

The Abaſſines believe their kings to be deſcended from Solomon and the queen of Sheba.

The Abaſſines are firmly perſuaded that the celebrated queen of Sheba, who had an interview with Solomon, reigned over the Proper Ethiopia. They have a hiſtory of her written at large, but interſperſed with various fables. It imports that Makeda (for, according to them, that was her name), receiving an account from Tamerin, an Ethiopian merchant, of the ſurpriſing power and wiſdom of Solomon, took a journey to Jeruſalem, to know the truth of this report. She was attended by a great train of her prime nobility, and carried with her a variety of magnificent preſents. After ſhe had been inſtructed at Jeruſalem in the worſhip of the true God, ſhe returned, and within the ſpace of a year brought forth a ſon begotten by Solomon, who named him David; but he was called by his mother and her ſubjects Menelech, or Menilehech, that is, *another ſelf*. He received his education at Solomon's court, and was accompanied home by many doctors of the law, and Iſraelites of diſtinction, and particularly Azariah, the ſon of Zadoc, the high-prieſt. By the aſſiſtance of theſe Hebrew attendants he eſtabliſhed the religion profeſſed by his father in Ethiopia, where it continued till that kingdom embraced Chriſtianity. The Arabs and Abaſſines have given the princeſs above mentioned ſeveral names, as Makeda,

[m] Eupolem. & Artapan. apud Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 4 Joſeph. Antiq. lib. ii, cap. 10. Georg. Cedren. Hiſt. Compend. p. 48. ed. Pariſ. 1647.

Belkis,

Belkis, Balkis or Bulkis, Negheſta Azeb, i. e. Queen of the South, as we find her ſtyled by our Saviour, and the Ethiopic verſion. The Abaſſines pretend, that their kings are deſcended in a right line from Menelech; and even moſt of the noble families in Abaſſia at this time trace their reſpective pedigrees up to Solomon [a].

This tradition clogged with ſome abſurdities, though not to be deemed intirely falſe.

That this tradition is clogged with many abſurdities, will appear to any one who conſiders it with the leaſt attention, though at the ſame time it muſt be allowed, that part of it is not void of an appearance of truth. Ethiopia is more to the ſouth of Judæa than the territory or kingdom of Saba in Arabia Felix, conſequently has a better claim than that country for the dominions of the princeſs whom our Saviour calls the queen of the South. Ethiopia is ſtyled the remoteſt part of the habitable world by Herodotus and Strabo, and therefore better agrees with what our Saviour has ſaid of the queen of Sheba, that "She came from the uttermoſt parts of the earth," than Arabia Nor can it be deemed a ſufficient reply to this argument, that Arabia Felix was the uttermoſt part of the earth in reſpect of Judæa, ſince it was bounded by the Red Sea: for that not only Egypt, but even Ethiopia, regions beyond that ſea, were known to, and even had a communication with, the Jews, both before and in our Saviour's time, is indiſputably clear. Laſtly, from what has been ſuggeſted, it appears no improbable conjecture, that Judaiſm was not only known in a part at leaſt of Ethiopia, but likewiſe nearly related to the eſtabliſhed religion there, at the beginning of the apoſtolical age, if not much earlier. However, we would not be underſtood as pretending to determine the reſidence of the queen of the South; eſpecially ſince ſo much may be ſaid for Arabia, as well as the country we are now deſcribing. After all, theſe two opinions, ſo contrary in appearance, may be made conſiſtent without great difficulty; ſince it is agreed, that Arabia and Ethiopia have anciently borne the ſame name, been included, during certain intervals, in one empire, and governed by one prince. Part of the Arabs and Ethiopians had the ſame origin, and very conſiderable numbers of the Abaſeni tranſplanted themſelves from Arabia Felix into Ethiopia, as already obſerved; a circumſtance which ſufficiently proves the intercourſe that formerly ſubſiſted between the Cuſhites or Ethiopians of Aſia and Africa [b].

[a] Ludolf. ubi ſupra, cap. 3. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. cap. 6. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 296. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. ſub voc. Balkis. Le Grand, Diſſert. vii. Matt. xii. 42. [b] Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 114. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 564. ed. 1587. Coſmas Ægyptius, in Chriſtian. Opin. de Mund. lib. ii. p. 138, 139.

But

But whether our readers will fix the queen of Sheba in Arabia or Ethiopia, whether they will admit or reject the hiſtory of that princeſs and her ſon, given us by the Abaſſines, it ſeems clear from Scripture, that the Ethiopians were ſubject to Seſac, either in Solomon's time, or ſoon after his death: for that the Cuſhites, mentioned in the paſſage here referred to, were the Proper Ethiopians, appears from their being joined with the Lubim or Libyans, who likewiſe ſerved in the army of that prince. This, it muſt be owned, is a ſtrong proof, that Seſoſtris and Seſac were the ſame perſon, in conformity to what Joſephus aſſerts, ſince we do not read in Scripture of any Egyptian but Seſac that was maſter of Ethiopia; and ſince Herodotus poſitively aſſerts, that Seſoſtris alone, of all the Egyptian monarchs, enjoyed the empire of that country: but farther, as the Scripture takes no notice of any great conqueror that was king of Egypt before Seſac, it is in the higheſt degree probable, that he was the firſt who extended his conqueſts in ſo wonderful a manner as we find the ancients have related of Seſoſtris.

Ethiopia reduced by Seſac.

We have already obſerved, that Seſac ſubdued and reigned over Ethiopia. After his death a civil war broke out in Egypt, which Sir Iſaac Newton believes to have been invaded at this juncture by the Libyans, and defended by the Ethiopians: but about ten years afterwards, continues the ſame author, the Ethiopians drowned Seſac's ſucceſſor in the Nile, and ſeized upon Egypt. With that kingdom, Libya alſo fell into their hands; a circumſtance which will enable us to account for the numerous hoſt with which Zerah the Ethiopian advanced againſt Aſa king of Judah. However, Aſa overthrew that army, conſiſting of a million of men, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and diſperſed it in ſuch a manner, that Zerah could never afterwards rally his ſcattered forces. Upon which, the people of the Lower Egypt revolted from the Ethiopians, and, being ſuſtained by a body of two hundred thouſand Jewiſh or Canaanitiſh auxiliaries, forced Memnon or Amenophis, king of that nation, to retire to Memphis. It is probable, that the Egyptians, under the conduct of their chief prieſt Uſorthon, Uſorchon, Oſarchor, or Oſarſiphus, followed their blow; ſince, after Memnon had turned the courſe of the Nile, built a bridge over that river, and fortified a paſs, he retreated with great precipitation into Ethiopia. However, about thirteen years after this diſgrace, he, and his young ſon Rameſſes, returned at the head of a powerful army, and drove the Jews or Phœnicians out of the Lower Egypt; which action the Egyptian writers called the ſecond expulſion of the ſhep-

Hiſtory of Ethiopia, to the ſecond expulſion of the ſhepherds.

herds, as we learn from the aforesaid illustrious author, in conjunction with Manetho [o].

A deluge in Ethiopia. We are told by Cedrenus, a writer of authority, that, about fifty years after Cecrops, the first king of Athens, began to reign, there happened a deluge in Ethiopia; but what damage the inhabitants of that country sustained on this occasion, he does not inform us. However, it is probable, that the effects of it were severely felt, since otherwise it would not have merited the notice of any historian. As Cedrenus follows the technical chronology of Eratosthenes, he places this event too high; but this in no manner affects us, who are not disposed to pay any great regard to that chronology. From what writer he extracted this article, we cannot even conjecture [p].

Continued to the time of Sabacon. From several historical facts, Sir Isaac renders it extremely probable that Menes, Memnon, and Amenophis, were the same person; that the Ethiopian prince, who went by these names, was the son of Zerah; and that he died in a very advanced age, about ninety years after the death of Solomon. According to the same writer, the city of Memphis, called in Scripture Moph and Noph, as likewise Menoph or Menuf by the Arabian historians, derived its name from that of this prince, who either built, or first fortified it, to prevent Osarsiphus from entering Ethiopia. The Argonautic expedition happened in the reign of Amenophis, according to the principles of the system we have at present in view. Some Greek authors relate, that he assisted king Priamus with a body of Ethiopian troops. After his decease, his son Rameses ascended the throne of Ethiopia, and built the northern portico of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis. Mœris, his successor, adorned Memphis, and fixed his residence there, near two generations after the Trojan war. Cheops, Cephren, and Mycerinus, were the three next kings, the last of which was succeeded by his sister Nitocris. Then came Asychis, in whose reign both Assyria and Ethiopia revolted from Egypt; which thereupon was again divided into several small kingdoms. Gnephactus governed one of these, and resided at Memphis; but his son Bocchoris was slain by So or Sabacon the Ethiopian, who subdued Egypt. As all the principal atchievements of these monarchs, transmitted to us by sacred and profane antiquity, have already been taken notice of in the history of

[o] Newton, ubi supra. 2 Chron. xiv. 8—15. Maneth. apud Joseph. contra Apion. p. 1052, 1053. Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. Herodot. lib. ii. & Æschyl. apud Newton in Chronol. p. 238. [p] Georg. Cedren. Hist. Compend. p. 83. Paris. 1647.

Egypt,

Egypt, we have paſſed them over here, in order to avoid repetition.

Sabacon, or So, as he is called in Scripture, ſoon after the reduction of Egypt, entered into an alliance with Hoſhea king of Iſrael, which induced that prince to attempt ſhaking off the yoke of the Aſſyrians; but his efforts proving unſucceſsful, a period was put to the kingdom of Iſrael by Shalmaneſer, in the twenty-fourth year of the æra of Nabonaſſar. According to Herodotus, Sabacon, after a reign of fifty years, voluntarily relinquiſhed Egypt, and retired into Ethiopia: but, according to Africanus, he reigned only eight years in Egypt, and died in the ninth year of Hezekiah, or twenty-ninth of Nabonaſſar. The former author likewiſe informs us that Sethon, whom ſome ſuppoſe to be the Sevechus of Manetho, his ſucceſſor, advanced to Peluſium, with a powerful army, againſt Sennacherib king of Aſſyria, whom he was enabled to defeat by a great number of mice, which devoured the ſhield-ſtraps and bow-ſtrings of the Aſſyrians; and that, to perpetuate the memory of ſo ſurpriſing an event, the ſtatue of Sethon, which he ſaw, had a mouſe in its hand. As a mouſe was the Egyptian and Ethiopian ſymbol of deſtruction, this ſeems to intimate, that he overthrew the Aſſyrians with great deſtruction. Sir Iſaac Newton therefore believes, that Sethon, in conjunction with Tirhakah, either king of the Arabian Cuſhites, or a relation of Sethon, and his viceroy in the Proper Ethiopia, ſurpriſed and defeated Sennacherib betwixt Libnah and Peluſium, making as great a ſlaughter amongſt his troops as if their bow-ſtrings had been deſtroyed by mice. The Egyptian prieſts computed three hundred and forty-one generations, or eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years, from the beginning of their monarchy and prieſthood, to the time when Sethon aſcended the throne of Egypt. The prieſts, during that period, as they pretended, had ſucceeded one another, without interruption, under the name of Piromis, an Egyptian word, ſignifying a *good and virtuous man.*

To the death of Sethon.

From this time to the ſeventy-eighth year of Nabonaſſar, we know little of the kingdom of Ethiopia, which was then ſubdued by Eſar-Haddon king of Aſſyria. He committed many enormous cruelties both there and in Egypt; and governed both theſe countries three years, that is, till the time of his death, which happened in the year of Nabonaſſer 81; but then the Ethiopians revolting from the Aſſyrians, aſſerted their independency, which they maintained, though a monarchy diſtinct from Egypt till the days of Cyrus, who, from Xenophon, ſeems to have been maſter

And from thence to the reign of Xerxes.

of Ethiopia. However, ſoon after the deceaſe of that prince, they withdrew themſelves from their ſubjection to the Perſians, ſince we find his ſon Cambyſes engaged in a fruitleſs expedition againſt them. Herodotus ſays, that before he undertook this expedition, he ſent an embaſſy compoſed of the Ichthyophagi, who underſtood the language of that nation, to the king of the Macrobii, or long-lived Ethiopians. The real intention of this embaſſy was not ſo much to cultivate a good underſtanding with that prince, as to learn the ſtrength and condition of his kingdom; though, in order to conceal his deſign, he ſent him a purple robe, bracelets of gold, an alabaſter box of rich ointment, a veſſel of palm-wine, and other magnificent preſents; but the Ethiopian was too acute not to penetrate the Perſian monarch's views on this occaſion, and therefore frankly told the Ichthyophagi, that he was no ſtranger to their errand; and that, if Cambyſes entertained any ſentiments of equity, he would never deſire another prince's territories, nor attempt to reduce to a ſtate of ſervitude a people who had never injured him. "However, (added he) give him this bow from me, and tell him, that he may think of invading the country of the Macrobian Ethiopians, when his ſubjects can thus eaſily draw it; and that, in the mean time, he ought to thank the gods, that they never inſpired the Ethiopians with a deſire of extending their dominions beyond the limits of their own country." Then, unbending the bow, he gave it to the ambaſſadors; after which, taking up the royal garment, he demanded of them, what it was, and how made? and being ſatisfied in both theſe particulars, he could not forbear obſerving, that the robe was a proper emblem and repreſentation of the deceitful prince who wore it. All the other preſents likewiſe, except the wine, he deſpiſed, preferring the iron chains of the Ethiopians, which, he ſaid, were far ſtronger, to the golden bracelets of the Perſians. However, he owned, that the wine excelled any liquor produced in Ethiopia, and intimated that the Perſians, ſhort-lived as they were, owed moſt of their days to ſo noble a cordial. When he heard that a good part of their food was bread, he ſaid, he was not at all ſurpriſed that a people, who fed upon dung, did not attain to the longevity of the Macrobian Ethiopians. What Herodotus relates of the table of the Sun in this country, ſavours ſo much of fable, that we cannot help thinking it beneath the dignity of hiſtory to record it. Cambyſes, being extremely incenſed at the anſwer brought by the Ichthyophagi from the Ethiopian, in a tranſport of rage, immediately began his march towards his frontiers, though he wanted all manner of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence

ence of his troops. This want at laſt introduced ſuch a famine amongſt them, that the ſoldiers were obliged to eat one another; ſo that, not being able to traverſe the vaſt ſandy deſerts of Ethiopia, he found himſelf conſtrained to return, firſt to Thebes, and afterwards to Memphis, with the loſs of a great part of his army; but, could he have penetrated to the centre of this region, it is probable he would have met with a warm reception, ſince, by the acceſſion of a large body of Egyptians in the reign of Pſammitichus, the Ethiopians muſt have been very formidable; for we learn from Herodotus, that two hundred and forty thouſand Egyptians, poſted in different places by that prince, to guard the frontiers on the ſides of Arabia, Aſſyria, Libya, and Ethiopia, not having been relieved within the ſpace of three years, deſerted to the king of Ethiopia, who placed them in a country diſaffected to him, with orders to expel the inhabitants, and take poſſeſſion of their lands. He alſo informs us, that, in the Egyptian language, they were called Aſmack, i. e. *thoſe who ſtand on the left hand of the king*; as likewiſe, that they civilized the Ethiopians: but we cannot give credit to the laſt article, ſince, from this very hiſtorian himſelf, and Africanus, it appears, that the Ethiopians were maſters of Egypt at leaſt eighty years before the time of Pſammitichus; and therefore might have learned every thing the Egyptians could teach them before, if they were not, from the earlieſt ages, in all particulars as wiſe as that people. Sir Iſaac Newton inſinuates, that Cambyſes conquered Ethiopia, as well as Egypt, about the year of Nabonaſſar 223 or 224; but this conqueſt, as far as we can recollect, can neither be inferred from Herodotus, nor any other good author. Herodotus aſſerts, that Cambyſes reduced ſome of the provinces of Ethiopia contiguous to Egypt in the unfortunate expedition already mentioned; and that they, together with the Troglodytes, ſent an annual preſent to the Perſian monarch, conſiſting of two chœnixes of unrefined gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty elephants teeth of the largeſt ſize: but though the Perſians ſubdued not only theſe provinces, but likewiſe that part of Libya bordering upon the weſtern confines of Egypt, and carried their arms as far as the city of Cyrene; yet, that they brought under their dominion all that vaſt tract, comprehending the kingdoms of Sennar, Abaſſia, and other countries, anſwering to the Proper Ethiopia of the ancients, we cannot help thinking very improbable [q].

[q] Iſai. chap. xix. ver. 23; chap. xx. ver. 4, 5. Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 13. Herod & African. ubi ſup. Xenoph. & Cyropæd. Herodot. lib. i i. Newt. Chronol. p. 256, 257, 259, &c.

Xerxes has a body of eaſtern and weſtern Ethiopians, Libyans, &c. in his army.

Amongſt the various nations that compoſed the numerous army with which Xerxes invaded Greece, Herodotus ranks the Ethiopians. He mentions on this occaſion two ſorts of that people; the eaſtern, who had their abode in Aſia, and were conſidered as Indians, from whom they differed only in their hair and language, and the weſtern or African Ethiopians. The former carried the ſame arms as the Indians, wore the ſkins of horſes heads for helmets, the ears and manes whereof ſerved them for tufts and plumes of feathers, bore before them the ſkins of cranes for ſhields, and had long hair. The Africans were armed with darts lighted at one end, covered with leather, and had black frizzled hair. Their commander was Maſanges, the ſon of Aorizus, a perſon doubtleſs of great diſtinction amongſt them. Nothing remarkable of Ethiopia occurs from this period to the diſſolution of the Perſian empire. However, it is probable that matters, with reſpect to them, all along remained in the ſame ſituation; that is to ſay, the Ethiopian provinces contiguous to Egypt were ſubject to the Perſians, and the others in a ſtate of independence, either ſo little known, or made ſo inconſiderable a figure, as not to deſerve the attention of any celebrated hiſtorian[r].

Ptolemy Euergetes penetrates into Ethiopia.

It does not appear that Alexander the Great ever undertook an expedition againſt the Ethiopians, though, when he conſulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, one of the firſt enquiries he made was after the ſources of the Nile. Encamping afterwards at the head of the river Indus, he imagined it to be that of the Nile, and was overjoyed at his ſucceſs: but Ptolemy Euergetes, one of his ſucceſſors in Egypt, having a paſſionate deſire, in common with ſome of the greateſt men of antiquity, to diſcover the fountains of the Nile, with this view carried his arms into Ethiopia. The particulars of this enterprize we cannot find related in hiſtory, though that he penetrated to the fartheſt parts of this region, and ſubdued moſt, if not all, the powerful nations in it, appears from an inſcription (P) preſerved by Coſmas

[r] Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 69—71.

(P) Eleſbaan, king of the Axumites or Ethiopians, ordered Aſbas, governor of Adule, to ſend him a copy of this inſcription. This happened about the beginning of Juſtin's reign, juſt before Eleſbaan undertook the expedition againſt the Homerites, which will be hereafter mentioned, and twenty-five years before our author wrote the piece here referred to. Aſbas employed Coſmas, and Menas, a merchant, who afterwards became a religious at Raithus, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Rhaptus, poſſibly the Rauſo of Coſmas, to take him an exact copy

Coſmas Ægyptius (Q), or, as ſome call him, Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, which he copied upon the ſpot in the time of the

copy of it; and therefore we may depend upon the relation the former has given us: "At the entrance, ſays he, into the weſtern part of the city, facing the road to Axuma, ſtood a chair of white marble, conſiſting of a ſquare baſe, a ſmall thin column at each angle of this baſe, with a larger wreathed one in the middle, a ſeat or throne upon theſe, a back, and two ſides. Behind this chair there was a large ſtone three cubits high, which had ſuffered conſiderable injury from time." This ſtone, and the chair, contained a Greek inſcription, part of which was to the following effect: "Ptolemy Euergetes penetrated to the fartheſt parts of Ethiopia. He ſubdued Gaza, Agame, Sigue, Ava, Tiamo or Tziamo, Gambela, Zingabene, Angabe, Tiama, Athagaos, Calaa, Semene, Laſine, Zaa, Gabala, Atalmo, Bega, the Tangaitæ, Anine, Metine, Seſea, Rauſo, Solate, the territory of Rauſo, and ſeveral other kingdoms. Amongſt the nations he reduced were ſome inhabiting mountains always covered with a deep ſnow; and others ſeated upon ridges of hills, from whence iſſued boiling ſtreams, and craggy precipices, which therefore ſeemed inacceſſible. Having finally, after all theſe conqueſts, aſſembled his whole army at Adule, and ſacrificed to Mars, Neptune, and Jupiter, for his great ſucceſs, he dedicated this chair or throne to Mars." For a full account of every thing relating to this inſcription, publiſhed firſt by Leo Allatius, and afterwards by Berkelius, Spon, and Montfaucon, we muſt refer our readers to the learned Dr. Chiſhul (1).

(Q) Coſmas informs us, that from Alexandria to the Cataracts were thirty ſtations; from the Cataracts to Axuma thirty more; and from thence to the fartheſt part of Ethiopia producing frankincenſe, and contiguous to the ocean, called Barbaria, fifty ſtations. Near Barbaria lay the country known by the name of Saſus, according to the ſame author, which was likewiſe reputed one of the remoteſt regions in Ethiopia.

The Barbarians, ſays Coſmas, imported various ſorts of ſauces, frankincenſe, caſſia, and other commodities, the produce of their territory, into the country of the Homerites, ſeparated from them by the ſtreights of Bab-al-Mandab. They ſupplied likewiſe the Perſians and Indians with the ſame commodities. The ſea beyond Barbaria our author calls the Zingian ocean, and intimates, that Saſus abounded with gold mines. Every other year the king of Axuma ſent ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to Agau, to traffic with the natives for gold; and other merchants, to the number of five hundred, attended them. They brought with them cattle, ſalt, and iron, to barter for gold. Upon their arrival they fixed on a certain ſpot of ground, killed and cut in pieces ſeveral

(1) Chiſhul. Antiq. Aſcat. p. 73—88.

the emperor Juſtin I. It is probable, however, that he abandoned theſe conqueſts, ſince henceforth we find little of conſequence concerning any branch of the Proper Ethiopians in the writings of the ancients, till the days of Auguſtus [a].

Petronius forces queen Candace to ſue for peace, which is granted her by Auguſtus.

About the year of Rome 725, when Ælius Gallus had drawn moſt of the Roman forces out of Egypt, in order to invade Arabia, Candace, queen of Ethiopia, or rather of the kingdom of Meroe, made an irruption into the province of Thebais with a numerous army. According to Dio, Candace herſelf headed her troops in this expedition. At firſt ſhe met with great ſucceſs, ravaged all the country as ſhe advanced, took Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ, the Egyptian frontiers on the ſide of Ethiopia, without oppoſition, and made three Roman cohorts priſoners of war: but receiving intelligence that Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was in full march to attack her, ſhe retired into her own

[a] Diod. Sicul. Arrian. Quint. Curt. aliiq. de Reb. geſt. Alexand. Coſm. Ægypt. Topograph. Chriſtian. p. 140—143. Job. Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 8. Le Grand. Diſſert. iii.

oxen, which they expoſed, together with the ſalt and iron, to the view of the natives. Some of theſe approaching with ſmall ingots of gold, which they called tancharas, laid down one or more of them, as they pleaſed, upon the piece of the ox, ſalt, or iron, they choſe to purchaſe, and then retired to a place at ſome diſtance. The proprietor, ſeeing this, took the gold, if he thought it ſufficient, and went away; and the perſon who had left it, came and carried off the commodity he had pitched upon. If the gold was not deemed enough, the Axumite or Ethiopian, who owned the commodity to which it was affixed, let it remain; which the other obſerving, either made an addition to what he had before depoſited, or departed with it. This manner of trading they found neceſſary, as being ſtrangers to each other's language; and it was generally finiſhed in five days. This journey the Axumites commonly performed in ſix months time, and were longer in going than returning, on account of their cattle. They were obliged to travel armed, ſince gangs of robbers ſometimes attacked them upon the road, eſpecially in their return, when they were loaded with gold. As the fountains of the Nile were in this diſtrict, and as the rivers they found themſelves obliged to paſs were greatly ſwelled by the violent rains that fell in the winter, they took care to be at home before that ſeaſon could intercept them. By the violence of thoſe rains, continuing three months, many ſmall torrents became rivers, that emptied themſelves into the Nile (1).

(1) Coſm. Egypt. in Topograph. Chriſtian. A. D. 545. Script. p. 140, et ſeq.

domi-

dominions. The Roman general purſued the Ethiopians to Pſelcha, from whence he ſent a deputation to the queen, to enquire the reaſon of the late hoſtilities, and to demand all the priſoners, as well as a reſtitution of all the effects, particularly the ſtatues of Auguſtus, carried off from the cities above mentioned: but Candace, not ſending a ſatisfactory anſwer, and ſeeking only to gain time, Petronius immediately attacked the Ethiopian army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, though his troops ſcarce amounted to ten thouſand, in the neighbourhood of Pſelcha. As the Ethiopians were for the moſt part only armed with poles and hatchets, and entirely undiſciplined, he gained an eaſy victory over them. Some fled into the town, others diſperſed in the adjacent deſerts, and others ſwam to a neighbouring iſland in the Nile. Soon after this victory, Pſelcha ſurrendered; and one of his detachments brought off the corps that had eſcaped to the iſland, in which were ſeveral of queen Candace's general officers. At Pſelcha he reviewed his forces, and finding them in good condition, advanced to Premnis, a fortreſs of great ſtrength, which he reduced. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the Roman general marched to Napata, where Candace held her reſidence, which he took and deſtroyed; her ſon, however, found means to make his eſcape: the queen herſelf had retired to one of her caſtles at ſome diſtance from Napata, where, receiving advice of what had happened, and finding herſelf not in a condition to oppoſe the Romans, ſhe thought proper to propoſe terms of accommodation: but Petronius, on account of the exceſſive heats, and a want of proviſions, ſoon finding himſelf obliged to return to Alexandria, the conferences were broken off. After the departure of Petronius, Candace beſieged Premnis, where the Romans had left a garriſon of four hundred men; but being ſoon forced to raiſe the ſiege, ſhe diſpatched ambaſſadors a ſecond time to treat of a peace with the Roman general, who ſent them with an eſcort to Auguſtus. That prince, whom they found at Samos, gave them a moſt gracious reception, and granted their miſtreſs a peace upon her own terms. This unexpected condeſcenſion is attributed to the rich preſents thoſe miniſters carried with them. Pliny intimates, that the kingdom of Meroe had been governed by queens for ſeveral preceding generations, who all went under the name of Candace [t].

[t] Strab. lib. xvii. p. 820. Dio, lib. liv. p. 524, 525. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 29. Sextus Aurel. Vict. epit. de Vit. & Mor. Imperator. Romanor.

Though

Hiſtory of Ethiopia continued to the aſcenſion of our Saviour,

Though Auguſtus reſtored all the towns taken by Petronius, and remitted the tribute, which that general either did, or would have exacted from Candace, yet the Romans now looked upon themſelves as maſters of Ethiopia. They complimented Auguſtus on the great glory he had acquired, in ſubduing a country unknown even to his great predeceſſor, a conqueſt which finiſhed the reduction of Africa. No material alteration in the civil affairs of the kingdom of Meroe, which was the Ethiopia known to the Romans, happened either during the remainder of Auguſtus's reign, or that of his ſucceſſor Tiberius, queens ſtill continuing to govern in that country, as we learn from Scripture: but that the Chriſtian religion was introduced into Meroe about the nineteenth or twentieth year of Tiberius's reign, has been believed by ſome writers of authority. Theſe writers ſay, the eunuch baptized by Philip the deacon converted his royal miſtreſs, after his return to the Chriſtian faith. St. Luke calls that princeſs Candace; from whence ſome have inferred, that ſhe was the ſame queen of Ethiopia mentioned by Pliny and Strabo; but as the interval betwixt the invaſion of Ethiopia by Petronius, and the converſion of the eunuch, was a term much longer than kings uſually reign, and as the former author remarks Candace to have been an appellation common to the ſovereigns of Meroe, we are by no means inclinable to adopt that opinion [a].

and from thence to the reign of Dioclefian.

Little after this period, for above two hundred years, occurs concerning the Ethiopians. Ælius Spartianus relates, that the emperor Heliogabalus frequently confined his moſt intimate friends for whole nights together with little antiquated Ethiopian women, by way of diverſion, ſaying that theſe females were the moſt beautiful of all others. From hence we may infer, that in his reign, about the year of Chriſt 220, there was an intercourſe between the Roman empire and the Ethiopians. Probus, above fifty years afterwards, undertook an expedition againſt the Blemmyes, a nation, or rather gang of banditti, bordering upon the frontiers of Thebais, vanquiſhed, and ſent many of them priſoners to Rome. What occaſioned this expedition, is not told us by any author; but that the Blemmyan captives graced Probus's triumph, and exhibited ſuch a ſtrange appearance as greatly aſtoniſhed the Romans, we learn from Vopiſcus. Towards the cloſe of the third century, that nation and the Nobatæ, a people who inhabited the banks

[a] Dio, ubi ſupra. Calmet. in voce Candace. Anaſtaſ. Sinait. lib. vi.

of

of the Nile near the Upper Egypt, committed great depredations upon the Roman territories, and the adjacent parts of Thebais; being probably on this account but thinly peopled, the emperor Diocleſian found his revenue in thoſe parts ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the garriſons placed there to repreſs the incurſions of the Ethiopians. He therefore aſſigned the Nobatæ lands in the Roman dominions, and gave both them and the Blemmyes a conſiderable annual ſum, to deſiſt from their former practices: but, notwithſtanding their ſolemn aſſurances to the contrary, they continued pillaging the Roman ſubjects to the time of Juſtinian, according to Procopius. That prince did not treat them with ſuch lenity as they had met with from Diocleſian; for this emperor did not only grant them the favour above mentioned, but likewiſe tranſplanted ſome of them to an iſland in the Nile near Elephantine, gave them the uſe of the temples there in common with the Romans, and ordered prieſts to be ſelected from them to officiate, thinking this would produce a perfect and perpetual harmony betwixt them: but Juſtinian ordered Narſes, the commander of the garriſon in Philæ, to demoliſh the temples of the Barbarians, impriſon their prieſts, and ſend all the images of their gods to Byzantium. That Diocleſian built the fortreſs of Philæ, and gave it that name, from the friendſhip and union which he imagined the meaſures he had taken would occaſion between the Romans, Egyptians, and Ethiopians ſettled there, is advanced by Procopius: but we can by no means admit it; ſince this very fortreſs exiſted, and was called by the ſame name, in the days of Strabo. Procopius, in agreement with Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, aſſerts Elephantine was thirty days journey from Axuma, or as he calls it Auxomis. The ſame author alſo affirms, that, before the reign of Diocleſian, the frontiers of the Roman empire on that ſide extended ſo far into Ethiopia, that they were not above twenty-three days journey diſtant from this capital [w].

We find nothing worthy of obſervation recorded of the Ethiopians, by the Greek and Latin hiſtorians, from the reign of Diocleſian, to the time of their converſion to Chriſtianity. The modern Abaſſines inform us, that our Saviour was born in the eighteenth year of Bazen, a prince of the Solomonean line, and the twenty-fourth from Menilehec, ſurnamed El Hakim, i. e. *the Wiſe*, or *Son of the Wiſe*, above mentioned. They likewiſe enumerate thirteen

[w] Ælius Lampridius in Heliogab. Flavius Vopiſcus in Prob. Procop. de Bell. Perſ. lib. i. cap. 19. Strab. lib. xvii. Coſmas Ægyptius in Topograph. Chriſtian. lib. ii. p. 138—140. edit. D. Bern. de Montfauc. Pariſiis, 1706.

kings,

kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-ſeven years, between him and Abreha and Atzbeha, or Abra and Aſba, who ſat upon the throne when Frumentius carried the light of the goſpel into Abaſſia. Frumentius, according to ſome, found his work facilitated by the labours of St. Matthew, who had applied himſelf to the converſion of the Nubians, a nation before diſpoſed for the reception of Chriſtianity by the eunuch of Candace, who had already ſown in their minds the firſt ſeeds of that religion. Theſe St. Matthew took care to cultivate, and raiſe to fruit, though he could not reach Abaſſia. The planting of the Chriſtian faith in that country was reſerved for the age of St. Athanaſius, patriarch of Alexandria; of which great event Rufinus and others have given us the following relation [x].

Ethiopians or Abaſſines converted by Frumentius.

Meropius the philoſopher, a native of Tyre, took a reſolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the converſation of other philoſophers, or for the ſake of traffic, which was not thought inconſiſtent with the profeſſion of philoſophy. This man, after having wandered over all India, determined at length to return home, with two young men nearly related to him, the companions of his travels; and, touching at an iſland in the Red-Sea, was either cut to pieces by the natives, or died a natural death. Frumentius and Ædeſius, or, as the Abaſſines have it, Fremonatus and Sidracus (for ſo were his kinſmen called), falling into the hands of the Barbarians, were brought before the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near his perſon, and advanced them in his ſervice. Their talents and induſtry procured them ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks of this prince's favour. Finding in Frumentius a greater capacity, he made him his treaſurer, and Ædeſius his butler; in which poſts they behaved themſelves with ſo much propriety and addreſs, that, upon the king's death, the queen, who had been appointed guardian to her ſon, would not grant either of them permiſſion to leave the kingdom, as they deſired. On the contrary, ſhe left the management of public affairs entirely to Frumentius, who made uſe of this new authority to bring the people under his inſpection to the knowlege of Jeſus Chriſt. Contracting an acquaintance with ſome Chriſtian merchants, either trading to or ſettled in Abaſſia, who ſometimes came to that iſland, he granted them great privileges, and places to aſſemble in for public worſhip. This occaſion firſt excited in the Abaſſines a deſire to be inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianity;

[x] Rufin. lib. i. cap. 9. Socrat. lib. i. cap. 19. Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 24. Theodoret. lib. i. cap. 23.

which

which induced Frumentius to take a journey to Alexandria, in order to inform St. Athanaſius of the diſpoſition of that people. The patriarch hereupon conſecrated him biſhop of Axuma, and about the year of our Lord 335, ſent him to propagate the Chriſtian religion in Ethiopia. Soon after his arrival, he baptized great numbers of the Abaſſines, ordained deacons and preſbyters, built churches, and, in ſhort, gained an aſſent to the divine truths of the goſpel in almoſt every part of that vaſt region. The Ethiopic book at Axuma, held in the higheſt veneration by the Abaſſines, agreeing in general with this relation, as well as ſeveral Greek and Latin authors of good repute, it muſt deſerve the greateſt attention. That Adad or Aidog, therefore, king of the Axumites, firſt introduced Chriſtianity into Ethiopia about the fifteenth year of the emperor Juſtinian, after an unparalleled defeat given the king of the Homerites, in conſequence of a vow made before the engagement, as ſome have not ſcrupled to aſſert, cannot be allowed. However, either the nation in general, or at leaſt the court and nobility, afterwards relapſed into Paganiſm, according to an Oriental author of ſome note; and embraced again the Chriſtian religion, about the fourth year of the emperor Juſtin, A. D. 521. This ſtep they were then commanded to take by Aidog, for the reaſon above aſſigned. A full and minute account of this memorable tranſaction may be found in the extracts of ſeveral Syriac writers, to be met with in the learned M. Aſſemanus's Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino Vaticana [y].

Abra and Alba refuſe to admit Arianiſm.

Abra and Aſba, who jointly ſwayed the ſceptre, are greatly celebrated by the Ethiopian hiſtorians. The harmony that reigned between them was ſo ſingular and uncommon, that it almoſt became a proverb in Ethiopia. Conſtantius the emperor made uſe of many expedients to introduce Arianiſm into this country, but without effect. He ſent ambaſſadors to thoſe kings, in order to prevail upon them to put Frumentius the biſhop of Axuma into the hands of George the Arian biſhop of Alexandria, ſubſtituted in the place of Athanaſius, who was forced to quit that ſee, and retire to a place of obſcurity: but they refuſed to deliver up that prelate; adhered to his doctrines and venerated his perſon with an unſhaken reſolution, notwithſtanding Philoſtorgius erroneouſly affirms an Arian biſhop ſettled at

[y] Iidem ibid. Theophanes ad An. Incarnat. Secund. Alexandrin. 535. Simeon. Epiſc. Beth-Arſamen. apud Cl. Aſſeman. in Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 359. & ſeq. ed. Romæ, 1719. Cæſ. Baronii Annal. ad An. 523. vol. vii. Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. iii. cap. 2. Vide & Not. Cl. Aſſeman. ubi ſup.

Axuma,

Axuma. So mild and amiable was his conduct amongſt them, that they called him Abba Salamah, *the Pacific Father*. The Copts and Abaſſines have a notion, that one Tacalhaïmanout, a ſaint or Abaſſine monk, deſcended from Sadok the high-prieſt in the days of David and Solomon, attended Abba Salamah into Ethiopia, to demonſtrate to the people there the neceſſity of baptiſm, they having till that period practiſed circumciſion. The twenty-fourth day of the month Meſri, correſponding with that of Auguſt in the Julian calendar, is celebrated as the feſtival of this ſaint by the Copts. The word Tacalhaïmanout is Ethiopic, and, according to M. D'Herbelot, ſignifies *the paradiſe of the Trinity*; but Ludolfus gives us to underſtand, that this Tacalhaïmanout, or, as he calls him, Tecla Haimanout, that is, according to the interpretation of thoſe words, *the plant of faith*, reſtored to the monaſtic way of life in Ethiopia about the year of Chriſt 600, and lived till A. D. 630. The Abaſſines believe that he ſpoke in his cradle, and wrought ſeveral miracles in his infancy; as alſo that he was ordained deacon in the fifteenth year of his age by Cyril metropolitan of Ethiopia, contemporary with Benjamin, patriarch of Alexandria, of the Jacobite ſect. Gonzales aſſerts, that he firſt converted the Ethiopians to Chriſtianity, by deſtroying a ſerpent before worſhipped amongſt them; which fact, if admitted, will bring him to the age which M. D'Herbelot aſſigns him. Be that as it may, next to Gabra-Menſes-Keddus (L), i. e. *the ſervant of the Holy Ghoſt*, in honour of whom they kept holiday once every month, he was the moſt celebrated ſaint in Ethiopia. D'Herbelot farther informs us, that Claudius, king of the Abaſſines, ſent the life of this ſaint, written in Ethiopic, to Gabriel, the ninety-fifth patriarch of Alexandria, which is at this day to be ſeen in the royal library at Paris, number 796, under the title of Saïrat Al Ab Al Thaoubani Tacalhaïmanout[z].

[z] Ludolf. ubi ſupra, cap. 33. & in Comment. ad Hiſt. Æthiop. p. 479. ut & in Calend. Æthiop. ibid. No. 51. p. 436. Le Grand, Diſſert. ix. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. in voc. Tacalhaïmanout, p. 834, 835. à Paris, 1697.

(L) Gabra-Menſes-Keddus lived only upon herbs, and uſed for cloathing nothing but the leaves of trees, having all worldly pleaſures and delights in the utmoſt contempt. He ſubdued lions and dragons, according to the Abaſſines, who ſtill preſerve many fabulous traditions concerning him. One of theſe is, that he had a conference with the ever-bleſſed Trinity and our Saviour, at which he gave ſeveral anſwers too blaſphemous to be mentioned (1).

(1) Poet. Abaſ. & Sandoval. apud Job. Ludolf. in Comment. ad Hiſt. Æthiop. p. 291, 292.

royal

Hiſtory ſcarce ſupplies us with any memoirs relative to Ethiopia, from the reign of Conſtantius to the time of the famous Eleſbas or Eleſbaan, king of Ethiopia, called Caleb by the Abaſſines, who appears to have been the ſame prince with Adad or Aidog above mentioned. This conqueror being reconciled with Xenodon or Axenodon, an Indian prince, with whom, according to Simeon Beth-Arſamenſis, he had been at variance, put a period to the kingdom of the Homerites, or Sabæans, in Arabia Felix, after having vanquiſhed in battle the impious Dunawas, Dunaan, or Dhu Nowas, the laſt king of that people, who was of the Jewiſh religion. Eleſbaan had ſome time before declared war againſt the king of the Homerites, for maſſacring ſome Chriſtian merchants, and vowed ſolemnly to become a Chriſtian, in caſe he proved victorious over him. Having, therefore, overthrown him, and ſtripped him of his dominions, he embraced the faith of Chriſt, in purſuance of the vow already made, and placed a Chriſtian prince upon the throne of the Homerites. After this prince's death, which happened in winter, when the Ethiopians could not tranſport a body of troops into Arabia, Dunaan found means to ſeize upon the crown. He began his reign with a violent perſecution of the Chriſtians, againſt whom he exerciſed unheard-of cruelties, a detail of which has been given by various authors. St. Aretas in particular, and many others, he ordered to be burnt in the city of Nagra. This cruelty induced the Alexandrian patriarch to invite, by letters, Eleſbaan to carry his arms into Arabia, in defence of the Chriſtians, who had been put to death in great numbers with the moſt exquiſite tortures. Eleſbaan embraced the opportunity, and was favoured by God with a complete victory (O), which gave the Abaſſines the poſſeſſion of Arabia Felix till the time of Abd al Motalleb, grandfather of Mohammed. Abrahah Ebn al Sabah al Aſhram was the governor of Yaman, under the king of Abaſſia, whoſe puniſhment we find mentioned in the tenth chapter of the Koran. He brought, ſays the author of that book, an army, with a great number of elephants, to the ſiege of Mecca; when a cloud of birds, with the rage of thunder, came upon him. Each of theſe birds had a ſtone in its beak, which it

The Ethiopians conquer the Homerites.

(O) This happened in the reign of the emperor Juſtin, probably about the ſeventh or eighth year of it, A. C. 524 or 525, and not, as Theophanes and Cedrenus ſeem to intimate, 522 or 523 (2).

(2) Vide Not. Cl. Aſſeman. ad Sim. Epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. in Bibl. Orient. p. 305.

dropped

dropped with ſuch violence upon the elephants, that they were pierced through: nor did their vengeance end here; they purſued the viceroy into his maſter's dominions, where one of theſe fowls let its ſtone fall upon his head, which killed him [a].

That Artzham, king of Ethiopia embraced Mohammedaniſm, not probable.

The Mohammedan writers generally agree, that Atzham, or Aſhamah Ebn Abhar, the Najâſhi, or king of Ethiopia, during Mohammed's miſſion, did not only take under his protection a conſiderable number of Mohammed's friends, who were driven out of Hejaz by the Koreiſh, but likewiſe became a convert to the new religion of that impoſtor. This converſion, according to Mohammed Ebn Abdo'l Bâki, happened in the ſecond year of the Hejra; though it is placed ten years higher by Abulfeda and Al Jannabius. Some learned men have, without any difficulty, admitted the truth of this relation, particularly Selden and Colomeſius: but the abſurdities that abound in Abudo'l Bakides' narration, which, by a very able Oriental critic, ſeems to have been judged more accurate and better than any other, and the abſolute ſilence of the Ethiopians, as well as thoſe authors who have written the hiſtories of the patriarchs of Alexandria and the Saracens, on this head, will not permit us to eſpouſe ſuch an opinion. That Atzham, all his biſhops, preſbyters, and monks, ſhould allow, that our Saviour foretold another great prophet to come after him, and that Mohammed was this prophet; that the Abaſſine biſhops and preſbyters, by citing it to the Najâſhi in favour of Mohammed, ſhould admit for genuine a paſſage of the New Teſtament not to be found there; and to omit other points carrying with them the like air of probability, that, upon the ſight of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters of the Koran, they ſhould all burſt out into a flood of tears, and be in the foreſt affliction; in ſhort, that they ſhould be converted to Moſlemiſm by the goſpel itſelf, are ſuch glaring abſurdities, as can only be adopted by a very bigotted Mahommedan. Beſides, ſuch a train of remarkable effects muſt have followed a king of Ethiopia's embracing Moſlemiſm, that the above mentioned hiſtorians could not have omitted taking notice of it. And the Mohammedan writers themſelves would undoubtedly have recorded many tranſactions, the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch an event, which we find they have not ſo much as hinted at, had their prophet converted the king of Ethiopia, even before the Arabs themſelves. It is therefore to us matter of great ſurprize,

[a] Niceph. Calliſt. &. Cedren. apud Ludolf. ubi. ſup. Al Koran Mohammed. cap. 105. & Le Grand, in Diſſert. ix.

that

that the very learned M. Ludolfus ſhould plunge himſelf into difficulties and errors, in order to evade the authority of Abdo'l-Bakides and Abulfeda, with regard to the introduction of Moſlemiſm into Ethiopia. The ſpirit with which the Koran was written, that is, a lying ſpirit; the genius of the Mohammedan writers, not only with the worſt kind of enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, but likewiſe addicted to romance and fiction in points abſtracted from religion; theſe, in conjunction with what has been juſt offered, greatly diſcredit the ſtory: and they amount to little leſs than a demonſtration, that it was invented by the Moſlems, purely with a deſign to do honour to Mohammed and the Koran. For which reaſons we ſhall make no ſcruple to reject it entirely, with father Maracci [b].

Their hiſtory, to the uſurpation of the Zagæan family, extremely ſhort.

Gebra-Meſkel, ſucceſſor to Eleſbaan, according to the Ethiopian poet ſo often cited by Ludolfus, was a prince who greatly extended the limits of his dominion; though we have no particulars of his conqueſts handed down to us. His ſubjects, however, enjoyed the ſweets of peace a great part of his reign, which proceeded chiefly from the terror of his arms, all the neighbouring nations being kept in awe by them. Procopius gives us to underſtand, that the emperor Juſtinian entered into an alliance with him; but what was the conſequence we can no where trace. The ſame author alſo relates, that even in Gebra-Meſkel's time the Axumites or Ethiopians were ſo little acquainted with the art of navigation, that they croſſed the ſtreights of Bal al Mandab in ill conſtructed veſſels, conſiſting of nothing but planks or boards faſtened together with ropes. This ſeems to have been chiefly owing to their want of proper materials for ſhipping, their maritime provinces affording them ſcarce any thing of this kind, and the Romans being prohibited, by a particular law, from tranſporting any naval ſtores into Ethiopia. Next to this pious king (for as ſuch he is deſcribed by the Abaſſines), one Conſtantine aſcended the throne, and after him Freſenna, whoſe name imports *good fruit*. During the (G) interval between the time of Freſenna

[b] Poet. Æthiop. apud Job. Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. ii. cap. 4. ut & ipſe Ludolf. ibid. Vide & Procop. de Bel. Perſic. lib. i. cap. 9.

(G) We are told, that about A. D. 836, Ethiopia groaned under the complicated miſeries of war, peſtilence, and famine; that their armies were routed and put to flight, whenever they came in ſight of the enemy. The Abaſſines attributed theſe evils to the violence and indignities offered John the metropolitan ſent them by James the fiftieth patriarch of Alexandria. A junto of the nobility had before caballed againſt this pre-

ſenna and Delnoad, who reigned about the year of the Chriſtian æra 960, the Ethiopian hiſtory is ſo barren, as not to ſupply us with one article meriting any great attention. About this time the uſurpation of the Zagæan family commenced, the cauſe of which will hereafter be fully explained [c].

CHAP. LXXIX.

The Hiſtory of the Arabs, and their ancient State, to Mohammed.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Arabia.

Many authors have taken great pains to give an accurate geographical deſcription of Arabia.

THE independence which moſt of the Arabs maintained to the downfal of the Roman empire, and the ſurpriſing conqueſts they made under Mohammed and his ſucceſſors, rendered their country ſo famous, that it is no wonder many authors ſhould have taken ſuch pains to give an accurate deſcription of it. Ptolemy ſeems to have laboured this point more than any other: Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, with many more of the ancients, in their accounts of Arabia, are likewiſe very prolix; but the Arab writers themſelves have been indefatigable on this head. They are very particular and minute, both in their hiſtorical and geographical relations; which would have met with a

[c] Abulfeda in Vit. Mohammed. p. 24, 25, 26, 95, 96. edit. Oxon. 1723. Al Koran Mohammed. cap. 19. cap. 29. & cap. 30. Job. Ludolf. in Comment. ad Hiſt. Æthiopic. p. 223. & p. 284. & alib.

late, and, after bringing others over to their party, drove him out of the country. Under the influence, therefore, of the above mentioned perſuaſion, he was recalled and re-eſtabliſhed. But the queen, who at that time held the reins of government, gave raiſe to new perſecutions againſt the Abuna, and left him only the choice of being circumciſed, or leaving the kingdom. John choſe to undergo circumciſion, and, being ſtripped in order to undergo the operation, had upon him, by a ſingular miracle, ſay the Copts and Abaſſines, evident tokens that he had been circumciſed on the eighth day.

more

more general eſteem, had not the Arab genius, ſo ſtrongly tinctured with enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, and conſequently inclined to fable and romance, ſo evidently diſplayed itſelf through almoſt every part of thoſe compoſitions [d].

Whence Arabia ſo called.

Arabia, or at leaſt the moſt conſiderable part of it, was, from remote antiquity, called by the natives Arabah; which name it ſtill retains. However, we find it frequently ſtyled by their hiſtorians Gjazîrah or Jezîrat al Arab, the peninſula of the Arabs, Belad al Arab, the Region of the Arabs, Diyar al Arab, the Provinces of the Arabs; and, by many of the Orientals, Arabiſtân. Amongſt ſome of the Syriac writers it ſeems to have gone under the appellation of Cuſhatha, and ſometimes in Scripture that of Cuſh, as we have already obſerved in the hiſtory of the Ethiopians. 'Al Motarezzi, in the book Mogreb, derives the name Arabah from Arbah, a diſtrict of Tehâma, where Iſhmael dwelt, or, according to Safioddin, a town in the neighbourhood of Mecca; and 'Eben Saïd 'Al Magrebî, in 'Abu'l-Fedah, from Ya'rab, the ſon of Kahtân or Joktan, and grandſon of Eber. But thoſe ſeem to lay the greateſt claim to truth who deduce it from an Hebrew original; the word *areb* or *ereb* having ſeveral ſignifications very favourable to ſuch a conjecture; for it imports, *the weſt*, *a mixture*, and *merchandize* or *traffick*. Moſes himſelf ſtyles the weſtern Arabia Arabah; which in a great degree evinces that, from its ſituation, it firſt derived that name. Afterwards the Iſhmaelites, who were poſſeſſed of it, gradually reducing the other parts, carried the word Arabah along with them, and applied it to the whole peninſula.

The largeſt extent of Arabia.

Arabia, taken in its largeſt extent, lies between the twelfth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and the fifty-third and ſeventy-eighth of longitude. The greateſt length, or a line drawn from a point on the coaſt of the Red Sea, about 1 degree 25 minutes S. of the tropic of Cancer to the extremity of cape Ras al Ghat, is above eleven hundred miles; and its greateſt breadth, that is to ſay, the diſtance from the northern extremity of the deſerts of 'Al-Jazira to the ſtreights of Bab al Mandab, between thirteen and fourteen hundred. It is bounded on the weſt by Paleſtine, part of Syria, the iſthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea, called by the Arabs the Sea 'Al-Kolzom; on the Eaſt

[d] Ptol. in Arabia, edit. Oxon. 1712. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Strab. lib. i. lib. xvi. & alib. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 27, & alib. Abulfed. Deſcript. Arab. edit. Oxon. 1712. Vide etiam Steph. Byzant. in voce Χαρὰκμωβα, & Hudſ. in Prefat. ad vol. iii. Geograph. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Oxon. 1712.

by the Euphrates, the Perſian gulph, and bay of Ormus; on the north by part of Syria, Diyar-Becr, Irak, and Khuzeſtan; and on the ſouth by the ſtreights of Bab al Mandab, and the Indian ocean. It becomes narrower as we approach the frontiers of Syria and Diyar-Becr; and, by reaſon of the proximity of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, may be conſidered as a peninſula, and that one of the largeſt in the world[e].

Its proper limits. But the limits of the Proper Arabia are much more circumſcribed, as reaching no farther northward than the iſthmus, running from Ailah to the head of the Perſian gulph, and the borders of the territory of Cûfa; which tract of land the Greeks nearly comprehended under the name of Arabia the Happy. Here the Arabs have been ſettled almoſt ever ſince the flood. The eaſtern geographers make Arabia Petræa to belong partly to Egypt, and partly to Shâm or Syria; and Arabia Deſerta they call the deſerts of Syria: but as the Arabs have for many ages reduced theſe two provinces or kingdoms, either by ſettlements, or continual incurſions, the Turks and Perſians at this day include them in Arabiſtân. The ancients in the like manner aſſigned different limits to this vaſt peninſula. Pliny extended it as far as the borders of Commagene, the northern part of Syria, on account of the many Arabian colonies eſtabliſhed there by Tigranes; and Xenophon included in it the greateſt part of Meſopotamia: but Ptolemy, who gives us a more accurate deſcription of Arabia, determines its dimenſions differently from thoſe authors. According to him, the city of Phara, between the Elanitic and Heroopolitan gulphs, or rather a line drawn a little to the weſtward of this city near the diſtrict of Heroopolis, was its boundary on the ſide of Egypt. On the weſt it was terminated by Paleſtine, part of Syria, the confines of Egypt, and the Arabian gulph; on the north by the Euphrates, from the city of Thapſacus, near the borders of Palmyrene, to the diſtrict of Idicara in Babylonia; on the eaſt by the Chaldæan mountains, and the Perſian gulph; and on the ſouth by the Erythræan ſea. The ſame ſituation and extent, or nearly ſo, are aſſigned it by Diodorus and Strabo. Conformable to the ſentiment of the Arabs, this region may be deemed a peninſula, whether we conſider it as anſwering to the name of Arabia in its moſt uſual ſenſe, or as it is variouſly deſcribed by the ancients, or, laſtly, as comprehending all that large tract bounded almoſt entirely by the

[e] Golii. Notæ ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79, &c. Abulfed. in Deſcript. Arab. paſſ. ut & Atwal, Kanun, Raſm, ibid.

Euphrates,

Euphrates, the Perſian Gulph, the Sindian, Indian, Red Seas, and part of the Mediterranean [f].

The firſt diviſion of Arabia.

The firſt part of the peninſula of the Arabs was divided into Kedem and Arabah, as we learn from Scripture. Kedem, or the land of Kedem, comprehended the Arabia Felix and Arabia Deſerta of Ptolemy, whoſe limits and extent we ſhall ſoon deſcribe from that geographer. Arabah anſwered to that country called, from Petra its metropolis, Arabia Petræa by Ptolemy; Arabia Citerior, from its ſituation in reſpect of Italy, by Pliny; and Arabia Vetus by Stephanus and Procopius, according to Ortelius. Moſes ſeems to have determined the bounds of this kingdom with a preciſion worthy an accurate geographer, when he tells us, that on the ſouth it reached to the ſea of Suph, or the Red Sea; on the weſt to Paran and Tophel; on the north to Laban, Hatſeroth, and Dî-Zahab, that is, to the borders of Syria; and on the eaſt to Kadeſh-Barnea, about eleven days journey from Mount Horeb. As *Arabah* imports the *weſt*, ſo *Kedem* does the *eaſt*; and theſe ſignifications agree with the ſituation of thoſe regions. The Arabic verſion makes Kedem to extend as far as Rekem or Petra, which is controverted by other authors. In one paſſage Moſes apparently comprehends Chaldæa under the name of Kedem; but this will not overturn what is here advanced. The firſt inhabitants of Arabah, or the weſtern Arabia, were the Caſlûhhim, deſcended from Miſraim, the Caphtorim, and the Horites, who occupied Mount Seir, before they were expelled from thence by Eſau and his poſterity. Afterwards Iſhmael and his deſcendents ſettled here; and laſt of all the Edomites, or Idumæans. As for Kedem, or the Eaſtern Arabia, it was firſt peopled by the ſons of Joktan, who are reputed the aboriginal Arabians; though in proceſs of time the Iſhmaelites ſpread themſelves over this country. That ſome of the Cuſhites gained poſſeſſion of part of it in early times, has been already obſerved. The children of Abraham, by his concubine Keturah, likewiſe contributed towards increaſing its inhabitants, as appears from the ſacred hiſtorian [g].

Ptolemy the firſt who divided it into three parts.

Ptolemy ſeems to be the firſt who divided the peninſula we are now treating of into three parts. Theſe he termed

[f] Diod. Sic. Strab. Plin. ubi ſup. Xenoph. in Ἀνάβ. lib. i. Ptol. in Arab. Atwal, Kanun, Raſm, Abulfed. Gol. &c. ubi ſup.
[g] Gagnier. ubi ſup. Plin. lib. v. cap. 11. & lib. vi cap. 34. Strab. ubi ſup. Procopius, Stephanus Byzant. & Ortelius apud Gagn. ubi ſupra. Deut. chap. i. ver. 1. Ptol. Arab. ubi ſup. Jud. chap. vi. ver. 3. & ver. 33. Gen. chap. xxix. ver. 1.

Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deſerta, and Arabia Felix; and ſince his time that diviſion has generally prevailed. In order, therefore, to give our readers a ſuccinct idea of every one of theſe provinces, we ſhall purſue the method he has obſerved, and deſcribe them upon the plan he has purſued.

Arabia Petræa. Arabia Petræa on the eaſt was contiguous to Syria and Arabia Deſerta; on the weſt to Egypt, or rather that neck of land ſeparating Africa from Aſia, called at this day the Iſthmus of Suez, and the Heroopolitan Gulph (C); on the north to Palæſtine, the lake Aſphaltites, and Cœleſyria; and on the ſouth to Arabia Felix. This tract did not admit of much cultivation, the greateſt part of it being covered with dry ſands or rocks, interſperſed with ſome fruitful ſpots. Petra, its metropolis, ſeems to have been denominated by the Hebrews Sela. Among the Syrians it went by the name of Rekem, and was the ſame town that we find in Scripture named Joktheel. Joſephus calls it Arke, and Arakeme, which Bochart takes to be equivalent to Rekem, as being only that word with an article prefixed. Petra was the chief fortreſs of the Idumeans, Edomites, or Nabathæans, as already obſerved, and derived this appellation from its rocky ſituation. It was acceſſible only by one narrow path, wherein but few could paſs at once; which, with the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, rendered it almoſt impregnable. Authors, however, differ with regard to its ſituation. Some writers are of opinion, that the city of Karak, or Krak, lying on the confines of Arabia and Syria, is the ancient Petra. According to them, this fortreſs (for ſuch the word ſignifies in the Syriac and Chaldee tongues) anſwers to the Characha in the Maccabees, the Karkaa in the book of Joſhua, the Charac Moab, or Charac Moba, of Ptolemy,

(C) The Heroopolitan Gulph received its name from the city of Heroopolis, bordering upon it. This gulph, the weſtern arm of the ſea Al-Kolzom, is the Yam Suph, or Yam Souph, *the weedy ſea*, of the Scripture. The ingenious Dr. Shaw ſuppoſes it to have been ſo called from the variety of algæ and fuci that grow within its channel, and, at low-water particularly, are left in great quantities upon the ſea-ſhore. It may be proper to remark, that the Yam Souph was likewiſe denominated Yam Edom, or *the Sea of Edom*, by the ancient inhabitants of the countries adjoining to it; for the ſons of Edom having poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe parts, from their father Edom called the gulph we are now mentioning the Sea of Edom. But the Greeks, who took this name from the Phœnicians, rendered Yam Edom improperly ἐρυθρὰ θάλαττα, *the Red Sea*, miſtaking the word Edom for an appellative.

and

and the Charakmoba of Stephanus. Other authors make this city the ſame with Hagr or Hejr, the capital of a diſtrict in the kingdom of Hejaz; and there are ſtill hiſtorians who credit that Errakim, or Arrakeh, a place in a northerly direction from Hagr, near Krak or Caracha, correſponds with the Petra of the ancients. None of theſe notions ſeems very remote from truth; though the laſt has been ſo ſtrongly ſupported by the famous Mr. Albertus Schultens, that we think it cannot eaſily be refuted [h].

Towns in Arabia Petræa.

It cannot be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a barren region ſhould abound with large and populous cities; and therefore moſt of thoſe places, whoſe names have been handed down to us by Ptolemy, muſt be conſidered either as inſignificant or obſcure. The principal places appertaining to Arabia Petræa, noticed in Scripture, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were Paran, Duma, and Pithom. Paran, the Phara of Ptolemy, gave name to a famous deſert adjoining to it. Duma ſtood upon Mount Seir; and, from what the prophet Iſaiah intimates, was probably a place of ſome importance. Heroopolis, on the weſtern extremity of the Arabian Gulph, is by ſome ſuppoſed to be Pithom, built by the Iſraelites for Pharaoh, during their ſervitude in Egypt, and the Patumos or Patumon of Herodotus. Be this as it may, it is certain the Septuagint and Coptic verſions countenance ſuch a ſuppoſition, the one rendering Goſhen Heroopolis, and the other Pethom. The generality of the ancient geographers have ranked this city amongſt thoſe belonging to Egypt; but Herodotus was of another opinion. Haura, Zathag or Zatha, and Zize, three modern places of this country, correſpond tolerably well with the Auara, Zanaatha, and Ziza of Ptolemy; but as for Lyſa, Gypſaria, Geraſa, and moſt, if not all, the other villages and towns enumerated by that geographer, ſcarce any traces of them are now to be found [i].

Nations of Arabia Petræa.

The moſt conſiderable nations inhabiting this tract, in the earlier ages, were the Iſhmaelites, the Nabatæi or Nabathæans, the Cedræi or Kedareni, and the Agareni or Ha-

[h] Dr. Shaw's Phyſical Obſervations, &c. or an Eſſay towards the Natural Hiſtory of Arabia Petræa, p. 377, 378, & ſeq. Euſeb. & Hieron. in Arkem. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 28. Ptol. in Arab. Petr. Steph. Byzant. de urb. in voc. Χαράκμωβα. Calmet, in Dict. Bibl. voc. Petra. Euſeb. Onomaſt. urb. & loc. ad voc. Πέτρα. Alb Schult. Ind. Geograph. in Vit. Salad in voc. Errakimum. [i] Ptol. ubi ſupra. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Hieronymus apud Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 344. Gen. chap. xxi. ver. 21. Num. chap. x. ver. 12. Iſai. chap. xxi. ver. 11. Vide Cellar. Geogr. Ant. lib. iv. cap. 1. par. 1. ſect. 7. & Chart. Geograph. Arab. a Sen. & Sal. ed.

gareni (D). Of theſe the Iſhmaelites were the moſt potent, if they did not comprehend the whole. The Nabathæans and Kedareni apparently deduced their names from Nebaioth and Kedar, the ſons of Iſhmael, and conſequently ought to be looked upon either as branches of the Iſhmaelites; or in every reſpect as the ſame nation with them. It is probable the deſcendents of Midian, one of Abraham's ſons by Keturah, inhabited the neighbourhood of the Iſhmaelites; ſince we find the ſame people called in Scripture Iſhmaelites and Midianites. Amongſt the ancient Greeks and Romans, the inhabitants of Arabia Petræa and Arabia Deſerta, at leaſt the bulk of them, for many ages, went by the names of Arabes, and Nabatæi, Nauatæi, or Nabatæ. They extended themſelves, according to St. Jerom, from the Red Sea to the Euphrates; and all the tract they inhabited was, from them, denominated Nabatena. Indeed, ſo numerous were the Nabathæans, that we find them mixed with the Reubenites, Gadites, and people of Moab. The Cedræi or Kedareni and Chanclei ſeem to have been intermixed with them. Cellarius places the Cedræi near the northern confines of Arabia Felix. The Midianites made a ſettlement behind the Elanitic Gulph, and incorporated themſelves with the Cuſhites. If the Hagareni did not correſpond entirely with the Iſhmaelites, they muſt have been nearly related to them. Kimchi aſſerts, that they were originally the children of Hagar by an Arab, after ſhe had left Abraham; but other writers are inclined to believe they aſſumed their name from the ſtony region they inhabited. Cellarius thinks, that at firſt they muſt have been but an obſcure people, though neither Trajan nor Severus could reduce their metropolis, according to Dio. Their territory bordered upon the land of Moab, as may be inferred from Scripture. In after-ages, the names of all the nations here touched upon were abſorbed in that of Saracens, which continued famous for ſeveral centuries over the eaſtern and weſtern parts of the world. It is obſervable, that the Jeruſalem Targum ſtyles the Iſhmaelites Saracens. That the Arraceni of Pliny were the Saraceni of Ptolemy and Dioſcorides, may be evinced by ſeveral arguments: 1. The ſame proper name has ſometimes an S, and ſometimes a vowel, for its initial letter. 2. Ptolemy aſſigns the ſame ſituation to the Saraceni that Pliny does to the Arraceni. 3. They had both the ſame origin, and deduced their names

(D) To theſe we may add the inhabitants of the wilderneſs of Mahon, called in Scripture Mehunim, who bordered upon Gerar and Pharan, and conſequently were ſeated in the neighbourhood of Egypt.

from

from that of the ſame city. This will more evidently appear from the account we ſhall give of the Saracens in the following part.

Some remarkable places of Arabia Petræa.

Before we leave Arabia Petræa, our readers will expect us to touch upon the following remarkable places: 1. The town of Colzum or Kolzom, giving name to the ſea adjoining to it, the Clyſma, as is ſuppoſed, of Ptolemy, which ſtood on the weſtern extremity of the Red Sea, near the ſpot where the city of Suez was afterwards erected, and not far from the ancient Heroopolis. 2. The wilderneſs of Sdur or Shur, which extends from the extremity of the Heropolitan Gulph, now called by the Arabs the weſtern arm of the ſea Al Kolzom, to the deſert of Paran. 3. The wilderneſs of Paran, extended from the former deſert to Mount Sinai. 4. The wilderneſs of Sin, contiguous to the former, and lying between Mount Sinai and the aforeſaid branch of the ſea Al Kolzom. 5. The deſert of Sinai, which is ſeparated from that of Sin by many windings and intricate turnings, that take up twelve hours in paſſing. It is a beautiful plain, more than a league in breadth, and near three in length, lying open towards the N. E. where paſſengers enter it; but is cloſed up to the ſouthward by ſome of the lower eminences of Mount Sinai. 6. The mounts Caſius and Sinai, which were in Arabia, according to St. Paul, Pliny, and Strabo. 7. Eziongaber, a celebrated port in the reigns of Solomon and Jehoſaphat, now called Meenah el Dſahab, *the Port of Gold*, on the Elanitic Gulph of the Red Sea. 8. The promontory of Paran between the Heroopolitan and Elinitic gulphs, mentioned by Ptolemy. 9. Adra, in the northern part of Arabia Petræa, an epiſcopal ſee, over which Proclus preſided at the council of Chalcedon, according to Lucas Holſtenius. 10. Eluſa, which, agreeable to the Jeruſalem Targum, ſeems to have correſponded with Sur, and was likewiſe the ſeat of a biſhop. 11. Boſtra, twenty-five miles from Adra, a town of this region greatly honoured by Trajan, and called alſo Philippopolis, from the emperor Philip, ſurnamed Arabs by Aurelius Victor. 12. Moca, a city taken notice of by a medal of Antoninus Pius as governed by its own laws.

Arabia Deſerta.

Arabia Deſerta was bounded on the north by the Euphrates, which, bending its courſe eaſterly, ſeparated it from Meſopotamia; on the weſt by Syria, Judæa, and Arabia Petræa; on the eaſt by Chaldæa and Babylonia, or to ſpeak more accurately, by a ridge of mountains dividing it from thoſe countries; and on the ſouth by Arabia Felix, from whence it was likewiſe disjoined by ſeveral ranges of hills.

The

The Cauchabeni, according to Ptolemy, inhabited that part of this province bordering upon the Euphrates, as the Batanæi occupied that upon the confines of Syria. The Agubeni and Rhaabeni were placed more ſoutherly, towards the frontiers of Arabia Felix; and by the Perſian Gulph the Orcheni. Under the Cauchabeni, near the borders of Babylonia, the Æſitæ had their habitation; and above the Rhaabeni the Maſani. In the interior part the Agræi were ſeated; and in the mountainous region, near Chaldæa, the Marteni or Martini were ſituated. All theſe nations, or rather tribes, except the Æſitæ and Agræi, were very obſcure; but concerning thoſe deſerving ſome attention, a word or two may not prove unacceptable to our readers.

The Æſitæ. Bochart ſuggeſts that the Æſitæ inhabited that tract where Job was ſeated. He believes, that Ptolemy wrote Αὐσῖται, *Auſitæ*; and that Uz the ſon of Nahor, ſettling here, gave name to the whole diſtrict. This opinion, it muſt be owned, as well as the emendation that ſupports it, is not void of a good degree of probability [k].

The Agræi. The Agræi lay more weſterly, and even cloſe upon the ſkirts of Arabia Petræa; a ſituation which poſſibly may have induced ſome learned men to call them Agræi, and make them the ſame people with the Hagareni, whom we have placed in Arabia Petræa. If this be admitted, they muſt have poſſeſſed a great part of Arabia, and been much more powerful than Cellarius is willing to allow them.

Some curious particulars relating to Arabia Deſerta. It is very well known, that the ancient Itureans, Edomites, Nabathæans, people of Kedar, and other nations ſettled in Arabia Petræa, led, for the moſt part, a wandering life, like their poſterity the preſent Bedoweens, deſtitute of houſes, towns, or any fixed habitations. By far the greater part of both theſe provinces or kingdoms was a loneſome, deſolate wilderneſs, no otherwiſe diverſified than by plains covered with ſand, or mountains conſiſting of naked rocks and precipices; neither were they ever, except at the equinoxes, refreſhed with rain. The few vegetables, therefore, which they produced, muſt have been very limited by a perpetual drought, and the nouriſhment afforded them by the nocturnal dews ſufficiently impaired by the intenſe heat of the ſun in the day. Throughout the deſerts were found large mountains of ſand, formed by the violence of the winds, that continually blew over them in the day-time, though they ceaſed in the night. As for wells and fountains, they were ſo very ſcarce in theſe parts, that it is not wonderful they ſhould have cauſed ſo much ſtriſe and contention.

[k] Bochart. Phal. lib. ii. cap. 8.

However,

However, notwithſtanding the natural ſterility of the tract we are now mentioning, thoſe extenſive plains of ſand were interſperſed with fruitful ſpots, which appeared like ſo many little iſlands ſurrounded by a great ocean. Theſe being rendered extremely delightful by fountains, rivulets, palm-trees, a variety of vegetables, and moſt excellent fruits, the Arabs, with their flocks, encamped upon ſome of them, and, having conſumed every thing there, retired to others, as is the cuſtom of the Bedoweens at preſent. Such fruitful ſpots were likewiſe frequent in Libya, and by the Egyptians called Auaſes or Abaſes, as we learn from Strabo. The barren part of Arabia Felix, bordering upon the Red Sea, was, in the like manner, interſperſed with ſuch Abaſes as probably gave name to the Abaſeni, a nation ſettled there, and in the adjacent fertile region. A body of theſe, croſſing the Streights of Bab al Mandab, paſſed into Ethiopia, which from them received the denomination of Abaſſia. This ſuppoſition, notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary by M. Ludolfus, appears to us much more probable than that either the Arabs or Ethiopians ſhould have been called Abaſſines, from we know not what mixture peculiar to the former nation: for the very notion of ſuch a mixture is repugnant to the whole ſtream of Oriental antiquity, and even to the ſacred writings themſelves, as our readers will eaſily collect from ſeveral paſſages of this hiſtory. It is certain the Nubians, a people inhabiting part of Libya Interior, abounding with Abaſes, and Ethiopia, went anciently under the appellation of Abaſeni; a circumſtance which adds no ſmall weight to our opinion. That even the fruitful part of Arabia Felix itſelf ſhould be called Abaſene, is not to be wondered at, ſince it might as well derive this name from Arabia Petrea, as it did from thence that of Arabah or Arabia.

Towns of Arabia Deſerta.

Though Ptolemy has handed down to us a large liſt of the towns appertaining to Arabia Deſerta, our readers will be apt to conclude, from the foregoing obſervations, that few of them were places of any great importance. That geographer makes Thapſacus on the Euphrates, a city of ſome note on account of the bridge over which Alexander and Darius marched their reſpective armies, its frontier on the ſide of Meſopotamia; but Pliny and Stephanus think this town belonged to Syria. Near the mountains ſeparating Arabia from Chaldæa ſtood Themma, Thema, or Tema, ſo called from Thema or Tema the ſon of Iſhmael, mentioned in Scripture; for the Iſhmaelites extended themſelves from the land of Havilah near the Euphrates to the confines of Egypt. Seba was upon the borders of Arabia Felix,

lix, and founded probably by Seba Abraham's grandſon; as all that patriarch's children by Keturah, according to Moſes, moved towards the eaſt. Gadirtha, Auzara, Audattha or Adittha, Balatæa, Pharga, Belgnæa, and the other ancient cities ſituated along the banks of the Euphrates, have long ſince been inviſible; unleſs we will admit ſome traces of Audattha, or Adittha, and Balatæa, to be ſtill extant in the modern Haditha and Balladoc. Ammæa, Idacara, and Jucara, towards the Perſian Gulph, are equally obſcure; except the preſent Al-Kere ſhould be thought to bear ſome reſemblance to the two latter. Salma, Calathuſa, Arrade, Tedium, Odagena, Luma, and Dumætha; in the mediterranean parts; Artemita and Abæra on the ſkirts of Arabia Felix; Thauba, Erupa, Alata, Aurana, Choce, Barathena, &c. to the northward; never probably made any conſiderable figure. However, that ſome memory of Salma ſeems ſtill to be preſerved in Mount Salma, of Dumætha in Dawmat-al-Jandal, of Aurana in Auran, and of Alata in Aladi, we think, cannot well be denied [l].

Arabia Felix.

Arabia Felix was limited on the north by the two provinces or kingdoms juſt deſcribed; on the ſouth by the Erythræan ſea; on the eaſt and weſt by part of that ſea, together with the Arabian and Perſian gulphs. In fine, it nearly anſwered to that tract which is looked upon as the proper peninſula of the Arabs by the Oriental geographers. Strabo tells us, that in his time it was divided into five kingdoms, which ſufficiently correſponds with the diviſion of the Proper Arabia into five provinces by the eaſtern writers. Theſe provinces are Yaman, Hejaz, Tehâma, Najd, and Yamama; to which ſome add Bahrein, as a ſixth. But the more accurate make this a part of Irâk, and therefore come nearer to an agreement with Strabo. Others reduce them all to two, Yaman and Hejaz, the laſt including the three provinces of Tehâma, Najd, and Yamama. The principal nations noticed by the ancients as ſettled here were the Sabæi, Gerræi, Minæi or Minnæi, Atramitæ, Maranitæ, Catabani, Aſcitæ, Homeritæ, Sapphoritæ, Omanitæ, Saraceni, Nabathæi, Thamydeni, and Bnizomenæ. As the limits and ſituation of theſe nations cannot be determined with any kind of preciſion, we ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible in the particular geography of the Happy Arabia [m].

[l] Ptol. ubi ſupra. Arrian. lib. i. p. 116. & lib. iii. p. 168. Strab. lib. xvi. Plin. lib. v. cap. 24. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Vide etiam Chart. Geograph. Arab. a Sen. Sal. &c. ed. [m] Ptol. ubi ſupra. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 1129. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79. Herodot. Diod. Sic. Agatharchid. Cnid. Mel. Plin. Steph. Byzant. Marcian. Heracleot. Agathem. aliique Antiq. Script. paſſ.

The

The Sabæi ſeem to have poſſeſſed a very conſiderable territory in the ſouthern and beſt part of this peninſula. Their country was highly celebrated amongſt the ancients for the great quantity of frankincenſe it produced. Saba or Sabæ, its metropolis, according to the ancient geographers, ſtood upon a hill, at no very great diſtance from the Red Sea, being a large, opulent, and ſtrong city. It was defended by a caſtle, and, as has been ſuppoſed by many learned men, together with the Arab nation in general, the reſidence of the queen of Sheba. That the modern Mareb anſwers to Saba, muſt be admitted, at leaſt it is extremely probable from Pliny, who, together with Strabo, mentions Mariaba or Meriaba, the ſame words apparently with Mâreb, as the capital of the Sabæi; but is entirely ſilent as to the city of Saba. According to the eaſtern geographers, the town of Mâreb or Mârab is ſomething above three days journey from Sanaa the capital of Yaman, in an eaſtern direction. The Arabs aſſert that both the town and diſtrict have been ſo denominated from Saba the ſon of Jexhab, and grandſon of Joktan, whoſe name imports *to lead into captivity*, becauſe he was the firſt who reduced men to a ſtate of ſervitude. Pliny makes the Perſian and Arabian Gulphs the eaſtern and weſtern boundaries of this nation. The maritime towns were Marana, Marma, Corolia, and Sabatha; and inland cities Naſcus, Cardaua, and Carnus. Rhegama or Rhegma, founded probably by Raamah the ſon of Cuſh, ſeated on the Perſian Gulph, ſeems likewiſe to have appertained to the Sabæi [n]. *The Sabæi.*

The Gerræi and Minæi, according to Strabo, brought vaſt quantities of frankincenſe, and other kinds of perfumes, from the upper or ſouthern parts of Arabia Felix to the ſea-ports; which affords a ſtrong preſumption of their being two tribes or cantons of the Sabæi. We find the towns of Bilæna or Bilbana, Gera, and Magindana, mentioned by Ptolemy as belonging to Gerræi; and the Minæi, a powerful nation, joined with the Gerræi by Diodorus and Strabo. The laſt author calls the region of the Minæi, Minæa, or Meinæa, and makes its northern frontiers ſeventy days journey from Ailah. Its principal city was Carna or Carana, called, as ſhould ſeem, Carnus by Pliny, and placed by him in the country of the Sabæi; a circumſtance which corroborates in no ſmall degree what we have juſt advanced [o]. *The Gerræi and Minæi.*

[n] Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. Agatharchid. Cnid. Peripl. p. 63. Ptol. ubi ſupra. Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 927, &c. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p 86, 87. Geogr. Nub. clim. ii. Par. 6, & alib. [o] Diodor Sicul. lib. iii. Strabo, lib. xvi.

As

The Adramitæ. As for the Atramitæ or Adramitæ, they undoubtedly inhabited part at leaſt of the province at preſent named Hadramaut or Hadramutta, and conſequently formed a tribe of the Sabæi. Their metropolis was called Sabota or Sabatha, as may be inferred from Pliny and Ptolemy; beſides which the port of Cane, at the ſouthern extremity of Arabia Felix, belonged to them. Xibân, or Shibam, and Tezim, are now the principal towns of Hadramaut, each about a day's journey from the Indian ocean. Shibâm ſtands upon a rough and rocky mountain of the ſame name, is fortified with a citadel of great ſtrength, and rendered almoſt impregnable by its ſituation. It bears likewiſe the name of Hadramaut amongſt the Arabs, lies in about 13 deg. 30 min. north latitude, and is ſeven days journey from Aden. The province was denominated Hadramaut from one of the ſons of Joktan, whoſe deſcendants firſt peopled it [p].

The Maranitæ. The Maranitæ or Maranenſes muſt have been in the neighbourhood of the two former cantons, though we cannot preciſely aſcertain their ſituation. The metropolis of this nation was probably the Mara or Amara of Ptolemy, and the Mara of ſome of the Oriental geographers [q].

The Catabani. Cellarius mentions the Catabani as a people of ſome importance; and Pliny tells us, that the Larendani, Catabani, and Gebanitæ, had many towns, particularly Nagia and Tamnas containing ſixty-five temples. Tamna muſt have been the ſeat of ſome Arab prince governing the Çatabani, according to Strabo; from whence we may conclude, that they inhabited the province of Tehama ſtretching out as far to the ſouthward as the city of Aden. Golius ſays, that the word ſignifies *a violent heat*; and that the country was ſo named from its being greatly expoſed to the ſolar rays, whoſe heat there is very intenſe. Tebala, the capital of Tehama, a town of conſiderable note, built by Tebala, the ſon of Midian, ſtands in the road from Mecca to Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman [r].

The Aſcitæ. The Aſcitæ poſſeſſed all that tract about the promontory Syagrus, the cape Ras al Ghat of the moderns, including, as ſhould ſeem, part of the provinces of Omân and Mahra.

The Homerites. Ptolemy mentions the Homerites as a nation ſeated in the ſouthern parts of Arabia Felix and bounded on the eaſt by the Adramitæ, or province of Hadramaut. Some authors make them the ſame people with the Sabæans, whilſt others

[p] Plin. ubi ſupra. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 82. [q] Ptol. lib. viii. Cothodin & Ebn Joun. apud Gol. ubi ſupra, p. 84. [r] Cellar. ubi ſupra, p. 598, 599. Plin. Ptol. Steph. Byzant. ubi ſupra. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 95. Kelebæus in lib. de Etymis Locor. apud Gol. ubi ſupra, p. 85. Geogr. Nubienſ. & Yacût ibid.

conſider

conſider them in a different light. For our part, we look upon Sabæi and Homeritæ to have been different names of one nation, and are countenanced in this opinion by the Oriental hiſtorians; for theſe inform us, that the Sabæans were called Hamyarites from Hamyar the ſon of their great anceſtor Saba; and that they ruled over almoſt the whole country of Yaman. Though the kingdom of the Hamyarites, or Homerites, was at length ceded from the princes of Hamyar to the deſcendants of Cahlan his brother, yet they all retained the title of king of Hamyar. They made a great figure amongſt the ancient Arabs before the time of Mohammed, as will more fully appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

The Sapphoritæ.

The Sapphoritæ of Ptolemy cannot be conſidered as a people diſtinct from the Homerites, notwithſtanding the authority of Ptolemy and Cellarius; they were only the citizens of Sapphar, or, as Pliny ſays, Saphar, a large city in the dominions of the Homerites. Ptolemy aſſigns this place a poſition near the preſent Sanaa, which we cannot conſider as extremely probable, eſpecially as Saphar is affirmed to be the metropolis of this country by Pliny. The Arabs believe, that all the mountainous part of the region producing frankincenſe went, in the earlieſt times, by the name of Sephar; from whence the excellent Golius concludes this tract to have been the Mount Sephar of Moſes.

The Omanitæ.

We find the Omanitæ deſcribed by Ptolemy, and Omanum, their chief city, repreſented by him as one of the moſt conſiderable places in Arabia. It cannot be doubted but the Omân of Alfraganus, and capital of the province of the ſame name, the common boundary of Yaman and Bahrein, is the Omanum of Ptolemy; and the country in which it is ſeated, the diſtrict of the ancient Omanitæ: from whence it appears extremely probable, that they were under the juriſdiction of the Homerites, and conſequently ought to be regarded as a tribe of that people. The citadel of Omân is defended by a ſtrong garriſon of Arabs. The province of Omân ſtretches three hundred miles on the coaſt of the Perſian ſea, which is there called the ſea of Omân. In the time of Ptolemy, Omanûm, or Sohâr, was a famous mart; but has been almoſt deſerted by merchants for ſeveral ages [a].

The Saracens.

The Saracens or Nabathæans poſſeſſed that part of Arabia Felix bordering upon Arabia Petræa and Arabia Deſerta; but what was the extent of this territory we are not informed. Contiguous to them the ancients placed the Thamudeni, Thamuditæ, or Thamydeni, a people alſo mentioned

[a] Geogr. Nubienſ. & Philoſophus Xirafita in Clim. ii.

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in the Koran. Diodorus Siculus relates, that the (L) Thamydeni inhabited part of the coaſt of the Arabian gulph; and Pliny intimates their principal city to have been named Badanatha. In fine, Golius believes them to have occupied a great part at leaſt of the province of Hejaz, and particularly that diſtrict wherein Hagr or Al Hejr, the Egra or Agra of Stephanus and Ptolemy, is ſituated. This, as well as other conſiderations that might be offered, plainly proves them to have been nearly related to the Saracens and Nabathæans, if not entirely the ſame people [t].

The Bnizomenæ. Diodorus Siculus maintains, that in the neighbourhood of the Thamydeni were likewiſe ſeated the Bnizomenæ, who lived upon wild beaſts taken in hunting. In their country ſtood a temple held in the higheſt veneration amongſt the Arabs [u].

We might here mention ſeveral other nations, or rather tribes, mentioned by the ancients as appertaining to Arabia Felix: but ſince theſe either coincide with ſome of the Ethiopic cantons already deſcribed, or may be conſidered as branches of the Saracens, Nabathæans, Sabæans, and Homerites; our readers will excuſe even a bare enumeration of them. The ſame may be ſaid of that large catalogue of obſcure and inſignificant towns and villages, belonging to theſe tribes, to be found in Ptolemy, of which that geographer himſelf had no idea. However, we muſt not paſs over in ſilence ſome towns and ſea-ports of Arabia, which were held in eſtimation by the old geographers and hiſtorians.

Remarkable places in Arabia Felix. Nyſa was a town of Arabia on the Red Sea, famous for the education of Bacchus, who from thence, and his father Jupiter, received the name of Dionyſus. Arga and Badeo, two maritime cities in a ſoutherly direction from Nyſa, contained royal palaces, in which the ſovereigns of the country ſometimes reſided. Pudni we find conſidered by Ptolemy as one of the principal places of Arabia Felix. Muſa or Muza was a celebrated empory and harbour, to which the Arab merchants reſorted with their frankincenſe, ſpices, and perfumes. The beſt authors take the modern Mocha or Mokha to correſpond with the ancient Muſa; but, in our opinion, Moſa, at preſent a ſmall but handſome town, near ten leagues from Mokha, ſeems to bid the faireſt

[t] Plin. & Cellar. ubi ſupra. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 9. [u] Diod. lib. iii.

(L) The Thamydeni were the tribe of Thamud, ſo famous amongſt the Arab writers, of whom we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak.

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for that ancient mart. This not only appears from the very great affinity, or rather identity, of their names and ſituation, but likewiſe from hence, that Moſa is the market for the fruits which are brought from the mountainous parts of Arabia; a circumſtance agreeing with what the ancients have related of Muſa. Be that as it may, we cannot deny that ſome traces of Muſa are ſtill preſerved in Moſa; eſpecially as Pliny intimates, that the Arab merchants brought in his time vaſt quantities of the produce of their country to the former place. Ocelis, according to Pliny and Arrian, ſtood upon the ſhore of that narrow ſea called by the moderns the ſtreights of Bab-al-Mandab, and ſupplied the merchants with freſh water in their Indian voyages. Arabiæ Emporium has been already mentioned, and will be deſcribed when we come to ſpeak of the city of Aden, which is ſuppoſed to anſwer to it. The port of Moſcha our readers will probably place upon the ſpot occupied at this day by the city of Maſkat. The memory and ſituation of Atamas Portus, ſtill remain in Cadhema, a town or village on the Perſian gulf, or bay of Baſra [w].

Oriental geography of Arabia.

Before we conclude this ſection, our readers will expect a ſketch of the Oriental geography of the peninſula of the Arabs. The beſt eaſtern writers, as has been already obſerved, divide this peninſula into five provinces or kingdoms, namely, Yaman, Hejaz, Tehama, Najd, and Yamama. This diviſion is of great antiquity, as appears from Strabo; which is not ſurpriſing, ſince the Arab cuſtoms, names of towns, &c. are nearly the ſame now that they were above three thouſand years ago [x].

Yaman.

The province of Yaman, ſo called either from its ſituation to the right hand or ſouth of the temple of Mecca, or elſe from the happineſs and verdure of its ſoil, extends along the Indian ocean from the ſtreights of Bab-al-Mandab to cape Raſalgat. Part of the Red Sea bounds it on the weſt, as the town of Najran, the Nagara Metropolis of Ptolemy, Haly or Haljo on the ſea 'Al Kolzom, and Oman or Sohar, do on the north. It is ſubdivided into ſeveral leſſer provinces, as Hadramaut, Shihr, Oman, and Mahra, of which Shihr alone produces the frankincenſe.

Principal ancient cities of Yaman.

This country has been famous from antiquity for its fertility, riches, and happineſs of its climate. The principal

[w] Herod. lib. ii, iii. Diod. Sic. lib. i. & lib. iii. Apollod. Biblioth. lib. iii. cap. 4. ſect. 3. extr. p. 159. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. ii. cap. 2. Arrian. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſupra. Gagn. ubi ſupra, ſect. 2. La Roque, Voyage de l'Arab. Heur. 1711, 1712, 1713. Arrian. Peripl. p. 8. Cellar. ubi ſup. [x] Strab. lib. xvi. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 79.

cities known to the ancients are the following: 1. Mokha, if it was the Muſa or Muza of Pliny, Ptolemy, and Arrian; which ſtill, we apprehend, will admit of a diſpute. It is at preſent a port and town on the Red-Sea of conſiderable trade; contains ten thouſand inhabitants, Jews, Armenians, and Mahommedans; is ſurrounded with walls, after the ancient manner; and has four gates without a ditch, though ſtrengthened by four towers, mounted with a proper number of cannon. 2. Aden, a celebrated mart on the Indian ocean, near the ſtreights of Bab-al-Mandab, ſo called, according to the Arabs, from its founder Aden the ſon of Saba, and grandſon of Abraham. Some believe the name to be the ſame with Eden, the Hebrew word denoting Paradiſe; and that the town under conſideration received this name from the delightful country in which it was ſituated. It ſtands at the foot of ſeveral high mountains, which ſurround it almoſt on all ſides. The Arabs have erected five or ſix forts on the ſummits of theſe mountains, with curtins, and many other fortifications. A fine aqueduct conveys from thence the waters into a great canal or reſervoir, built about three quarters of a mile from the city, which ſupplies the inhabitants with very good water. Golius offers ſeveral reaſons to prove, that Aden is the Arabiæ Emporium of Ptolemy, which ſeem to carry conſiderable weight. It cannot be doubted that Aden is the Adana which Stephanus mentions from Uranius. 3. Sanaa, the capital of Yaman, a very ancient city, greatly reſembling Damaſcus. It is ſeated in a mountainous territory, and bleſſed with a moſt delightful air; inſomuch that it enjoys a double ſummer, or rather a perpetual ſpring. It is about fifty leagues diſtant from Mokha, on the borders of Hadramaut, and was denominated Ozal from its founder the ſon of Joktan. The Arabs likewiſe make Sanaa the ſon of Ozal to have communicated that name to this city, by which it goes at preſent. Some aſſert it to be the Saphar of Ptolemy, as above obſerved. Sanaa, towards the beginning of the laſt century, conſiſted of good houſes built with lime and ſtone, being as large as Briſtol. It ſtands in a barren and ſtony valley, ſurrounded at a ſmall diſtance with high hills, one of which overlooks the town to the northward. On this hill the Arabs have built a ſmall caſtle, to curb the neighbouring mountaineers, who ſometimes inſult the city. The inhabitants have no water but what they receive from wells, which are very deep. Wood is brought from a conſiderable diſtance, and conſequently very dear. On the eaſt ſide ſtands the caſtle, environed with mud-walls, flanked with towers and redoubts, in which every night are poſted

poſted proper guards: the king of Yaman does not at preſent reſide here, but at Muab, a town built by one of the laſt monarchs of this country, not a mile from Dhamar, a little to the S. E. of Sanaa. 4. Saba or Mareb, in the province of Hadramaut; it is at preſent little better than a village, and ſtands above three days journey E. of Sanaa. 5. Shibam, and Dhafar, towns of very high antiquity, have been already deſcribed. 6. Oman or Sohar, the Omanum of Ptolemy, was formerly frequented by merchants of various nations; but has for ſeveral ages been deſerted. This decay ſeems to have been occaſioned by the vicinity of a ſmall rocky iſland called Kis, ſo low that it cannot be diſcovered at any diſtance, on which many ſhips were wrecked. Kis lies a little to the eaſt of Charec, another ſmall iſland oppoſite to the coaſt of Oman, famous for a pearl-fiſhery, according to Abulfeda. Iacutus and the Nubian geographer make both theſe iſlands, now called the iſles of Sohar, about half a day's ſail from the main land of Arabia; but authors are not agreed in this point. The heats in Oman are frequently ſo intenſe, that they have paſſed into a proverb amongſt the Orientals. The town of Sohar muſt be in ſomething more than 24 degrees N. latitude, though Ptolemy places his Omanum Emporium in 19 degrees 45 minutes north latitude, and Ebn Maruph, mathematician to ſultan Morad or Amurath II. aſſerts Oman or Sohar to be in about 23 degrees N. latitude. All other remarkable particulars relating to this place our readers will find in the authors here referred to [y].

Soil, mountains, rivers, &c. of Yaman.

The beſt part of Arabia Felix, or that which the Greeks called Moſt Happy, was probably the country of Yaman; the delightfulneſs and plenty of which ought to be attributed to its mountains: for all that part lying along the Red Sea is a dry barren deſert, in ſome places ten or twelve leagues over; but, in return, bounded by mountains, which, being well watered, enjoy an almoſt perpetual ſpring, and beſides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, as well as excellent corn, grapes, and ſpices. The principal of theſe mountains deſcribed by the ancients were Cabubathra, Melan, Prionotus, and Didymi, whoſe Arabic names have not hitherto been brought into Europe. The preſent Arab river Falj, emptying itſelf into the Bay of Baſra, ſeems to be the Prion of Ptolemy; and the modern city Masfa his Mæphath, ſituate about 30 minutes N. of the ſource of that river. However, it muſt

[y] Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Geogr. Nubienſ. & Philoſ. Xiranta in elim. ii. Yacût. & Ebn. Maruph. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78, 81.

be owned, that a river of Oman, falling into the Indian ocean at Sûr, about 40 minutes N. of Maſkat, poſſibly the Moſcha Portus of Ptolemy, ſeems alſo likely to be the Prion. No other rivers of conſequence are to be found in Yaman; which is not to be wondered at, ſince the ſtreams, which at certain times of the year deſcend from the mountains, ſeldom reach the ſea, being generally abſorbed in the burning ſands of that coaſt [z].

Hejaz, with its chief cities, &c.

Hejaz, either ſo named becauſe it divides Najd from Tehama, or becauſe it is ſurrounded with mountains, is limited on the ſouth by Yaman and Tehama; on the weſt by the ſea 'Al Kolzom; on the north by the deſerts of Sham or Syria; and on the eaſt by the province of Najd [a]. This province is famous for its two chief cities, Mecca and Medina, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to Mohammed; and the other for being the place of his reſidence for the laſt ten years of his life, and of his interment. The ſoil of Hejaz, like that of Najd, Tehama, and Yamama, is much more barren than that of Yaman; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry ſands, or riſing into rocks, interſperſed with ſome fruitful ſpots, which receive their greateſt advantages from their water and palm-trees. The chief towns in Hejaz, deſerving any attention on account of their antiquity, are the following: 1. Mecca, ſometimes alſo called Becca, which words are ſynonymous, and ſignify *a place of great intercourſe*, is certainly one of the moſt ancient cities in the world. Some authors imagine it to be the Meſa or Meſha of the Scripture, as already obſerved, and that it derived its name from one of Iſhmael's ſons. It ſtands in a ſtony and barren valley, ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains under the ſame parallel with the Macoraba of Ptolemy, and about forty Arabian miles from the ſea 'Al Kolzom. The length of Mecca, from Maalah to Maſphalah, is about two miles; and its breadth, from the foot of the mountain Ajyad to the top of another called Koaikaan, about a mile. In the midſt of this ſpace the town is ſeated, built of ſtone extracted from the neighbouring mountains. The Arab authors tell us, that near a chapel or holy houſe (for ſo the Arabs term it) in the centre of 'Al-Hharam, or great temple, here called 'Al-Caabah, ſtands a white ſtone, which was the ſepulchre of Iſhmael; and that 'Al-Caabah was firſt built by Adam of ſtone, but deſtroyed by the deluge. However, add they, God commanded Abraham

[z] La Roque Voy. de l'Arab. Heur. p. 121, 123, 153. Ptol. Strab. Plin. ubi ſup. Abulfed. in Arab. [a] Gol. ad Alfragan. p. 98.

and

and Iſhmael to rebuild it; which they did, covering it with the boughs of olive-trees, and erecting the trunks of palm-trees for pillars. There being no ſprings at Mecca, at leaſt none but what are bitter, and unfit to drink, the inhabitants are obliged to uſe rain-water, which they preſerve in ciſterns: but this not being ſufficient, ſeveral attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about Mohammed's time, Zobair, one of the principal men of the tribe of Koreiſh, endeavoured at a great expence to ſupply the city with water from Mount Arafat, but without ſucceſs; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of Soliman the Turkiſh emperor; but, long before that prince's time, another aqueduct had been formed from a ſpring at a conſiderable diſtance, which was, after ſeveral years labour, finiſhed by the Khalif al Moktader Abbaſida. Notwithſtanding the ſterility of the ſoil near Mecca, it being ſo barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deſerts, yet a traveller is no ſooner out of its territory, than he meets on all ſides with plenty of good ſprings, and ſtreams of running water, with many gardens and cultivated lands. The prince or ſharîf of Mecca has a garden well planted at his caſtle of Marbaa, about three miles weſtward from the city, where he uſually reſides. This prince is lineally deſcended from Haſhem, Mohammed's great-grandfather, who being the head of his tribe, appointed two caravans to travel yearly, the one in ſummer, and the other in winter, to foreign parts, in order the more effectually to ſupply his countrymen with proviſions, the people of Mecca having no corn or grain of their own growth. They are ſupplied with dates in vaſt abundance from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Tayef, about ſixty miles diſtant, very few growing at Mecca. The citizens of Mecca are generally very rich, being conſiderable gainers by the prodigious concourſe of people of almoſt all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandize. They poſſeſs alſo great numbers of cattle, and particularly camels: however, the poorer ſort muſt live very indifferently, in a place where almoſt every neceſſary of life muſt be purchaſed with money. The ſharîf of Mecca's troops conſiſt entirely of infantry, which the Arabs call *'al-harabbah*, i. e. *archers* or *dartmen*. We muſt not omit obſerving, that Safa or Marwah were two places in Mecca, in which the idols Aſaph and Nayelah were erected before the time of Mohammed. The temple of Mecca, and the reputed holineſs of this territory, will be treated of in the modern hiſtory of the Arabs.

We muſt diſtinguiſh between the Hharam of Mecca, conſidered as the territory of the ſharîf, extending ſome miles beyond the city, and the magnificent temple in it ſo called, being three hundred and ſeventy cubits long, three hundred and fifteen broad, and ſupported by four hundred and thirty-four [b] pillars. It muſt not be forgot that the Arabs have a tradition, that Iſhmael, with his mother Hagar, fixed his reſidence here; a belief which ſeems to have induced them frequently to viſit Mecca, and hold it in high veneration, even before the age of Mohammed. Abulfeda places this city in 67 degrees 31 minutes long. and 21 degrees 20 minutes N. lat. Some of the Orientals ſuppoſe the patriarch Abraham to have been the founder; but others with more reaſon attribute its foundation to one of the ſons of Iſhmael [c]. 2. Medina, which, till Mohammed's retreat thither, was called Yathreb, is a city ſtanding in a plain, ſurrounded with a brick wall, and about half a degree from the coaſt of the Red Sea. Abulfeda intimates, that one of its ancient names from Taibah, a word importing *ſalubrious*, derived from the healthy air its inhabitants breathed. It is about half the ſize of Mecca, and ten days journey from thence. In ſome parts its territory produces palm-tree fruits, and ſeveral ſalſuginous plants. About the mountains Air and Ohud, the firſt of which is two leagues to the ſouth, and the other as many to the north of Medina, the country produces plenty of dates. The name Yathreb was derived from the chief of the tribe that firſt ſettled here, whom the Arabs make the great grandſon of Aram. Here Mohammed lies interred in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, adjoining to the eaſt ſide of the great temple, which is built in the midſt of the city. Its ſituation has not been exactly defined, ſome authors determining its longitude to be 67 degrees 30 minutes, and others 65 degrees 20 minutes, and its latitude either 24 or 25 degrees N. Medina is dignified by the Mohammedans with the title of the City of the Prophet, from the kind reception Mohammed met with in this place [d]. 3. Thaifa or Taifa, a town ſixty miles to

[b] R. Saadias in Verſion. Arab. Pentat. Pitt's Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans, p. 96, 107. Sharif al Edriſi apud Pocock. in Not. ad Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 122, 124, 125, ut & ipſe Pocock, ibid. p. 51. Sharif al Edriſi apud Gagn. in Not. ad Abulfed. Arab. p. 29, 30. ut & ipſe Abulfed. ibid. Vide etiam Adr. Reland. lib. de Relig. Mohammed & Effig. Caabæ cum Templ. et Circumd. ibid. [c] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 99. Gen chap. x. & xxxi. Abulfed. & Alb. Schult. ubi ſup. [d] Abulfed. in Arab. p. 40, 41. Alb. Schult. in Ind. Geographic. ubi ſup. Sharif al Edriſi, Vulgo, Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. ii. part 5. Kalkaſhendi, p. 400. Pocock. in Not. ad Specim. Hiſt. Arab. paſſ. Saſiod. in Compend. Lexic. Al Shariſtani apud Pocock. ubi ſup.

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the eaſt of Mecca, behind Mount Gazwan, where the cold is more intenſe than in any other part of Hejaz, but the air extremely ſalubrious. It had the name of Vegja given it by its founder. The Turks call it the region of Al Abbas, from the uncle of Mohammed, who fixed his reſidence here. The word Taifa plainly alludes to the wall with which this town is ſurrounded. Latitude 21 degrees 20 minutes N. [a] 4. Gjudda or Jodda, a port and maritime city, the bulwark of Mecca, muſt undoubtedly be a place of great antiquity, though ſcarce ever mentioned by the Greek or Roman authors. The town of Aidab on the confines of Abaſſia, ſtands on the oppoſite ſhore, where great numbers of African Mohammedans take ſhipping, in order to viſit the holy city of Mecca. Latitude 21 degrees 45 minutes N. 5. Yanbo', or Al-Yanbo', is undoubtedly the Iambia of Ptolemy, and not far from Medina, or, as the Arabs more properly ſtyle it, 'Al-Madinah. We find it repreſented as a ſmall city by Abulfeda, who likewiſe cites Ebn Said, as affirming it to have a caſtle, and ſeveral fountains in its neighbourhood. The port is about a day's journey from the high road leading to 'Al-Madinah. A little to the eaſt of Yanbo' ſtands Mount Radwa, about ſeven ſtations from 'Al-Madinah, from whence a vaſt quantity of whetſtones is exported into various regions. All the diſtrict of Yanbo' produces palm-trees, water, corn, &c. and was inhabited by the Hhaſanites, who lived after the manner of the ancient Arabes Scenitæ, and reſembled them in every particular. Ebn Hhawkal obſerves, that the Hhaſanites and Giafarites, whoſe territories were contiguous, ſo weakened one another by continual wars, that their country became a prey to the king of Yaman. 6. Madian, the Modiana of Ptolemy, and Midian or Madian of Scripture, is a city of Hejaz, at preſent little better than a heap of ruins. It is ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the ſea 'Al Kolzom, at no great diſtance from the gulph of Ailah. The Arabs preſerve ſeveral traditions relating to this place; that it received its name from the tribe of Madian, who firſt built and inhabited it; that Shoaib, the ſon of Mikail, the ſon of Yaſhjar, the ſon of Madian, of that tribe, was the ſame perſon with the father-in-law of Moſes, called in Scripture Reuel or Reguel, and Jethro; and that the well whence Moſes, or, as they call him, Muſa, watered Jethro's flocks, ſtill remained when Abulfeda wrote his geographical deſcription of Arabia. Moſt authors agree, that the Midianites ought to be conſidered

[a] Sharif al Edriſi, clim. ii. part 5. Atwal, Raſm, Ulugh Beigh apud Abulfed. ubi ſup.

as the deſcendents of Abraham by Ketturah, who afterwards ſeem to have united with the Iſhmaelites; ſince Moſes names the ſame merchants, who ſold Joſeph to Potiphar, in one place Iſhmaelites, and in another Midianites. The ſacred hiſtorian makes Jethro both the prieſt and prince of Midian. Ptolemy aſſerts the latitude of Modiana to be 27 degrees 45 minutes N. which almoſt exactly correſponds with that aſſigned it by 'Ebn Saîd, that is, 27 degrees 50 minutes. 7. Hejr, or 'Al-Hheg'r, in 28 degrees 30 minutes N. latitude, according to 'Ebn Hhawkal, was the ſeat of the tribe of Thamud, the Thamydeni of the ancients. This clearly evinces Hejr to be the Egra or Agra of Pliny, ſince that author makes the Thamydeni neighbours to that city. 'Al-Hheg'r ſtands amidſt a ridge of rocky mountains, out of which many houſes have been cut, as ſome ſuppoſe, by the Amalekites, or their anceſtors the Adites, Iramites, and Thamudites. 'Ebn Hhawkal calls this ridge of mountains 'Al-Athaleb, i. e *the fragments of ſtones* [f].

Tehama. Tihama, or Tehama, is a ſmall province, whoſe limits have not been ſufficiently defined by the Arab geographers, who have ſometimes confounded it with Yaman and Hejaz. Tehama, according to Golius, derived that name from its ſandy ſoil, as it did another, namely, Gaur, from its low ſituation. It is bounded on the weſt by the Red Sea, and on the other ſides by Hejâz and Yaman, extending almoſt from Mecca to Aden. Abulfeda mentions ſeveral towns in this province undoubtedly of great antiquity, but unknown both to the Greeks and Romans. The Tamna of Pliny, and Thumna of Ptolemy, by the latitude he aſſigns it, 17 degrees 15 minutes N. ſeem to bear ſome relation to Tehama [g].

As the Nabathæans poſſeſſed the greateſt part of, if not all, the province of Hejâz, contiguous to Tihama, the Thimanei of Pliny, neighbours to the Nabathæans, muſt be the Arabs of Tihama.

Najd. The province of Najd, which word ſignifies *a riſing country*, lies between thoſe of Yamama, Yaman, and Hejaz; and is limited on the eaſt by Irâk. Najd is peculiarly oppoſed to Tehama, as the name implies, though this laſt has ſeveral ridges of mountains in it.

Yamama. Yamama, alſo called Arud, from its oblique ſituation in reſpect of Yaman, is encompaſſed by Najd, Tehama, Bahrein, Omân, Shihr, Hadramaut, and Saba. The chief city is Yamâma, which gives name to the province, and was an-

[f] Ebn Hhawkal apud Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 43. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96. Ptol. in Arab. Pocock. in Not. ad Spec. Hiſt. Arab p. 37. [g] Golius, ubi ſup. p. 95. Sharif al Edriſi, clim. ii. part. 5. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 28. Ptol. ubi ſup.

ciently

ciently called Jaw, or Gjauva. It is four degrees to the E. of Mecca, and deduced its name, according to Golius, from the niece of Taſm, whoſe brilliant and piercing eyes rendered her ſo famous amongſt the Arabs, that one of their proverbs was, "More ſharp-ſighted than Yamama." The falſe prophet Moſeilama, Mohammed's competitor, rendered this place famous by reſiding in it; but he being vanquiſhed and killed, it ſubmitted to Abubecr.

Bahrein. Though the more accurate Oriental geographers make Bahrein part of Irâk, yet a conciſe deſcription of this territory ought not to be omitted here. Bahrein, then, in the moſt extenſive acceptation of the word, denotes that maritime tract lying between Baſra and the fartheſt limits of Omân; to which the Arabs have given the name of Bahrein, i. e. *of two ſeas*, or *the country of two ſeas*, becauſe it connects the Perſian Gulph with the Indian Ocean. In a more confined ſenſe, it is applied to an iſland, or rather two, of the Perſian Gulph, in 26 degrees 30 minutes N. latitude, about a league from the town of 'Al-Katîf, ſeated on that gulph. One of theſe iſlands ſeems to be the Ichara of Ptolemy, and Icharia of Strabo. As Jûlfâr and the other principal towns of Bahrein were built after Mohammed's death, our readers will expect ſome account of them in the modern hiſtory of Arabia [h].

The principal iſlands on the coaſt of Arabia. The iſlands of Ænus, Timagenes, Zygæna, and many others, both in the Arabian and Perſian Gulphs, enumerated by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Ælian, as appertaining to Arabia, merit not the leaſt attention; but it may not be improper to obſerve, that, in our opinion, Ptolemy's iſland of Socrates is the ſame with the Socotra of the moderns.

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Learning, Arts and Sciences, Diſpoſition, Manner of Life, &c. of the Arabs.

Some of the poſterity of Cuſh ſettle in Arabia. SOME of the deſcendents of Cuſh fixed themſelves in that part of Arabia Petræa bordering upon Egypt, extending themſelves along the eaſtern ſhore of the Red Sea, towards the frontiers of Palæſtine and Arabia Felix, in very early times, as has been already obſerved in the hiſtory of the Ethiopians. His ſons Seba or Saba, Sabtah, Regma or Raamah, Sabtecha, and grandſons Sheba and Dedan, ſeated

[h] Golius, ubi ſup. p. 96. Ptol. ubi ſup. Strab. lib. xvi. Ælian. de Animal. lib. xi. cap. 9. Sharif al Edriſi, Yacut, & Abulfed. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78. 81.

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themſelves likewiſe in the Happy and Deſert Arabia, as appears from the cities Sabota, Rhegana, Rhegama or Rhegma, Saca, Saue, Saptha or Saptah, Dedan, and the country of the Sabæi, whoſe metropolis was the great city Saba. All theſe places preſerved very ſtriking footſteps of the names of the firſt planters of thoſe two provinces or kingdoms. However, it ſeems moſt probable, for the reaſons already given, that moſt of the Cuſhites made ſettlements in other parts. As a farther proof of this, it may be obſerved, that the Arab writers take little or no notice of them [i].

Caſlûhhim, Caphtorim, Hhorites, &c.

The Caſlûhhim, Caphtorim, and Hhorites, occupying the hilly diſtrict about Mount Seir, though very ancient, never made any conſiderable figure. The poſterity of Edom, who, after their exciſion, ſeized upon the tract they inhabited, in proceſs of time intermixing with the proper Arabs, formed one people with them; but neither do the preſent Arabs eſteem Eſau or Edom as one of the real founders of their nation.

We have already obſerved, that the Arraceni and Saraceni of the ancients were the ſame people. From the ſituation aſſigned them by the old geographers, it can ſcarce be doubted but that the Arra of Pliny and Ptolemy was the capital of the region they inhabited, and furniſhed the appellation they went under. Strabo, deſcribing Ælius Gallus's expedition into Arabia, intimates, that the province of Ararena was thirty days journey from Petra, and fifty from the city of the Negrani, or Nagara Metropolis of Ptolemy, i. e. the modern Nag'ran; that it was for the moſt part deſert, and inhabited by the Nomades, or Arabes Scenitæ; and that the interjacent tract betwixt it and the former city was a wild pathleſs region, interſperſed in ſome parts with palm-trees: all which particulars, as well as the name itſelf, clearly evince this province to be the country of the Arraceni or Saraceni, which had the Arra for its capital city. From ſeveral circumſtances in the deſcription of the expeditions into Arabia, made by Trajan and Severus, to be found in Dio, it appears, that the Arraceni or Saraceni were likewiſe ſometimes in the Eaſt denominated Agareni, and their chief town Arra, Atra, or, as Herodian calls it, Atræ. It is therefore highly probable, that the ancient Saracens were ſtyled Hagarenes, either from the nature of the tract they inhabited, or from Hagar the mother of Iſhmael [k].

[i] Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Phot. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Hyde, Hiſt. Rel. vet. Perſ. p. 37, & alib. Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 9. Cl. Gagn. Diatrib. ſect. 4. [k] Plin. lib. vi. cap. 28. Ptol. in Arab. Strab. lib. xvi. p. 781. Dio, lib. lxviii. p. 785. & lib. lxxv. p. 855. Herodian. lib. iii. cap. 28. Edit. Oxon. 1678. Cellar. Geogr. Ant. lib. iii. cap. 14.

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In order to confirm what is here advanced, it may be farther obſerved, that Stephanus mentions a country called Saraca, inhabited by the Saraceni, as contiguous to that of the Nabathæans. The Arab writer Yâkût alſo deſcribes the town 'Al-'Arakh, ſeated on Agja, one of the two celebrated mountains of the Taïtes, or the tribe of Taï, the Taueni of Pliny, and Ταϊνοὶ, Taini, of Bardeſanes in Euſebius, who joins them with the Saracens. From hence, in conjunction with the reaſons alleged by the learned M. Gagnier, we may conclude, that Pliny called this nation Arraceni; and that Dioſcorides was the firſt of the ancients now extant who prefixed to that word the hiſſing letter S, as has been determined by Salmaſius [l].

The Jeruſalem Targum takes the names Iſhmaelites and Saracens to have been of an equal extent, and to have denoted the ſame nation. This not only included the Arabes Scenitæ, bordering upon Palæſtine, Syria, and Chaldæa, but likewiſe thoſe ſeparated by the Red Sea from Ethiopia; all of whom we find in Scripture under the general name of Arabians [m].

Two claſſes of the Arabs.

If we follow the Oriental writers, we muſt divide the Arabs into two claſſes, the old loſt Arabians, and the preſent. The moſt famous tribes amongſt the former were Ad, Thamûd, Taſm, Jadîs, the firſt Jorham, Amalek, Amtem, Haſbem, Abil, and Bar. Though theſe were very numerous, yet they are now either all deſtroyed, or loſt and ſwallowed up among the other tribes; nor are there any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them. As for the tradition ſubſiſting among the modern Arabians, it is ſo interwoven with fable, and ſo replete with inconſiſtency, as to deſerve no regard from the impartial and accurate hiſtorian [n].

The preſent Arabs deſcended from Kahtan and Joktan.

According to their own hiſtorians, the preſent Arabs are ſprung from two ſtocks, Kahtan, the ſame with Joktan the ſon of Eber, and Adnan deſcended in a direct line from Iſhmael the ſon of Abraham and Hagar. The poſterity of the former they call al Arab al Ariba, i. e. the *genuine* or *pure Arabs*, and thoſe of the latter al Arab al Moſtáreba, i. e. *naturalized*, or *inſititious Arabs*. The uncertainty of

[l] Steph. Byzant. in voc. Σάραϰα. Ptol. ubi ſup. Yakutus Geogr. Ar. apud Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 9. Plin. ubi ſup. Bardeſanes apud Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. p. 277. Vide etiam Hardouin. in Plin. ubi ſup. Gagn. Diatr. ſect. 9. & Salmaſ. in Exercit. Plinian. p. 344. col. 2. ſub init. [m] Targ. Hieroſol. in Gen. chap. xxxvii. ver. 25. 2 Chron. chap. xvii. ver. 1. & chap. xxi. ver. 16. Iſai. chap. xiii. ver. 20. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 4. ſub fin. [n] Greg. Abulf. p. 159. Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 5. Jallalo'ddin. in Lib. Meſhar. Vide & Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 38, 39.

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the deſcents between Iſhmael and Adnan is the reaſon why they ſeldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they therefore regard as the father of their tribes; the deſcents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted. It is remarkable, that the eaſtern writers ſcarce take any notice of Abraham's progeny by Keturah, though they undoubtedly made up a conſiderable part of the inhabitants of Arabia. Their names were Zimran, Jokſhan, Medan, Midian or Madian, Iſhbak, and Shuah. Notwithſtanding the Arabs affirm Iſhmael's wife to have been a genuine Arabian, the Scripture ſays ſhe was an Egyptian; a teſtimony which greatly invalidates the authority of their hiſtorians, except it ſhould be admitted, that he had a ſecond wife, or ſeveral at once. His ſons were Nebaioth, Kedar, Adeel, Mibſam, Miſhma, Dumah, Maſſa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphiſh, and Kedemah; beſides which he had a daughter called Mahalath and Baſhemath, whom Edom took to wife. Some writers make Kahtan a deſcendent of Iſhmael; but among the Orientals this is not the moſt received opinion. However, it agrees the beſt with the Chaldee and Arabic paraphraſts, who believed the name of Iſhmaelites to be as general and extenſive as that of Arabs [a].

Government of the Scenite Arabs.

We have already obſerved, that the cuſtoms, manners, and genius, of the Arabs, except in matters of religion, are in general the ſame at this day that they were betwixt three and four thouſand years ago; and therefore we may preſume, that the ancient and modern forms of government of this nation may be conſidered as agreeing in almoſt all particulars. The Arabes Scenitæ, therefore, as their ſucceſſors the preſent Bedoweens, were governed by ſhekhs and emirs. The ſhekhs ſuperintended only particular dow-wars, that is, *collections of tents* called *bhymas*, anſwering to villages or towns, already deſcribed. Every one of theſe dow-wars, therefore, might have been conſidered as a little principality, governed by the chief of that particular family, which was of the greateſt name, ſubſtance, and reputation, amongſt the Arabs that compoſed it. The emirs or emeers, the phylarchs of the Greeks, ruled over a whole tribe, and conſequently their authority extended to many of thoſe dow-wars. It is probable, that they were ſometimes dignified with the title of ſhekh al kibeer, as ſome of their ſucceſſors are at this time. And laſtly, from what has been obſerved of the phylarchs of the Nomades, agreeing in moſt

[a] Gen. ch. xxi. v. 21. ch. xxv. v. 1, &c. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al-Jauhar, Al Firauzabadius, Abulfed. Shahaboddin. Ahmed Ebn Yahya, &c. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi ſupra, 49—52.

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points with the Arabes Scenitæ, we may conclude, that the emirs were under the government of one particular prince, who was the ſovereign of theſe Arabs, or at leaſt diſtinguiſhed from the other emirs by the title of the grand emir, agreeable to the form of government ſtill prevailing amongſt the modern Bedoweens. However, we take this prince not to have been entirely deſpotic, but conſidered by his ſubjects only as their ſupreme magiſtrate, who maintained them in the poſſeſſion of their particular laws, privileges, and cuſtoms [P].

Of thoſe that dwelt in cities and towns.

The Arabs that dwelt in cities and towns were undoubtedly ruled in the ſame manner as the Bedoweens. That ſeveral cities of Arabia Felix, particularly thoſe of the Adramitæ or Chatramotitæ, were governed by princes of their own, we learn from Eratoſthenes in Strabo. That author likewiſe informs us, that the order of ſucceſſion in theſe cities was not hereditary, but that the firſt child born in any of the noble families after the king's acceſſion was deemed the preſumptive heir to the crown. As ſoon, therefore, as any prince aſcended the throne, a liſt was taken of all the pregnant ladies of quality, who were guarded in a proper manner, till one of them was delivered of a ſon, who always received an education ſuitable to his high birth. However, Artemidorus in the ſame author intimates, that the Sabæan nation had only one ſovereign; which manifeſtly implies, that all the petty princes or emirs above mentioned had a ſupreme head preſiding over the whole region. And that regal government prevailed here, as deſcribed by Artemidorus and Eratoſthenes, ſeems confirmed by Scripture, when the pſalmiſt mentions the kings of Arabia and Saba. The Arabians were, for ſome centuries, under the government of the deſcendents of Kâhtan; Yárab, one of his ſons, founding the kingdom of Yaman, and Jorham, another, that of Hejâz. The kings of Hamyar, who poſſeſſed the kingdom of Yaman, or at leaſt the greater part of it, had the general title of Tobba, which ſignifies *ſucceſſor*, and was affected by theſe princes, as that of Cæſar was by the Roman emperors, and khalif by the ſucceſſors of Mohammed. There were ſeveral leſſer princes, who reigned in other parts of Yaman, moſtly, if not altogether, ſubject to the king of Hamyar, whom they denominate the Great King; but of theſe hiſtory has recorded nothing remarkable, or that may be depended upon. "May you avert all malediction," or, "May God be propitious to you,"

[P] Shaw, ubi ſupra, p. 286, 287, 288, 300, 310. Appian. in Libyc. 67. Les Mœurs & les Coûtumes des Arabes, p. 115, 116. à Paris, 1717.

you," was the form in which the ancient Arabs uſed to addreſs themſelves to their king [q].

Laws of the Arabs.

The principal civil inſtitutions among the Arabs, that ſeemed to wear the face of laws, were the following: 1. That eſtabliſhing the above mentioned order of ſucceſſion. 2. That in force among the Sabæans, whereby the king was ſolemnly inveſted with his prerogative by an aſſembly of the people. 3. That enjoining the ſaid king never to leave his palace after he had taken upon him the reins of government. 4. That commanding his ſubjects to ſtone him to death, in caſe he ſhould be found guilty of a violation of the former law. 5. That obliging them to an abſolute and implicit obedience to all his commands, conſiſtent with the aforeſaid fundamental condition. As the other political maxims the Arabs obſerved may be conſidered as coinciding with their cuſtoms, there is no neceſſity of dwelling upon them here [r].

Religion.

The religion of the Arbabs before Mohammed, which they call the *ſtate of ignorance*, was chiefly groſs idolatry; the Sabian religion having almoſt over-run the whole nation, though there were alſo great numbers of Chriſtians, Jews, and Magians, amongſt them. The idolatry of the Arabs, as Sabians, chiefly conſiſted in worſhipping the fixed ſtars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whoſe interceſſion they implored, as their mediators with God; for they acknowleged one ſupreme God, the Creator and Lord of the univerſe, whom they called Allah Taâla, *the moſt high God*; and their other deities, who were ſubordinate to him, they ſtyled ſimply Al Ilahât, i. e. *the goddeſſes* [s].

Moſt of the Arabs Sabians.

That the Arabs ſhould eaſily be led into the worſhip of the ſtars, is not at all ſurpriſing, ſince, by obſerving the changes of the weather to happen at the riſing or ſetting of certain of them for a conſiderable period, they might eaſily be induced to aſcribe a divine power to thoſe ſtars, and think themſelves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreſhment to their parched country. Hence it came to paſs, that they had ſeven celebrated temples dedicated to the ſeven planets; one of theſe, in particular, called Beit Ghomdân, was built in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahac, to the honour of Al Zo-

[q] Eratoſthenes & Artemidorus apud Strabon. lib. xvi. Verſ. Septuag. in Pſal. lxxii. ver. 10. Al-Motarezzi in lib. Mogreb. Al-Jauharius, Abulfeda, Ebn al Athir, & Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 65, 66. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. [r] Eratoſthenes apud Strabon. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe Strab ibid. [s] Poc. Not. ad Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 138. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 251. Maimonid. in Moreh. Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 29. Hottingeri Hiſt. Orient. lib. iv. cap. 8. Hyde Hiſt. Rel. vet. Perſ. paſſ. Prideaux in Connect. p. i. b. iii.

zarah,

harah, or the planet Venus, and was demoliſhed by the khalif Othman. The temple of Mecca is alſo ſaid to have been conſecrated to Zohal, or Saturn. That planetary worſhip was the firſt ſpecies of idolatry, we have already obſerved; and therefore it is no wonder the Arabs, at preſent the moſt ancient nation in the world, ſhould have been infected with it. To what has been already offered on this head, we ſhall here add the teſtimony of Pauſanias, who intimates, that the worſhip of the planets was earlier than the firſt arrival of the Pelaſgi in Greece; and that before this time they had ſtatues erected to their honour [t].

Worſhip the fixed ſtars, as well as the planets.

But, beſides thoſe ſtars which were the general objects of worſhip throughout Arabia, there were ſome more peculiarly revered in particular provinces. Thus the Hamyarites chiefly worſhiped the Sun; Miſam, Al Debaran, or the Bull's Eye; Lakhm and Jodam, Al Moſhtari, or Jupiter; Tay, Sohail, or Canopus; Kais, Sirius, or the Dog-ſtar; and Aſad, Otared, or Mercury. Abu Cabſha, a worſhiper of Sirius, whom ſome inſiſt to be the ſame with Waheb, Mohammed's grandfather on the mother's ſide, though others make him of the tribe of Khozaah, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Koreiſh to abandon their images, and worſhip this ſtar. For which reaſon, when Mohammed endeavoured alſo to reclaim them from image-worſhip, they nick-named him the ſon of Abu Cabſha. However, the Arabs, together with the Indians in general, paid a greater regard to the fixed ſtars than to the planets; a peculiarity which diſtinguiſhed the Sabians amongſt them from thoſe amongſt the Greeks, who directed their worſhip to the planets. The Arabs did not only attribute their rains to the influence of the fixed ſtars, but likewiſe their winds, ſtorms, tempeſts, heat, cold, and all kinds of alterations in the atmoſphere [u].

As likewiſe angels, or intelligences.

Of the angels or intelligences which they worſhiped, we find only three mentioned in the Koran, namely, Allat, Al-Uzza, and Manah; theſe they called Goddeſſes, and the Daughters of God; an appellation they beſtowed not only on angels, but alſo on their images, which they believed either to be inſpired with life by God, or elſe to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they paid them divine honours, becauſe they believed them to intercede for their votaries with God. The Arab Sabians likewiſe, in common with thoſe of other nations,

[t] Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 163. Al-Jannabi. Shahreſtani. Pauſan. Laconic. p. 202. [u] Abulfaragius, ubi ſupra, p. 160. Al Shahreſtani. Abulfed. Al Jauharius, Ebn'ol Athir. & Al Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 163, 164. ut et ipſe Pocock. p. 130, 132.

imagined,

imagined, that the ſun, moon, and fixed ſtars, were inhabited by intelligences of a middle nature betwixt men and the Supreme Being, who actuated their orbs in the ſame manner as the human body is animated by the ſoul; and that this was the true cauſe of all their motions. Theſe beings, they had a notion, became mediators between God and them; for the neceſſity of a mediator they clearly diſcovered from the beginning, and therefore, as gods mediators, directed divine worſhip to them. They firſt worſhiped them by their tabernacles, i. e. their orbs themſelves; but theſe, by their riſing and ſetting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loſs how to addreſs themſelves to them in their abſence. To remedy this inconvenience, they had recourſe to the invention of images, in which, after their conſecration, they thought theſe inferior deities to be as much preſent by their influence, as in the ſtars themſelves; and therefore that all addreſſes were made as effectually before the one, as before the other. And this may be conſidered as the origin of image-worſhip. All other material particulars relating to the Sabians, omitted here, will either be found in the note (M), or a former part of this hiſtory [w].

Allat,

[w] Al-Kor. Mohammed. cap. liii. Poc. p. 138. Gol. Maimonid. Hotting. Hyde, Prideaux, ubi ſupra. Shahreſtanius apud Hyde, cap. 5. p. 124. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 726. Houſaïn Vaez Comment. Perſ. in Al-Koran, cap. 2. Lib. Phar. Gj. apud Hyd. ubi ſup. Kalkaſhend. apud Hyde, ubi ſupra, p. 125. Ebn Al Athir apud Pocockium, p. 138, 139.

(M) We find no religion, except the Sabian, Jewiſh, and Chriſtian, tolerated by the Koran. The eaſtern writers vary greatly in their notions of the religious tenets of the firſt ſect; though thoſe here mentioned ſeem to be atteſted by the beſt authors. The Sabians produce many ſtrong arguments for the unity of God, and addreſs themſelves to Him in the following terms: "I dedicate myſelf to thy ſervice, O God! I dedicate myſelf to thy ſervice, O God! Thou haſt no companion, except thy companion, of whom thou art abſolute maſter, and of whatever is his." From whence it appears, that they ſuppoſe idols not to be ſui juris, though they offer ſacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God, "who was alſo formerly often put off with the leaſt portion," as Mohammed upbraids them. The reaſon aſſigned by the Arabs for this was, that the idol wanted what was God's, but God himſelf wanted nothing. A ſort of baptiſm they admit, and profeſs a great veneration for St. John Baptiſt, ſtyling themſelves, in their language, which is compoſed of the Chaldee and Syriac, Mendai Jahia, i. e. *Diſciples of St. John*; and by this name they are known amongſt the Chriſtians of the Levant. Beſides the book of Pſalms, the only true Scripture they

Allat, whom ſome of the Arabs called Allah, was the idol of the tribe of Thakîf, who dwelt at Tayef, and had a temple conſecrated to her in a place called Naklah [x]. *Allat.*

Al-

[x] Abulfarag. p. 160. Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 90.

they read, they have another ſuppoſed to have been written by Adam. The language of theſe books, which they regard as their Bible, almoſt entirely agrees with the Chaldee; but the characters differ from thoſe of all other nations. Ebn Shonah makes them the deſcendants of the moſt ancient people in the world, and intimates, that, beſides the books juſt mentioned, they have others eſteemed equally ſacred, particularly one full of moral diſcourſes, denominated by them the Book of Seth and Enoch, or, as they call him, Edris. They are obliged to pray three, or, according to others, ſeven times a-day. The firſt prayer begins half an hour, or leſs, before ſun-riſing; and is ſo ordered, that they may, juſt as the ſun riſes, finiſh eight adorations, each containing three proſtrations: the ſecond prayer they end at noon, when the ſun begins to decline, in repeating which they perform five ſuch adorations as the former: and the ſame they do the third time, concluding juſt as the ſun ſets. They are very fervent in their devotions. They faſt three times a year, the firſt time thirty days, the next nine, and the laſt ſeven. They offer many ſacrifices, but eat no part, burning them all. They abſtain from beans, garlic, and ſome other pulſe and vegetables. As to the Sabian Kebla, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ; one affirming it to be the north, another the ſouth, a third Mecca, and a fourth the ſtar to which they pay their devotions. They have a great veneration for the temple of Mecca, as alſo the pyramids; in the third of which they believe Sabi or Sabius, the founder of their ſect, lies buried. They go on pilgrimage to Harran, either out of regard to the memory of Abraham, or of Sabi Ebn Mari, who lived in Abraham's time, and is regarded by ſome as the firſt propagator of their religion. Ebn Hazem aſſerts Sabianiſm to have been the univerſal religion till the age of Abraham, from whence all the ſucceeding ſects were derived. According to Al-Shareſtani, the Sabians ſay, that the difference betwixt them and the Mohammedans conſiſts in this, that, among creatures, they give the preference to ſpirits, angels, or intelligences moving the celeſtial orbs; whereas the Mohammedans chooſe to pay the greateſt honour to *body* and *matter*, i. e. *men*; as patriarchs, &c. Houſſain Vaez, in his Perſic commentary on the Koran, ſays, that they were a ſort of Sadducees, not believing a future ſtate. We muſt not omit obſerving, that, at the pyramids, they ſacrificed a cock and a black calf, and offered up incenſe. Ebn Khalecan, in his life of Ibrahim al Sabi, affirms, that the Sabians are as ancient as the Magians, but different from them;

Al-Uzza. Al-Uzza, or Al-Ozza, was the idol of the tribes of Koreiſh and Kenanah, and part of the tribe of Salim, as ſome affirm; but others aſſert it to have been a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or Acacia, worſhipped by the tribe of Ghatfan, and firſt conſecrated by Dhâlem, who built a chapel over it named Boſs, ſo contrived as to give a ſound when any one entered. When Khâled Ebn Walîd, by Mohammed's order, had demoliſhed the chapel, cut down the

them; however, that both pretended to deduce their origin from Abraham, whom they confounded with Zerduſht. The ſame author relates, that the word Sabi in the Arabic tongue denotes one who leaves the religion of his forefathers, and introduces a new one; for which reaſon the Koreiſh, by way of reproach, called Mohammed Sabi or Sabian. The eaſtern Chriſtians ſcruple not to affirm, that Conſtantine the Great himſelf profeſſed Sabianiſm before he became a convert to Chriſtianity. Shareſtani divides the Sabians into two ſects, thoſe that worſhip the ſtars, and thoſe that worſhip images. The firſt maintain, that God created the world; but has commanded his ſervants to pay great regard to the ſtars, and to turn themſelves towards thoſe luminous bodies whenever they pray; the other, that, by the mediation of images, they have acceſs to the ſtars, and, through the aſſiſtance of thoſe intellectual agents animating them, to the Supreme Being. They all believe, that the ſouls of wicked men will be puniſhed for nine thouſand ages, but that afterwards they ſhall be received to mercy. Their feaſts in general they have appointed upon the days when the exaltations of the planets happen; but the greateſt of them, in particular, upon the day that the ſun enters Aries, which, with them, is the firſt day of the year, when they all wear their beſt cloaths. They celebrate the feaſt of every planet in a chapel dedicated to him, and derive their religion from Noah himſelf. The Sabians of mount Lebanon ſeem to pay a greater regard to Seth than the Supreme Being; for they always keep their oath when they ſwear by the former, but frequently break it when they ſwear by the latter. They likewiſe maintain, that once in thirty-ſix thouſand four hundred and twenty-five years there will be a complete revolution in all mundane things. They endeavour to perfect themſelves in the four intellectual virtues; God they call God of gods, and Lord of lords; but thoſe intelligences ſuppoſed to actuate the ſtars, gods and lords. This ſect ſay, they took the name of Sabians from the above mentioned Sabi, though it ſeems rather to be derived from צבא *Saba*, or *Tſaba*, the *hoſt* of *heaven*, which they worſhip. Before the growth of Chriſtianity and Mohammedaniſm, the greateſt part of the world profeſſed the Sabian religion (1).

(1) D'Herbel. Prid. Poc. Gol. Hyd. Hotting. aliique auctor. hic laudat.

image,

image, or tree, and slain the priestess of Al Uzza, Mohammed, alluding to the death of the priestess, said, she was Al-Uzza, who therefore will never hereafter be worshipped. The name Uzza is derived from the root *azza*, and signifies *the most mighty*[y].

Manah was the object of worship of the tribes of Hodhail and Khozâah, possibly the Cassanitæ of Ptolemy, who dwelt between Mecca and Medina, and, as some say, of the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and Thakif also. Dr. Pococke renders it highly probable, that the Manah of the Arabs was the Meni of the prophet Isaiah. This idol was a large stone, demolished by Saad in the eighth year of the Hejra, so fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name seems derived from *mana*, to *flow*, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity or intelligence it represented. Hence the valley of Mina, near Mecca, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this time slay their sacrifices. Some take Meni, or Manah, to be the name of a constellation; which notion is favoured by the most obvious signification of the word Manah in the Arabic tongue[z]. *Manah.*

Besides these, we find five antediluvian idols described by the Arabian writers; namely, Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yâûk, and Nasr. These are said to have been men of great reputation and piety, whose statues the Arabs at first reverenced with a civil honour only, which in process of time was heightened into worship[a]. *Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yâûk, and Nasr.*

Wadd was supposed to represent heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Calb, in Dawmat al Jandal. *Wadd.*

Sawâ was adored under the shape of a woman by the tribe of Hamadan, or, as others write, of Hodhail in Rohat. This idol, lying under water some time after the deluge, was at length, according to the Arab writers, discovered by the devil, and worshipped by those of Hodhail, who instituted pilgrimages to it. *Sawâ.*

Yaghûth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and received divine honours from the tribe of Madhaj, and others, who dwelt in Yaman. Its name seems to be derived from *ghatha*, which signifies to *help*. *Yaghûth.*

Yâûk the tribe of Morâd esteemed as their proper object of worship, or, according to others, that of Hamadan, under the figure of a horse. The name Yâûk probably comes from their verb *ûka*, to *prevent*, or *avert*[b]. *Yâûk.*

[y] Al-Juhar. Al-Shahrestan. & Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocock. Ibid. [z] Al-Jauhar, Al-Beidawi, Al-Shahrest. Abulfed. Al-Zamakhsharius, & Al-Firauzabadius. [a] Al-Kor. Mohammed. cap. 71. [b] Poc. in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. 101. 338. 389, 390.

Naſr. Naſr ſeems to have been the deity of the tribe of Hamyar, whom we conſider either as the Homeritæ or Hamiræi of Pliny. He is ſaid to have been adored at Dhû'l Khalaah in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name ſignifies.

Sakia, Hafedha, Razeka, and Salema. The four deities Sakia, Hafedha, Razeka, and Salema, were peculiar to the tribe of Ad. The firſt ſupplied them with rain, the ſecond preſerved them from all dangers abroad, the third provided food for their ſuſtenance, and the fourth reſtored them to health when afflicted with ſickneſs; according to the ſignification of their ſeveral names. To theſe may be added Al-Daizan, or Saturn, a moſt ancient Arab idol, Hhethar, Al Auf, &c. mentioned by Al Jauharius, Al Firauzabadius, and others[c].

Jupiter Ammon and Bacchus worſhipped by the Arabs. As image-worſhip in ſome meaſure proceeded from the deification of dead men, who had been the authors of ſome ſignal advantages and benefits to the people they governed, or elſe greatly celebrated for their conqueſts, it is no wonder the Arabs, as well as other nations, ſhould fall into it. Sir Iſaac Newton takes hero-worſhip, or the worſhip of deified dead men, to have been no older than the age of Seſac, the great Egyptian conqueror ſo often mentioned, who ordered all the nations he ſubdued, and amongſt the reſt ſome of the Arabians at leaſt, to pay divine honours to his father Ammon, under the name of Jupiter, or Jupiter Ammon. This therefore was the great hero god of the Arabs, as well as of the Egyptians, Garamantes, Ethiopians, and Indians; and his ſon and ſucceſſor, Seſac, who injoined this worſhip, the Bacchus, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, of the ancients, little inferior to him. The Arabs, it is probable, erected oracles to Ammon, who reduced part of their country, as well as the Libyans and Egyptians: and Seſac, on account of his having coaſted Arabia Felix, ſailed to the Perſian gulph, penetrated afterwards into India, where he reared two pillars on two mountains near the mouth of the Ganges, and another at Dire, a promontory of Ethiopia, was eſteemed as his father's colleague in Arabia, as well as the other regions ſubjugated by him.

Have a great variety of idols. Beſides the idols already mentioned, the Arabs worſhipped many others, the chief of whom was Hobal, brought from Beika in Syria to Arabia by Amra Ebn Lohai, pretending it would procure them rain whenever they wanted it. According to Safioddin, Hobal was placed without the Caaba, under the figure of a man. His ſtatue was made of red agate, which having by ſome accident loſt a hand, the Ko-

[c] Abulfed. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. in art. Houd.

reiſh

reiſh repaired it with one of gold; he held in his hand ſeven arrows without heads or feathers, ſuch as the Arabs uſed in divination. This idol is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the image of Abraham, found and deſtroyed by Mohammed in the Caaba, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hejra, when he reduced Mecca. That image was ſurrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as ſome ſay, was Iſhmael, with divining arrows in his hand. Hobal, according to Al Jannabius, was the chief of three hundred and ſixty idols, one of which the Arabs might, if they thought proper, worſhip every day in the year. We are told, that among the idols in the Caaba there was a wooden pigeon, as likewiſe another above, to deſtroy which Mohammed lifted Ali upon his ſhoulders. Aſaf and Nayelah, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were alſo two idols brought with Hobal from Syria, and placed the one on Mount Safa, and the other on Mount Merwa. They pretend that Aſaf was the ſon of Amru, and Nayelah the daughter of Sahal, both of the tribe of Jorham, who, committing whoredom together in the Caaba, were by God converted into ſtone, and afterwards worſhipped by the Koreiſh, and ſo much reverenced by them, that though this ſuperſtition was condemned by Mohammed, yet he was forced to allow them to viſit thoſe mountains as monuments of the divine juſtice. The idols Saad, an oblong ſtone on the ſhore near Giodda, Soair or Sair worſhipped by the tribe of Anza; Aud, adored by the tribe of Becr Wayel; Naſb or Noſb, Al Sharek, and Dar, from whence the Arab names Abdol Sharek and Abdol Dar were derived, merit little regard. Nor have we much to ſay of Madan, Yalil, Awal, peculiar to the tribes of Becr and Taglab; Dul Caffain, the deity of the tribe of Daus; Bajar or Bajer, that of the tribe of Azd; Al Okaiſar, worſhipped in the eaſtern part of Syria; Bag or Bagh, from whence Abulfeda deduces the name of the city Baghdad; Al Chalaſah, Duſhſhara, the Dyſares of the Greeks and Romans. Beſides theſe, according to the Oriental authors, every houſekeeper had his houſhold god, which he laſt took leave of, and firſt ſaluted at his going abroad and returning home[d].

Several of the Arab idols, beſides Saad above mentioned, and Manah in particular, were no more than large rude ſtones, the worſhip of which the poſterity of Iſhmael firſt introduced, according to Al Jannabius. It ſeems moſt pro- *Some of theſe idols ſtones.*

[d] Abulfed. Al-Shahreſtan. Safioddin. Al-Moſtat'raf. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 95, 97, 98. Ebn Al-Athir. Al Jannabius. Al-Kor. Mohammed, cap. 2.

bable to us, that theſe great ſtones were the firſt public places of divine worſhip amongſt the Arabs, on which they poured wine and oil, as Jacob did upon the ſtones that ſerved him for a pillow, when he ſaw his viſion. Some authors relate, that when the territory of Mecca became too confined for the Iſhmaelites, ſo that great numbers found themſelves obliged to look out for new habitations, thoſe that departed from Mecca took with them ſome of the ſtones of that reputed holy land; and at firſt only compaſſed them out of devotion, as they had accuſtomed to go round the Caaba; but this ceremony at laſt ended in rank idolatry, the Iſhmaelites forgetting the religion left them by their father, ſo far, as to pay divine honours to any fine ſtone they met with. To the idols already mentioned we may add another peculiar to the tribe of Hanîfah, which was nothing more than a lump of dough. This they never preſumed to eat, till they were compelled by famine [e].

Magian religion in Arabia.

The Perſians, by their vicinity to, and frequent intercourſe with the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among ſome of their tribes, particularly that of Tamim, a long time before Mohammed, who was ſo far from being unacquainted with it, that he borrowed many of his own inſtitutions from it. The profeſſors of this religion acknowleged the world to have been created by God, as their ſucceſſors do at preſent: but being at a loſs otherwiſe to account for the origin of evil, they held two principles. The firſt they ſuppoſed the author of all good, and the other of all evil, believing them to be repreſented by light and darkneſs, as their trueſt ſymbols; and that of the compoſition of theſe two all things in the world are made. The good principle or God they named Yezad or Yezdan, and Ormozd or Hormizda, which the Greeks wrote Oromazes; and the evil dæmon they called Ahariman or Ahriman, and the Greeks Arimanius. Though one ſect of the Magi aſſerted, as the Manichæans and other heretics did, both thoſe principles to have exiſted from all eternity, yet they were reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle or God only was eternal, and the other created, as appears from Zoroaſter's deſcription of the Supreme Being. Amongſt other tenets they maintained, that there were good and bad angels; the former guarding and protecting men from evil, and the latter inſtigating them to all kinds of wickedneſs. They alſo believed that the wicked angels, after they had ſeduced men from the paths

[e] Al-Jauhar. Al-Beidawi, & Al-Zamakhſharius. Al-Moſtatraf Al-Jauharius apud Pocock. p. 110.

of

of virtue, became the inſtruments of their puniſhment; and that theſe angels were continually meditating the ruin and deſtruction of mankind.

Some of the Pagan Arabs believed neither a creation paſt, nor a reſurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their diſſolution to age. Others allowed both; among whom were thoſe who, when they died, had each his camel tied by his ſepulchre, and ſo left without meat or drink to periſh, and accompany him to the other world, leſt he ſhould be obliged, at the reſurrection to go on foot; a method of travelling which was counted diſgraceful. Some believed a metempſychoſis; and that of the blood near the dead perſon's brain, was formed a bird named Hamah, which once in a hundred years viſited the ſepulchre; though others affirm, that this bird is animated by the ſoul of him that is unjuſtly ſlain, and continually cries *oſcûni*, *oſcûni*, i. e. *give me to drink*, meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged; and then it flies away. Some of the ancient Arabs ſeem to have been addicted to augury, ſince they held an owl in great abhorrence, as imagining that it always brought ill news, and portended ſomething bad. The camel juſt mentioned furniſhed the Arabs with a proverb, which they applied to all people doomed to a miſerable end. Thoſe who expected a future judgment adored idols, as they pretended that the heroes or deities they repreſented might be induced to intercede for them with God hereafter. It appears probable from ſome paſſages of the Koran, and the commentators on thoſe paſſages, that the ancient Arabs, under the word Jin or Genii, comprehended angels, good as well as bad, and that intermediate ſpecies of rational inviſible beings going among the preſent Orientals by the ſame name. From the ſame paſſages and commentators we may likewiſe infer, that moſt of the Arabians before Mohammed's time, in conformity to the Sabian ſcheme, paid religious honours to theſe Genii. The Mohammedans call the evil principle of the Magi the Satan of the Scripture, and Sammael of the Jews, Eblis, which ſeems to be a corruption of the Διάβολος or Diabolus of the New Teſtament [f].

The notions ſome of the Arabs had of a future ſtate.

Abu Carb Aſad, king of Yaman, about ſeven hundred years before Mohammed, is ſaid to have introduced Judaiſm among the idolatrous Hamyarites. The Jews likewiſe, who fled in great numbers into Arabia after the deſtruction of their country by the Romans, made proſelytes of ſeveral

The Jewiſh religion embraced by ſome of the Arab tribes.

[f] Al-Shahreſtani. Al-Jauhari. Ebn al Athir. Al-Damirius. Vide etiamPocockium, ubi ſup. p. 134—136. Al-Kor. Mohammed. cap. 6, 7, 72, & alib.

tribes, thoſe of Kenanah, Al Hareth Ebn Caaba, and Kendah, in particular. In time they became very powerful, and poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes. At laſt Yuſef, ſurnamed Dhu Nowas, king of Yaman, having raiſed a horrid perſecution againſt all who would not embrace the Jewiſh religion, putting them to death by various tortures, the moſt common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, from whence the Arabs gave him the opprobious title of the Lord of the Pit; Caleb or Eleſbaan, king of Ethiopia, to revenge the maſſacre of the Chriſtians at Najran, put an end to Judaiſm and the kingdom of the Hamyarites in Yaman, at the ſame time. This event happened in the reign of the emperor Juſtin, and will be more fully noted in the following ſection [g].

and likewiſe Chriſtianity.

Whether St. Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly ſo called, we cannot pretend to determine; but that the Chriſtian religion was planted very early in this country, will not admit of a diſpute. The Arabians we find ranked amongſt thoſe nations, ſome of whoſe members firſt had the happineſs of being made converts to Chriſtianity, ſeveral of them being preſent when the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon the apoſtles. When the eaſtern church, ſoon after the beginning of the third century, was greatly haraſſed by diſorders and perſecutions, great numbers of Chriſtians ſought ſhelter in Arabia; who being for the moſt part of the Jacobite communion, that ſect generally prevailed among the Arabs. The principal tribes that embraced Chriſtianity were Hamyar, Ghaſſan, Rabia, Taghlah, Bahra, Tonuch, part of thoſe of Tay and Kodaa, the inhabitants of Najran, and the Arabs of Hira. The people of Najran became converts to Chriſtianity in the time of Dhu Nowas above mentioned, and thoſe of Hira received a great acceſſion by ſeveral tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the perſecution of that prince. How Al-Nooman, ſurnamed Abu-Kabus, king of Hira, who was ſlain a few months before Mahommed's birth, came to profeſs himſelf a Chriſtian, and reclaimed from Paganiſm the whole nation he governed, will be hereafter related. According to Abulfeda, his grandfather Mondar embraced Chriſtianity, and built ſeveral churches for the Chriſtians in Hira. Safiod-din ſays, that Najran was a biſhop's ſee, and remarkable for having a Chriſtian church in early times. From Shahreſtani we learn, that Mondar, king of the Arabs, declared war againſt the emperor Juſtinian, becauſe he had ill-treated

[g] Metaphraſtes apud Surium, tom. v. p. 936. & alib. Niceph. Calliſt. lib. xviii. cap. 6.

thoſe

thoſe who aſſerted only one nature in Chriſt, ſince the Arab Chriſtians at that time were of the Jacobite perſuaſion. This is a ſufficient proof, that Chriſtianity had got footing in Arabia before the reign of that prince. The Jacobites inſiſt, and M. Aſſeman thinks it probable, that the Syrian biſhop Jacobus Baradæus, who, according to Abul-Farajius, viſited all the regions adjacent to Syria, and ordained there biſhops, and preſbyters of the Jacobite ſect, firſt infected the Arabian Chriſtians with Monophyſiſm.

Biſhopricks in Arabia.

It is natural to ſuppoſe, that as the Chriſtians were ſo numerous in Arabia before the age of Mahommed, they had ſeveral biſhops there, when that impoſtor firſt began to form a new ſyſtem of religion. Accordingly we find, that the Jacobites had two biſhops of the Arabs ſubject to their Mafrian, or metropolitan of the Eaſt. One of theſe was ſtyled abſolutely the biſhop of the Arabs, whoſe reſidence was chiefly at Akula, which ſome authors make the ſame with Cufa, others a different town near Baghdad. The other had the title of the biſhop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of Thaalah in Hira or Hirta, as the Syrians call it, and ſeated in that city. Gregentius, who held a famous diſpute ſub dio for three days with Herbanus the Jew, before the king of Hamyar, was biſhop or archbiſhop of Dhafar or Tephra, as it is called by the Greek authors, in the century preceding Mahommed; and that Najran alſo was a biſhop's ſee at the ſame time, has been already obſerved from Safioddin. We find likewiſe a prelate of this country ſtyled the biſhop of the Tayites, though the extent and limits of his dioceſe cannot ſo eaſily be defined. The Neſtorians had but one biſhop, who preſided over both the dioceſes of Hira and Akula, and was immediately ſubject to their patriarch. Arabia was in the earlieſt ages remarkable for hereſies, which Mr. Sale ſays might in ſome meaſure be attributed to the liberty and independence of its tribes [h].

Other ſects in Arabia different from thoſe already mentioned.

Before we conclude our account of the religion, or rather religions of the ancient Arabs, we muſt obſerve, that ſome of them attributed a power to the fixed ſtars ſuperior to what even the Sabians themſelves allowed; inſomuch that they would not take the leaſt ſtep without receiving a favourable omen from them: ſeveral alſo not only worſhipped dæmons or genii, but likewiſe aſſerted them to be the daughters of God. The Koreiſh were infected with Zendiciſm, an error nearly related to that of the Sadducees

[h] Safioddin. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra. Abul Faraj. in Chron. Syriac. MS. Abulfeda in Deſcript. Iracæ. Aſſeman Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. tom. ii. in Diſſert. de Monophyſit. & p. 459. Sale's Prelimin. Diſcour. ſect. 2. p. 34, 35.

among

among the Jews. We are told, that ſeveral of this tribe worſhipped one God, and differed from all the other religions of the country, before the time of Mahommed [1].

Language. As the Arabs make one of the moſt ancient nations in the world, having inhabited the country they at preſent poſſeſs almoſt from the deluge, without intermixing with other nations, or being ſubjugated by any foreign power, their language muſt have been formed ſoon after, if not at the confuſion of Babel. The two principal dialects were that ſpoken by the Hamyarites and other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreiſh, in which Mahommed wrote the Koran. The firſt is ſtyled by the Oriental writers the Arabic of Hamyar, and the other the pure or defeated. As Yarab, grandfather to Hamyar, is ſuppoſed by the Oriental writers to have been the firſt whoſe tongue deviated from the Syriac to the Arabic, the Hamyaritic dialect, according to them, muſt have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac, and conſequently have been more remote from the true genius of the Arabic, than that of any other tribe. The dialect of the Koreiſh, termed by the Koran the perſpicuous and clear Arabic, is referred to Iſhmael as its author, who, ſay the above mentioned writers, firſt ſpoke it, and, as Dr. Pococke believes, after he had contracted an alliance with the family of Jorham by marriage, formed it of their language and the original Hebrew. As therefore the Hamyaritic dialect partook principally of the Syriac, ſo that of the Koreiſh was ſuppoſed to conſiſt chiefly of the Hebrew: but, according to Jallalo'ddin, the politeneſs and elegance of the dialect of the Koreiſh ought rather to be attributed to their having, from the remoteſt antiquity, the cuſtody of the Caaba, and dwelling in Mecca the center of Arabia: for by this ſituation they were not only rendered more incapable of any intercourſe with foreigners, who might have corrupted their language, but likewiſe frequented by the Arabs of all the circumjacent country, both on a religious account, and for the compoſing of their differences, from whoſe diſcourſe and verſes they took whatever words or phraſes they judged moſt pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfuſed into this dialect. The Arabs are full of the commendations of their language, which is very harmonious, expreſſive, and, as they ſay, ſo immenſely copious, that no man uninſpired can be a perfect maſter of it, in its utmoſt extent. How much it is ſuperior to the Greek and Latin tongues in this particular, in

[1] Shahreſtani. Al-Kor. Mahom. cap. vi. Al-Moſtatraf. apud Pocockium, p. 136. Reland. de Relig. Mahomm. p. 270.

ſome

ſome meaſure appears from hence, that ſometimes a bare enumeration of the Arabic names of one particular thing, and an explication of them, will make a conſiderable volume. Thus we are told, that Ebn Khalawih, one of the moſt learned of the Arab grammarians, wrote a whole treatiſe, which conſiſted entirely of an interpretation of five hundred words ſignifying a lion; and another whoſe only ſubject was a collection of two hundred words denoting a ſerpent. Mahommedes Al Firauzabadius, author of the great Arabic lexicon called Kamus, or the Ocean, relates, that he compoſed a piece, containing a deſcription of the nature and advantages of honey, together with an explication of eighty different terms expreſſive of it; and yet that it had ſeveral other names: he likewiſe mentions another of his books, wherein he had enumerated above a thouſand words denoting only a ſword. Notwithſtanding which, the Arabs believe the greateſt part of their language to be loſt; an opinion which will not ſeem improbable, when we conſider how late the art of writing became generally practiſed among them: for though it was known to Job, their countryman, to the Edomites, as well as the other Arabian nations bordering upon Egypt and Phœnicia, and to the Hamyarites many centuries before Mahommed, as appears from ſome ancient monuments, ſaid to be remaining in their character; yet the other Arabs, and thoſe of Mecca in particular, unleſs ſuch as were either Jews or Chriſtians, were to the time of Moramer altogether ignorant of it. It was the ancient Arabic language preceding the reign of Juſtinian which ſo nearly reſembled the Ethiopic; for ſince that time, and eſpecially ſince the age of Mahommed, all the Arabic dialects have been greatly corrupted. This is now the learned language of the Mahommedans, who ſtudy it as the European Chriſtians do the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin [k].

A great affinity between the ancient and modern Arabic.

A very great affinity between the ancient and modern Arabic muſt, however, be allowed; ſo great an affinity, that in ſubſtance we may pronounce them the ſame. Many conſiderable advantages flow from a knowlege of the Arabic tongue, all which may be conſidered as ſo many inducements to ſtudy it: but amongſt theſe, the chief ſeems to be, an inveſtigation of the true meaning of many Hebrew words, whoſe radices cannot be diſcovered in the Hebrew original of the Old Teſtament, though they are ſtill preſerved in the Arabic.

[k] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 150—154. Jallalo'ddin. in lib. Mezhar. cap. 1. p. 9, 22, 27. Al-Jauharius & Moham. Al Firauzabad. apud Pocock. ubi ſup. Job, chap. xix. ver. 23, 24. Job Ludolf. in Comm. ad Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 1. n. 19. p. 60.

We

Letters.

We have juſt obſerved, that the Hamyarites were not ſtrangers to the art of writing. The character uſed by them, the moſt ancient of any peculiar to the Arabs, wherein the letters were not diſtinctly ſeparate, went by the appellation of Al Moſnad, from the mutual dependency of its letters or parts upon one another. This was neither publicly taught, nor ſuffered to be uſed, without permiſſion. Moramer Ebn Morra of Anbar, a city of Irak, who lived not many years before Mohammed, was the inventor of the preſent Arabic character, which Baſhar the Kendian, who married the ſiſter of Abu Sofian, is ſaid to have learned from thoſe of Anbar, and to have introduced at Mecca, only a little while before the inſtitution of Mohammediſm. In Mohammed's time the Morameric alphabet had made ſo ſmall a progreſs, that no one in Yaman could either write or read it; even Mohammed himſelf was incapable of doing either; for which reaſon he was called the Illiterate Prophet. According to Khalican, the preſent Arabic character was firſt formed from the Cufic by Ebn Moklah, wazir, or viſir, to Al Moktader, Al Kaher, and Al Radi, khalifs of Baghdad, who lived about three hundred years after Mohammed; and brought to great perfection by Ali Ebn Bowah, who flouriſhed in the following century, and whoſe name is yet famous among them on that account. The moſt remarkable ſpecimens of the Cufic character, ſo denominated from Cufa, a city of Irak, where ſome of the firſt copies of the Koran were written, are the following: part of that book in it on vellum, brought from Egypt by Mr. Greaves; ſome other fragments of the ſame book in it, publiſhed by Sir John Chardin; certain paſſages of a MS. in the Bodleian library; the legends on ſeveral Saracenic coins dug up about fifty years ago on the coaſt of the Baltic, not far from Dantzick; and, according to Mr. profeſſor Hunt, thoſe noble remains of it that are, or were lately to be ſeen, in Mr. Joſeph Ames's valuable collection of antique curioſities. As to the true origin of the ancient and modern Arabic alphabets, we muſt confeſs ourſelves much in the dark [1].

Ancient and modern alphabets.

We ſhall here inſert both the ancient and modern Arabic alphabets, together with that of the African Saracens publiſhed by Kircher, which ſeems to be the old Hamyaritic character mentioned by Al Firauzabadius, Al Jannabius, Ebn Khalican, and Georgius Ebn Amid, under the title of Al Moſnad.

[1] Ebn Khalican. Ebn Haſhem. Al Firauzabadius. Al-Jannabius. Georg. Ern. Amid. Job xix. 23, 24. Prideaux's Life of Mahom. p. 29, 30. Chardin's Travels, vol. iii. p. 119. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 590, 108, & 194. Gravius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 158.

The

The Modern Arabic Alphabet.

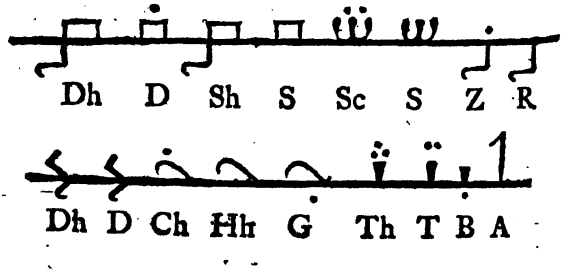
Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.			
1	A or E.	Elif.	ا	ا	ا	ا
2	B.	Be.	ب	ب	بـ	ب
3	T.	Te.	ت	ت	تـ	ت
4	T, blæſe, or liſping.	Thſe.	ث	ث	ثـ	ث
5	G.	Gjim.	ج	ج	جـ	ج
6	Hh.	Hha.	ح	ح	حـ	ح
7	Ch.	Cha.	خ	خ	خـ	خ
8	D.	Dal.	د	د	د	د
9	D, blæſe, or liſping.	Dhſal.	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
10	R.	Re.	ر	ر	ر	ر
11	Z.	Ze.	ز	ز	ز	ز
12	S.	Sin.	س	س	سـ	س
13	Sj.	Sjin.	ش	ش	شـ	ش
14	S.	Sad.	ص	ص	صـ	ص
15	D.	Dad.	ض	ض	ضـ	ض
16	T.	Ta.	ط	ط	ط	ط
17	D.	Da.	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ
18	The Hebrew ע.	Ain.	ع	ع	عـ	ع
19	G Latin.	Gain.	غ	غ	غـ	غ
20	F.	Fe.	ف	ف	فـ	ف
21	K.	Kaf.	ق	ق	قـ	ق
22	C.	Kef.	ك	ك	كـ	ك
23	L.	Lam.	ل	ل	لـ	ل
24	M.	Mim.	م	م	مـ	م
25	N.	Nun.	ن	ن	نـ	ن
26	W.	Waw.	و	و	و	و
27	H.	He.	ه	ه	هـ	ه
28	I.	Ie.	ي	ي	يـ	ي

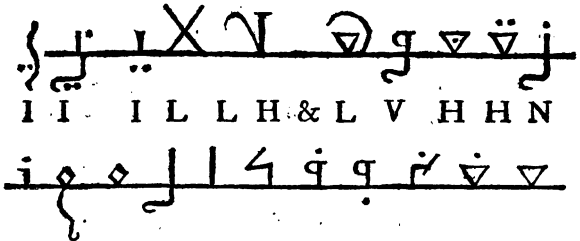
The

The Old Arabic Alphabet.

ا	ا	Elif.	ل	ل	Lam.
ب	ب	Be.	م	م	Mem.
غ	غ	Gain.	ن	ن	Nun.
د	د	Dal.	ص	ص	Sad.
ذ	ذ	Dſal.			
ه	ه	He.	ع	ع	Ain.
و	و	Waw.	ف	ف	Fe.
ج	ج	Gim.	ز	ز	Ze.
ح	ح	Hha.	ق	ق	Kaf.
ط	ط	Ta.	ر	ر	Re.
ي	ي	Ye.	س	س	Sin.
			ش	ش	Shin.
ك	ك	Caf.	ت	ت	Te.

The African Saracenic Alphabet, probably the ſame as the Ancient Hamyaritic, given us by Kircher.





I I I L L H & L V H H N

N M M L L K C Ph Gh Gh Ai

The learning, &c of the ancient Arabs.

Though by far the greater part of the Arabs before Mohammed could neither read nor write; yet ſeveral of them became famous for their eloquence, and a perfect ſkill in their own tongue. Herein they exerciſed themſelves by compoſing orations and poems. Their orations were of two ſorts, metrical and proſaic. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able in an aſſembly to perſuade the people to a great enterprize, or diſſuade them from a dangerous undertaking, or gave them other wholeſome advice, was honoured with the title of Khateb or Orator, which is now given to the Mohammedan preachers. From what we find in ſeveral authors, they purſued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators; their ſentences being like looſe gems, without connexion; ſo that this ſort of compoſition ſtruck the audience chiefly by the roundneſs of the periods, the elegance of the expreſſion, and the acuteneſs of the proverbial ſayings (T). So

(T) Since we are ſpeaking of the Arab literature, our readers will expect ſome account of the fabuliſt Lokman, ſo famous all over the Eaſt. Lokman, ſurnamed Al Hakim, i. e. the Wiſe, or the Sage, according to Saddi, Akramas, and Schaab, was endued with the gift of prophecy, which came to him by ſucceſſion, he having been the ſon or grandſon of a ſiſter or aunt of Job. The author of Taiaſſir makes him the ſon of Baura, or Bêor, the ſon of Nahor, the ſon of Terah, and conſequently related to Abraham. Abouleits gives Lokman the ſurname of Abou Anam, i. e. the Father of Anam; though others call his ſon Mathan. The author of the book intitled Ain al Mâni ſays, he was born in the time of David, and lived till the age of Jonah; but this exceeds all belief. According to the deſcription of his perſon by the Arab writers, he muſt have been much deformed; for they ſay he was an Ethiopian or Nubian ſlave, and conſequently of a black complexion, with thick lips, and broad feet. But, to balance thoſe defects, he received from God wiſdom and eloquence in a great degree, which ſome pretend were given him in a viſion, on his

So perſuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to underſtand the art of ſpeaking in public, except themſelves and the Perſians; which laſt were reckoned much inferior in that reſpect to the Arabians. Two of the ancient Arabs, who immortalized their names by their eloquence, were Koſs and Sabban, of the tribe of Wayel. Hence came the proverbs,

his making choice of wiſdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the Mohammedans, therefore, contend that he was no prophet, but only a ſage or wiſe man. Others relate, that when God, in order to reward his tranſcendant piety, offered to make him his vicegerent on earth, he choſe rather to remain in the condition of a ſlave, though with an entire reſignation to the divine will, begging that God would enable him to execute all his orders, in caſe he thought proper to fix him in ſo ſublime a poſt. This, continue the ſame authors, ſo exceedingly pleaſed God, that he made him ſuperior to all other men in wiſdom; inſomuch that he wrote ten thouſand proverbs and fables for the inſtruction of mankind. From ſeveral authors it appears, that he lived in the reigns of David and Solomon, and that he was an Ethiopian by birth, ſold to the Iſraelites, but by religion a Jew. The author of Tarikh Montakhab affirms, that the ſepulchre of Lokman was to be ſeen in his time at Ramlah or Ramah, near Jeruſalem; and that he was interred near ſeventy prophets, who had been ſtarved by the Jews, and all died in one day. He is ſaid to have obtained his liberty on the following occaſion: his maſter having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him ſuch implicit obedience as to eat it all; at which his maſter being ſurpriſed, aſked him, How he could eat ſo nauſeous a fruit? To which he replied, It was no wonder, that he ſhould for once accept a bitter fruit from the ſame hand, from which he had received ſo many favours. Our readers will naturally obſerve, that Lokman, who lived in the time of the prophet Hud, or Heber, could not be the ſame perſon with the fabuliſt here mentioned.

As moſt of the particulars relating to the perſon of Lokman here recited, as well as the quick repartees of which he is made the author by the commentators on the Koran, agree ſo well with what Maximus Planudes has written of Æſop, theſe two ſages are generally thought to have been the ſame perſon. The great reſemblance the fables of Lockman bear to thoſe of Æſop is an additional argument in favour of this notion. We are inclined to believe, that Planudes borrowed great part of his life of Æſop from the traditions he met with in the Eaſt concerning Lokman, and concluded theſe two perſons to have been the ſame from the circumſtances above mentioned (1).

(1) Var. Auctor. apud D'Herbelot. in Art. Lokman.

« More

"More expert in the art of ſpeaking than Kóſs," and "More eloquent than Sabban." They ſeem to have been chiefly indebted to their poetry for the poliſhing, and even preſervation, of their language, before the uſe of letters was introduced amongſt them; for which reaſon their authors generally conſider this and the ſtudy of their language together. In their poems, likewiſe, were preſerved the diſtinction of deſcents, the rights of tribes, and the memory of great actions. An excellent poet, therefore, reflected an honour on his tribe; ſo that as ſoon as any perſon began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes ſent publicly to congratulate them on the occaſion, and themſelves made entertainments, at which the women aſſiſted, dreſſed in their nuptial ornaments, ſinging, to the ſound of timbrels, the happineſs of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preſerve their genealogies, and the purity of their language, and to tranſmit their actions to poſterity. As the Arabs conſidered an elegant and inſtructive poem as the moſt ſublime of all human performances, a ſpirit of emulation was kept up among their poets; for which purpoſe, the tribes had once a year a general aſſembly at Ocadh, a place rendered famous on this account, where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sunday. This annual meeting laſted a whole month, during which time they employed themſelves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compoſitions, contending and vying with each other for the prize. The poems that were judged to excel, they laid up in their king's treaſuries; ſuch as the ſeven celebrated poems, thence called Al Moallakat, written on Egyptian ſilk, in letters of gold. On this account they had alſo the name of Al Modhahabat, or the *golden verſes*. It is worthy obſervation, that ſuch a public congratulation was made only on the birth of a boy, the riſe of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed; which they eſteemed three points of great felicity. Though poetry was of ſo high an antiquity among the Arabs, they did not at firſt write poems of any juſt length, but only expreſſed in verſe occaſionally; nor was their proſody digeſted into rules, till ſome time after Mohammed. The firſt author of a poem that conſiſted of thirty verſes, or Al-Kaſidah, was Mohalhel. According to Al-Khalil, there are fifteen different kinds of Arabic verſe. Mohammed ſuppreſſed the fair and aſſembly at Ocadh, which occaſioned poetry to decline in his time, and for ſome years after, the Arabs being then employed in extending their conqueſts; but upon the return of peace

this ſtudy was revived, and almoſt all ſorts of learning were encouraged, and not a little improved [m].

Some particulars relating to the chronology of the ancient Arabs.

Before we diſmiſs our preſent ſubject, it will be proper to take notice of ſome few particulars relating to the chronology of the Arabs. They divided the year into twelve months, whoſe ancient names were, 1. Mutemer. 2. Nagir. 3. Chavan. 4. Savan. 5. Ritma. 6. Ida. 7. Aſam. 8. Adil. 9. Natil. 10. Vail. 11. Varna. 12. Burec. But Kelab, the ſon of Morrah, from whom Mohammed was lineally deſcended, having, from certain events happening in every month, given new names to them, the old denominations in his time began to grow obſolete amongſt the Koreiſh; and afterwards, by the authority of Mohammed, when he had brought all the reſt of the Arab tribes under his power, were totally aboliſhed in every part of Arabia. The firſt day of Mutemer, or Muharram, being the firſt day of the year, was celebrated by the ancient kings of Yaman with great feſtivity and munificence, as it was likewiſe by the Perſians and other eaſtern nations. The Arabians anciently divided the year alſo into ſix ſeaſons: 1. The ſeaſon of herbs and flowers. 2. Summer. 3. The hot ſeaſon. 4. The ſeaſon of fruits. 5. Autumn, or rather the latter part of autumn. 6. Winter. The ancient Arab year was luniſolar; but the cuſtom of intercalating months, in order to make the courſe of the moon agree with that of the ſun, was aboliſhed by Mohammed. The Arabs, like the Egyptians, Indians, Greeks, and Romans, anciently computed their time by weeks, or periods of ſeven days, as we learn from a very ancient Arab poet, who died many ages before the publication of the Koran. The old names of theſe days are given us by that poet in the following order: 1. Euvel. 2. Bahun. 3. Gebar. 4. Debar. 5. Munis. 6. Aruba. 7. Xijar [n].

The ſciences they chiefly cultivated.

The ſciences chiefly cultivated by the ancient Arabians were three; that of their hiſtory and genealogies; ſuch a knowlege of the ſtars as to foretel the changes of weather; and the interpretation of dreams. They valued themſelves extremely on account of the nobility of their families, and ſo many diſputes happened on that occaſion, that it is no wonder if they took great pains in ſettling their deſcents. Their knowlege of the ſtars was obtained from long experience, and not from any regular ſtudy, or aſtronomical

[m] Al Motarezzi, in Lib. Mogreb. Mohammed. Ebn Salain, Al-Jauhar. & Al-Firauzabad. apud Pocockium, p. 159—162. ut & ipſe Pocockius, ibid. [n] Gol. Not. ad Alfraganum, p. 3—16. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 2. ed. Lond. 1723. Al-Korân. Mohammed. paſſ. Philoſ. Xirafit. Poet. antiquiſſ. apud Golium. ubi ſup.

rules,

rules. The Arabians and Indians applied themſelves to obſerve the fixed ſtars, contrary to other nations, whoſe obſervations were almoſt confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature. That the Arabs underſtood ſomething of phyſic before the time of Mohammed, appears from hence, that the famous Arabian phyſician Al Harith Ebn Khalda, ſo celebrated amongſt his countrymen, was older than that impoſtor. They ſeem to have made no farther progreſs in aſtronomy, which they afterwards cultivated with ſo much ſucceſs, than to obſerve the influence of the ſtars upon the weather, and to give them names; a ſcience the more obvious and natural to them, as they led a paſtoral life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they beſtowed on the ſtars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were ſo nice in diſtinguiſhing them, that no language has ſo many names of ſtars and aſteriſms as the Arabic. Onirocritic, or the art of interpreting dreams, this nation had in common with the Egyptians and Chaldæans; as likewiſe divination by arrows, and, as is probable, ſomething of genethliacal aſtrology [o].

They had ſome knowlege of the mechanical arts, &c.

That ſome of the Arabs had a great degree of knowlege in ſeveral mechanical arts, appears from Strabo, who informs us, that the people of Tamna and the adjacent provinces had magnificent temples, and elegant houſes, built in the Egyptian taſte. The ſame author likewiſe relates, that in Arabia Felix, beſides the huſbandmen, there were many artificers, and, amongſt others, thoſe who made palm-wine, which, he intimates, was much uſed by the Arabs. They conſidered the exerciſe of arms and horſemanſhip as one of their principal accompliſhments, being obliged to practiſe and encourage it, on account of the independency of their tribes, whoſe frequent diſputes occaſioned almoſt perpetual wars. Hence it became an uſual ſaying amongſt them, that God had beſtowed four peculiar things on the Arabs, namely, turbans inſtead of diadems, tents inſtead of walls and houſes, ſwords inſtead of intrenchments, and poems inſtead of written laws. The principal arms uſed by the ancient Arabs were bows and arrows, darts or javelins, and broad ſwords or ſcimeters [p].

The diſpoſition of the ancient Arabs.

With regard to the diſpoſition of the ancient Arabs, it will be proper to remark, that they had their good and bad qualities, their excellencies and defects, as well as other na-

[o] Al Shahreſtan. apud Pocockium, in Orat. ante Carmen. Tograi. p. 9. & Not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 164. Al-Jauhar. Al-Firauzabad. & Ebn al Athir, ibid. p. 165, 164. Hyde in Not. ad Tabulas Stellar. fixar. Ulugh Beighi, p. 4, 5. Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 31, 32.
[p] Strabo, lib. xvi.

tions. Hoſpitality was ſo habitual to them, that in this they ſeem to have exceeded all their neighbours. Agatharchides repreſents them as the moſt hoſpitable people in the world to all nations. Hatem, of the tribe of Tay, and Haſn, of that of Fezarah, were principally famous on this account: the latter of theſe, we are told, fell into as great a tranſport of joy when he conferred any ſignal favour upon a petitioner, as others did when they received ſuch a favour: and the contrary vice was ſo much in contempt among the Arabs, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Waſet, as the greateſt reproach, that none of their men had a heart to give, nor their women to deny. As a mark of their hoſpitable diſpoſition, the Arabs uſed to light fires on the tops of hills, which in the night conducted travellers to their tents, and aſſured them of a kind reception. Every one of theſe fires they called the fire of hoſpitality, and the larger and higher it was, the greater honour and glory it reflected upon the perſon or perſons concerned in lighting it. The higheſt compliment that could be paid a man, was to paſs an encomium upon his munificence; as that moſt acceptable to a woman, was to celebrate her parſimony and her beauty. The ancients likewiſe commend the Arabs for being true to their words, and reſpectful to their kindred; and they have always been celebrated for their quickneſs of apprehenſion and penetration, as well as the vivacity of their wit, eſpecially thoſe of the Deſert [q].

On the other hand, that the Arabs had a natural inclination to war, bloodſhed, cruelty, and rapine, is acknowleged by their own writers. They had always been ſo much addicted to retain malice, that they ſcarce ever forgot an old grudge; which vindictive temper, ſome phyſicians ſay, ought to be attributed to their frequent feeding on camel's fleſh, that creature being moſt malicious, and tenacious of anger: and at this day the Arabs of the Deſert, who eat little elſe, are obſerved to be moſt inclined to theſe vices.

Scenite Arabs lived chiefly upon plunder.

That the ancient Scenite Arabs, Iſhmaelites, or Nabathæans, in conformity to the divine prediction, lived upon plunder, haraſſing their neighbours by continual robberies and excurſions, we learn from Diodorus Siculus: that author obſerves, that it was in a manner impoſſible either to ſubdue or attack this nation of robbers; becauſe they had wells dug at proper diſtances in their dry and barren country, known only to themſelves: ſo that if any body of foreigners ever

[q] Abu Iſhac & Ebno'l Hobar. Poet. Arab. apud Pocokium, in Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 107. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. & p. 111—113. Vide etiam Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 8. Strab. lib. xvi. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p 121. & Sale, ubi ſupra, p. 29, 30.

purſued

purſued or invaded them, they for the moſt part either died of thirſt, or were conſumed by the fatigues they found themſelves obliged to ſuſtain. Neither are their poſterity leſs infamous at preſent, on account of the robberies they commit on merchants and travellers. This reproach they are ſenſible of, and endeavour to excuſe themſelves, by alleging the hard uſage of their father Iſhmael, who, being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deſerts given him by God for his patrimony, with permiſſion to take whatever he could find there. This excuſe, therefore, they think authoriſes them to indemnify themſelves, as well as they can, not only on the poſterity of Iſaac, but alſo on every body elſe; always ſuppoſing a ſort of kindred between themſelves and thoſe they plunder. And, in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it ſufficient to change the expreſſion, and, inſtead of, "I robbed a man of ſuch or ſuch a thing," to ſay, "I gained it." We muſt not, however, imagine, that they are the leſs honeſt on this account amongſt themſelves, or towards thoſe whom they receive as friends; on the contrary, the ſtricteſt probity is obſerved in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be ſtolen. The Iſhmaelites alſo employed themſelves in paſturage, as well as pillaging paſſengers, and lived chiefly on the milk and fleſh of camels, as already related. However, ſome of them conſumed horſes fleſh, as well as that of camels, according to the Arab poet Tograi. They often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water, and of paſture for their cattle, invited them, remaining in a place no longer than that laſted, and then removing in ſearch of another. They generally wintered in Irak, and the confines of Syria. Before the Romans ſubdued Syria, the Scenite Arabs made dreadful incurſions into that country, where they committed horrid depredations [r].

The more civilized Arabs dwelt in towns, &c.

Beſides theſe free-booters we find a more civilized kind of Arabs, who dwelt in cities and towns. Theſe lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding cattle, and the exerciſe of all ſorts of trades, particularly merchandizing, wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of Jacob. The tribe of Koreiſh were much addicted to commerce, and Mohammed, in his younger years, was brought up to the ſame buſineſs; it being cuſtomary for the Arabians to exerciſe the ſame trade that their parents followed. Neither ought it to appear ſurpriſing, that the

[r] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 92. Gen. ch. xvi ver. 12. Voyage dans la Paleſt. p. 220, &c. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 6. & alib. Sale, ubi ſupra, p. 25, 30, 31. Tograi, ver. 24. Agatharchid. Cnid. & Strabo, ubi ſupra.

Arabs ſhould have had ſuch a genius for traffick, if their country produced ſuch immenſe quantities of the moſt precious commodities, as ſome authors ſuggeſt. Balſam, cinnamon, and caſſia, the Happy Arabia abounded with, as likewiſe myrrh, frankincenſe, and all the moſt noble ſpices and perfumes. Its inhabitants had likewiſe cattle ſufficient to ſupply all their neighbours, and even many of the remoter nations: but, above all, the gold, which was the produce of this country, has been repreſented by Agatharchides and Strabo to be ſo plentiful as to exceed all belief. According to them, the Alilæi and Caſſandrini, in the ſouthern parts of Arabia, had gold in ſuch quantities amongſt them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for braſs, and ten times its weight for ſilver. In digging the earth they found ſome pieces of pure gold, which needed no refining, as large as olive-ſtones, others as big as medlars, and, laſtly, others equal to walnuts. Hence it came to paſs, that all the furniture of their houſes, even their chairs, beds, cups, and veſſels of all kinds, conſiſted of gold and ſilver; and, according to Agatharchides, they alone enriched Syria to a great degree under the Ptolemies, and rewarded the mercantile diligence and labour of the Phœnicians. Contiguous to the Alilæi and Caſſandrini were the Dedebæ or Debæ, through whoſe country paſſed a river ſo abounding with particles of gold, that the mud at the mouth of it ſeemed to conſiſt entirely of that metal. Diodorus relates, that this gold was of ſuch a bright and glorious colour, that it added an exceeding luſtre and beauty to the moſt valuable gems ſet in it. In ſhort, continues the laſt author, Arabia Felix, at leaſt the region of the Sabæi, was ſo immenſely rich, that all the treaſures of the world ſeemed to centre there; all the commodities of Aſia and Europe being brought thither, as to an univerſal mart: but notwithſtanding the happineſs of its climate, its fertility and riches, Strabo intimates, that Arabia was aggrandized ſolely by trade, and that in reality a great part of the riches, which the ancients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came from the Indies, and the coaſts of Africa: for the Egyptians, who had engroſſed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the Red Sea, induſtriouſly concealed the truth, and kept their ports ſhut, to prevent foreigners from penetrating into thoſe countries, or receiving any information from thence. And this precaution on the one ſide, and the deſerts, unpaſſable to ſtrangers, on the other, were the reaſon why Arabia was ſo little known to the Greeks and Romans. Among other veſſels the Arabs uſed on the Red Sea, to

carry

carry on their commerce with Egypt and Ethiopia, were ſome made of leather, the invention of which the reflux of that ſea ſuggeſted to them.

Among the principal cuſtoms of the ancient Arabs, beſides thoſe contained under ſome of the former general heads, may be ranked the following:

Cuſtoms of the ancient Arabs.

1. The ancient Arabs uſed circumciſion, either on the eighth day, according to Philoſtorgius, or after they had completed the thirteenth year of their age, when Iſhmael was circumciſed, as Joſephus aſſerts. Al Gazalius intimates, that they underwent the rite of circumciſion when all their teeth were completely formed, and Ebn al Athir, fixes the æra for this operation, betwixt the tenth and fifteenth year, which ſeems to correſpond with what we find advanced by Joſephus. The Arab writers affirm Mohammed to have been born both without a navel and a prepuce. 2. They frequently fed upon black-puddings, which conſiſted of the inteſtines of camels filled with their blood, which they called moſwadd. 3. They were extremely addicted to divination and augury. When any one ſet out upon a journey, he obſerved the firſt bird he met with; and, if it flew to the right, he purſued his journey; but if to the left, he returned home. Some paid the like regard to the motions of all other animals. When a perſon, diſtruſting the fidelity of his wife, went a journey, he tied together ſome of the bows of a tree called al-ratam; and if, upon his return, he found them in the ſame poſition, he judged ſhe had been faithful to him, otherwiſe not. For the manner of their divination by arrows, we muſt refer our readers to Dr. Pococke's Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum. All the ſpecies of augury and divination were forbid by Mohammed; as likewiſe the plays of cheſs, dice, and cards, which in the Koran are comprehended under the name Al Maiſer. 4. When a ſhe-camel or ewe had brought forth twins ten times, ſhe had an ear cut off, and was afterwards ſent to graze at liberty; but women were never permitted to taſte of her fleſh. 5. According to ſome authors, many of the idolatrous Koreiſh buried their daughters alive as ſoon as they were born, upon a mountain near Mecca, called Abu Dalamah. 6. It was not uncommon for an Arab to marry his father's wife, who, as they imagined, by an hereditary right, belonged to the eldeſt ſon, or, if he was already provided for, to one of his brethren; but this the moſt virtuous of them condemned as an ignominious and ſhocking crime, and ſtyled the perſon guilty of it Al Daizan. 7. Some of them married two ſiſters; a practice which Shahreſtani condemns. 8. Moſt of them went a pilgrimage to the Caaba, obſerving ſome par-

ticular ceremonies, which our readers will find deſcribed by Abulfeda. 9. The Caaba, their great temple or place of religious worſhip from the remoteſt antiquity, was their kebla, or place towards which they turned themſelves when they prayed. 10. Every third year they intercalated a month, their years conſiſting of lunar months, as already obſerved. 11. They frequently waſhed their mouths and noſtrils, combed their hair, cleaned their teeth, pared their nails, and had other uſages conducive to external purification. 12. Whenever any one was found guilty of theft, they immediately cut off his right-hand. 13. They addreſſed themſelves to their kings in theſe terms, "May you avert all malediction!" or, according to Dr. Pococke, in order to ſhew their profound reſpect and reverence for, as well as ſubmiſſion to his perſon, "He hath averted all malediction;" i. e. may God be propitious to you! or, may God prolong your life! This form of ſalutation was firſt uſed to Yarab the ſon of Kahtan, whoſe memory is held in great veneration by the Arabs to this day. 14. In Arabia Petræa a prince of one family, always governed, and was attended and ſerved by a perſon ſtyled the king's brother. 15. In Arabia Felix the king's brothers preceded his ſons, and had greater reſpect ſhewn them, as being more advanced in years. 16. The Troglodytes, in the neighbourhood of Arabia, lived a paſtoral life, and kept their wives and children in common. They were governed by ſeveral tyrants, who had wives, whom their ſubjects were prohibited to lie with, under the penalty of a ſheep. The women hung a fiſh-ſhell about their necks, which they believed to be a preſervative againſt all kinds of faſcination. 17. Strabo intimates, that there was but one wife in a family, amongſt ſome tribes of the Arabs, with whom all the men lay by turns; and that, whilſt one was engaged with her, a ſtaff was erected before the door of the tent, as a ſignal to be prevent another's approach: but the ſenior of the family, who always governed it, lay with her in the night. Adultery they puniſhed with death; but eſteemed him only guilty of it, who was familiar with a woman of another tribe. 18. The Nabathæans were great œconomiſts, and therefore inflicted puniſhment publicly on ſuch as ſquandered away their ſubſtance; but paid great reſpect to ſuch as increaſed it. 19. As they had very few ſlaves among them, relations either ſerved at meals, and on other occaſions, or they aſſiſted one another, or, laſtly, ſerved themſelves; which uſage likewiſe extended to their phylarchs. 20. At their feaſts they generally admitted only thirteen perſons; and had always two muſicians to perform

form during the whole entertainment. 21. Their phylarchs had ſo little power, that they were almoſt upon a level with the populace, and had their conduct frequently inſpected into, and were obliged to give an account of it in perſon to a public aſſembly of their reſpective tribes. 22. Their cities were not walled round, ſcarce any foreign invader ever attempting to diſturb them. 23. It was a common practice among the Saracens or Scenite Arabs to have mercenary wives, hired for a time, marrying in one place, bringing forth in another, and educating their children in a third. Nor is this matter greatly altered ſince the admiſſion of divorces. 24. According to ſome authors, the ancient Arabs circumciſed their daughters, as well as their ſons. 25. When the Sabæans found themſelves almoſt overcome by the ſtrong odours emitted by their perfumes and aromatic plants, they had recourſe to the fumes of bitumen, and the hair of goat's-beard, ſet on fire under the noſe of the patient. 26. They reaped twice a year, having two harveſts, as well as the Indians and Ethiopians. 27. In their wars they brought into the field a great number of camels, carrying each of them two archers ſitting back to back, that in any general action they might be able to oppoſe the enemy both in rear and in front at the ſame time [a].

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Arabs to the Time of Mohammed.

JOKTAN the ſon of Eber, whom the Arabs call Kahtan, had thirteen ſons, who, ſome time after the confuſion of languages at Babel, ſettled in Arabia, extending themſelves from Meſha to Sephar, a mountainous diſtrict in the ſouth-eaſtern part of that peninſula. To this diſtrict, in all probability, part of the provinces of Hadramaut and Shihr correſponds, particularly that adjacent to the city of Dhafar or Saphar, in which ſome traces of Moſes's Sephar ſeem ſtill to be preſerved. The names of theſe thirteen planters were, Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab. *Joktan and his family ſettle in Arabia ſoon after the confuſion of languages;*

[a] Agatharchid. Cnid. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii. & lib. iii. Strabo, lib. xvi. Philoſtorg. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. iii. Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. i. cap. 23. Al-Gazalius, & Ebn al Athir apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 319. Al-Zamakhſhar. Al-Beidawi in cap. 5. Al-Koran. Mohammed. Al-Moſtatraf. Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius & Al Damirius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 321, 322, 323, & ſeq.

As

As for Hadramaut, Seba, Ofir, and Kawilah, the ſons of Kahtan, mentioned by M. D'Herbelot, they were undoubtedly the ſame with Hazarmaveth, Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah; as appears, not only from the affinity of names, but likewiſe the order in which the three laſt are placed. According to Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Kahtan had thirty-one ſons by the ſame wife, of whom all but two, leaving Arabia, went and ſettled in India. Yârab, the elder of thoſe two, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Yaman, giving name, if we believe the Arab writers, both to their country and language. Jorham, the younger, founded the kingdom of Hejaz, where his poſterity poſſeſſed the throne till the time of Iſhmael. That Yarab and Jorham are the Jerah and Hadoram of Scripture, we cannot help thinking probable, though we are far from inſiſting upon it. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the ſecond king of Yaman was called Jerah or Yareah, not Yarab; and conſequently, that the peninſula of Arabia, and the Arabic tongue, could not have received their denominations from that prince, as the Arabs pretend: but whether Yarab or Jorham be the ſame perſons with Jerah and Hadoram, we cannot infer from the diſagreement betwixt their names, as M. Gagnier ſeems to have done, that every thing related by the Arabs of the former is a downright fiction: becauſe, as their language differed gradually more and more from the Hebrew, the Arabs undoubtedly altered the moſt ancient proper names. Of this alteration Hazarmaveth and Hadramaut, Joktan and Kahtan, which confeſſedly denote the ſame perſons, are a ſufficient proof. Elmacinus ſays, that Kahtan was the father of the Arabs, and that he begat many children, who choſe for their princes or leaders Saba, Ophir, and Gjawilah, i. e. Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah; an aſſertion which contradicts what we find advanced by Abmed Ebn Yuſef, Abulfeda, and others. And this diſagreement between the moſt celebrated eaſtern writers, with regard to the firſt kings of Arabia, clearly evinces, that none of them, at leaſt in this point, can be entirely depended upon [t].

as does Iſhmael the ſon of Abraham.

Iſhmael, and his mother Hagar, having been diſmiſſed by Abraham in the manner already related, retired into the wilderneſs of Paran, where they were ſupported by the divine favour and aſſiſtance. God had aſſured Hagar in

t Abulfed. Hiſt. cap. 4. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 40. Gen. ch. x. v. 25—31. Safioddin. in Lex Geographic. R. Saadias in Verſion. Arab. Pentat. Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 40, 45, 78, 151. D'Herbel. Bibl. Oriental. art. Saba & Hegiaz. Gagn. in Diatrib. ſect. 1, 2.

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her diſtreſs, before the birth of Iſhmael, that her ſon ſhould be the father of a moſt numerous and potent nation; that he and his deſcendents ſhould be wild, and live in a ſtate of enmity with the reſt of mankind; and yet that they ſhould never be thoroughly ſubjugated by any foreign power. The truth of which moſt ſurpriſing prediction appears from the manner of life, diſpoſition, power, and government of the Scenite Arabs, or, as they are frequently now ſtyled, the Wild Arabs, from the age of Iſhmael to the preſent time. For, from Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Ammianus Marcellinus, to omit other ancient authors, as well as the relations of all modern travellers, who have viſited the countrys they inhabit, they now live in the ſame manner as their father Iſhmael lived. Their diſpoſition likewiſe is the ſame that it was predicted to be, and always has been; that is, their hand has been againſt every man, and conſequently every man's hand againſt them; ſince they always have lived, and ſtill do for the moſt part, by pillaging paſſengers of all nations. They never were reduced to, or at leaſt for any time continued in a ſtate of ſervitude, as appears from all the principal ancient hiſtorians mentioning them, and their preſent almoſt abſolute independence on the Turkiſh government.

Iſhmael forms an alliance with the Jorhamites by marriage.

Iſhmael, as we learn from the ſacred hiſtorian, reſided in the wilderneſs of Paran, and married an Egyptian. In conformity to the divine prediction to Abraham, he had twelve ſons, the heads of ſo many tribes, which in after-ages grew exceedingly potent, whoſe names we have already given. The Arab writers ſay, that he took to wife the daughter of Modad king of Hejaz, deſcended lineally from Jorham the founder of that kingdom. Be that as it may, he died at a hundred and thirty-ſeven years of age, probably not far from the borders of Egypt. As the Arabs have always conſidered him as the father of the greateſt part of their nation, and this opinion is ſtrongly countenanced by Scripture, we may conſider him and Joktan as the principal planters of Arabia. We muſt not imagine, however, that the Scenite Arabs were the only deſcendents of Iſhmael, though probably they might be the bulk of them; ſince Moſes gives us to underſtand, that ſome Iſhmaelites had caſtles and towns. For all other particulars relating to Iſhmael, our readers may have recourſe to the Jewiſh hiſtory [b].

The kingdom of Yaman, or at leaſt the better part of it, particularly the provinces of Saba and Hadramaut, was go-

[b] Vide Pocock. Not. ad Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p 78, 79. Gen chap. xxv. ver. 17. Abulfed. Al-Firauzabad. alioſque Scriptor. Arabic. Gen. chap. xxv. ver. 16.

verned

verned by princes of the tribe of Hamyar, the ſon of Saba, the great-grandſon of Kahtan, though at length the kingdom was tranſlated to the deſcendents of Cahlan his brother, who ſtill retained the title of king of Hamyar. The Hamyarites were called Homerites by the later Greek and Latin authors, and Immirenians by Theodorus Lector; their princes had the general title of Tobba, which ſignifies *ſucceſſor*, as the Egyptian kings had that of Pharaoh, the Roman emperors that of Cæſar, and the ſucceſſors of Mohammed that of Khalif. Several inferior princes reigned in other parts of Yaman; but they were chiefly, if not entirely, ſubject to the king of Hamyar, who was ſtyled the great king: but as hiſtory has recorded nothing of theſe reguli that deſerves the leaſt attention, we ſhall drop them, and immediately proceed to the ſeries of the kings of Yaman or Hamyar [c].

Kahtan. 1. Kahtan or Joktan, the ſon of Eber, is ſaid to have firſt reigned, and worn a diadem, in Yaman; but how long he ſat upon the throne, or what remarkable events happened during his reign, we no where learn [d].

Yarab. 2. Yarab, the ſon of Kahtan, was a prince greatly celebrated by the Arab hiſtorians [e].

Yaſhab. 3. Of Yaſhab, ſon to the preceding prince: nothing but the name ſurvives.

Abd Shems. 4. Abd Shems, i. e. *the ſervant of the ſun*, ſurnamed Saba, the ſon of Yaſhab, next aſcended the throne, who was ſucceſsful in his expeditions againſt his enemies, carried off much ſpoil, and took many priſoners. He is ſaid to have built the city of Saba or Mareb, as likewiſe that ſtupendous mound or bank which formed the vaſt reſervoir above that city. By means of this reſervoir, which received all the water that came down from the mountains, the kings of Yaman not only ſupplied the inhabitants of Saba and their lands with water, but likewiſe kept the territories they had ſubdued in greater awe; ſince, by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly diſtreſs them. Abd Shems had many ſons; but the moſt celebrated of them were Hamyar, Amru, Cahlan, and Aſhaar [f].

Hamyar. 5. Hamyar, the ſon of Abd Shems or Saba, according to the Oriental authors, was ſo called from the red cloaths he

[c] Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius, Ebn Athir, Abulfed. Al-Jauhar. Sale, ubi ſupra, p. 9, 10. Vide etiam Aſſeman. Not. in Sim. Epiſc. Beth. Arſamenſ. in Bibl. Orient. tom. i. [d] Abulfed. Hiſt. cap. 4. [e] Al-Motarezzi in lib. Mogr. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 40. Pocock. in Orat. ante Carmen Tograi, ſub init. & alib. Ebn Shohnah. [f] Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. ii. part 6. Golii Notæ ad Alfragan. p. 87. Vide etiam Sale, ubi ſupra, p. 10.

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wore. He expelled Thamud from Yaman, who took refuge in Hejaz. From this prince the tribe or kingdom of Hamyar deduced its name. Some aſſert, that not Kahtan, but Hamyar, was the firſt king of Yaman that wore a diadem [g].

6. Wayel, the ſon of Hamyar, according to Abulfeda, ſucceeded him in the kingdom; but other authors make his brother Cahlan his ſucceſſor. *Wayel.*

7. After Wayel reigned his ſon Alſacſac. *Alſacſac.*

8. Yaafar, the ſon of Alſacſac, next mounted the throne. *Yaafar.*

9. He was ſucceeded by Dhu Riyaſh. *Dhu Riyaſh.*

10. After him Al Nooman, the ſon of Yaafar, ſwayed the ſceptre of Yaman. *Al Nooman.*

11. Then came Aſmah, the ſon of Nooman. *Aſmah.*

12. Shaddad, the ſon of Ad, the ſon of Al Matata, the ſon of Saba, a very potent prince, ſucceeded Aſmah. *Shaddad.*

13. Lokman, the brother of Shaddad, was the next king, according to the moſt received opinion, though ſome authors are of a different ſentiment. *Lokman.*

14. The reins of government next fell into the hands of his brother Dhu Sadad. *Dhu Sadad.*

15. Al Hareth, the ſon of Dhu Sadad, next aſcended the throne. He greatly enriched the kingdom of Yaman, and was the firſt who had the title or ſurname of Tobba above mentioned given him by his ſubjects. *Al Hareth.*

16. Dhu'l Karnain Aſſaab, the next king, was the ſon of Rayeſh. This was the two-horned prince mentioned in the Koran, and not Alexander the Great, as we learn from Ebn Abbas [h]. *Dhu'l Karnain.*

17. Dhu'l Manar Abrahah, the ſon of Dhu'l Karnain, ſucceeded his father; but nothing remarkable happened during his reign. *Dhu'l Manar.*

18. Africus, the ſon of Dhu'l Manar Abrahah, from whence that part of the world called Africa was ſo denominated, according to ſome of the eaſtern writer, next aſſumed the reins of government [i]. *Africus.*

19. Dhu'l Adhaar Amru, the ſon of Africus, who reigned after his father, received the name or ſurname of Lord of Terrors, from the terror with which his ſubjects were ſtruck at the ſight of certain monſtrous men, or ſatyrs, or apes, as ſome affirm, whom he had taken priſoners in war, and brought into Yaman [k]. *Dhu'l Adhaar Amru.*

[g] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al-Jannabius, Golii Notæ ad Alfragan. ubi ſup. Pocock. Not. ad Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 57. [h] Al-Kor. Mohammed. cap. 18. Ebn Abbas. [i] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Scholiaſt. in Poem. Ebn Abnuni, &c. [k] Pocockius ubi ſup. p. 59.

20. The

Sharhabil. 20. The Hamyarites placed upon the throne Sharhabil, of the poſterity of Alſacſac, in the room of Dhu'l Adhaar Amru, whom for ſome enormity they expelled.

Al Hodhad. 21. Al Hodhad, the ſon of Sharhabil, ſucceeded his father.

Balkis. 22. Balkis, the ſon of Hodhad, is ſaid to have reigned twenty years. According to ſome authors, Al Hodhad was ſucceeded by a daughter named Balkis or Belkis, whom they aſſert to be the famous queen of Sheba, who had an interview with Solomon, king of Iſrael, at Jeruſalem [l].

Naſherol'neam. 23. Naſherol'neam, ſo called from his ſurpriſing magnificence and liberality, was likewiſe ſtyled ſimply Malec, or king. Having had ill ſucceſs in an expedition, wherein his army was overwhelmed by torrents of ſand, he cauſed a braſen ſtatue to be erected, with this inſcription, in the old Hamyaritic character, engraven upon it; "There is no paſſage behind me; no moving farther; the ſon of Shacahabil."

Shamer Yaraaſh. 24. Shamer Yaraaſh, the ſon of Naſher, ſwayed the ſceptre after Naſherol'neam. We are told, that he was ſo denominated from the tremor that always poſſeſſed him, and that he gave name to the city of Samarcand. That Samarcand was built by one of the Hamyaritic kings, ſurnamed Tobba, ſeems to be a point agreed upon by the beſt of the eaſtern writers.

Abu Malec. 25. Abu Malec, the ſon of Shamer, after his father's death, took poſſeſſion of the throne.

Amran. 26. Amran, the ſon of Amer, a deſcendent of Cahlan, the brother of Hamyar, to whoſe family the kingdom of Hamyar was now tranſlated, was inveſted with the regal power upon the deceaſe of Abu Malec. The Orientals repreſent this prince as a wiſe man, or ſoothſayer.

Amru. 27. Amru, the ſon of Amer, ſurnamed Mizikia, or Dilacerator, becauſe every night he tore to pieces two garments he had worn the preceding day, ſucceeded the former king [m].

Al Alkran. 28. Al Alkran, the ſon of Abimalec, governed Yaman after Amru.

Dhu. Habſhan. 29. Dhu Habſhan, the ſon of Akran, upon the laſt prince's demiſe, took poſſeſſion of the government. This prince put to death Taſm and Jadis.

Tobba. 30. Tobba, or Tobbaa, the ſon of Alkran, ſucceeded Dhu Habſhan.

[l] Golii Notæ ad Alfragan. p. 296. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. par. 6, D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. in Voc. Balkis. [m] Jauharius, Al Firauzabadius, &c.

31. Co-

31. Colaicarb, or, according to ſome, Molaic Yacrab, aſcended the throne of Hamyar after the death of the laſt prince [n]. *Colaicarb.*

32. Abu Carb Aſaad, the ſucceeding king, we find mentioned in the Koran. Some ſay, that he lived ſeven hundred years before Mohammed; but this is not very probable. He adorned the Caab with hangings or tapeſtry, and firſt introduced Judaiſm amongſt the Hamyarites. The Oriental writers ſay, that he was put to death by his ſubjects, probably on the ſcore of religion [o]. *Abu Carb Aſaad.*

33. Haſſan Tobbai, his ſon, cut off his father's murderers, and was at laſt ſlain by his brother. *Haſſan Tobbai.*

34. Amru Tobbai, the ſon of Haſſan Tobbai, was ſurnamed Dominus Lignorum, or Lord of Wood; becauſe through the whole courſe of his reign he was ſo infirm and indiſpoſed, that he was always carried about in a wooden chair. *Amru Tobbai.*

35. Abd Celal, the ſon of Dul'awad, entered upon the government after Amru Tobbai. *Abd Celal.*

36. Tobba, the ſon of Haſſan, the ſon of Colaicarb, ſurnamed Tobba Minor, ſucceeded Abd Celal [p]. *Tobba.*

37. Next came Al Hareth, who embraced Judaiſm. *Al Hareth.*

38. The thirty-eighth king of Yaman was Morthed, the ſon of Celal. *Morthed.*

39. Waciaa, the ſon of Morthed, was declared king after his father's deceaſe. *Waciaa.*

40. Abrahah, the ſon of Alſabah, reigned after Waciaa. *Abrahah.*

41. Sabban mounted the throne after Abrahah's death, or, according to ſome of the Oriental writers, Ebn Dakikan. Ebn Dakikan had that famous ſword of Ebn Maad Cerb called Samſana. This ſword came afterwards into the hands of the khalif Raſhid, who with it cut in two ſeveral noble ſwords, ſent him as a preſent by the Greek emperor, in the preſence of that prince's ambaſſadors without doing it the leaſt damage. How far this ſtory may be depended upon, we ſhall not take upon us to determine. *Sabban.*

42. Dhu Shanater, according to Al Firauzabadius, had ſix fingers on each hand. He was dethroned by the Hamyarites for being abandoned to an unnatural ſpecies of luſt, and abuſing ſeveral youths of ſome of the nobleſt families amongſt them. *Dhu Shanater.*

43. Yuſef, ſurnamed Dhu Nowas, from his flowing curls, lived about ſeventy years before Mohammed. He perſecuted all who would not embrace Judaiſm, putting them to death *Yuſef.*

[n] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al Jannabius, &c. [o] Al-Kor. Mohammed. cap. 50. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [p] Abulfed. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra.

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by various tortures, the most common of which was, throwing them into a pit of fire; whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the Lord of the Pit. This persecution we find mentioned in the Koran [q].

Dhu Jadan. 44. Dhu Jadan, i. e. *the person with a sweet voice*, succeeded Dhu Nowas, and was the last of the Hamyaritic monarchs, according to Abulfeda; but Ahmed Ebn Yusef and Al Jannabius make Dhu Nowas the last prince of the true Hamyaritic line, reigning in a continual succession. He was a bigotted Jew, as just observed, and treated his Christian subjects with such barbarity, that Elesbaas, or Elesbaan, king of Ethiopia, sent over forces to assist them. Dhu Nowas, not being able to make head against the Ethiopians, was at last driven to that extremity, that he forced his horse into the sea, and lost both his crown and life together. According to Amed Ebn Yusef above mentioned, he reigned sixty-six years; an account which, though improbable, does not exceed all belief, as does the length of his reign recorded by Al Jannabius. The Najashi, or king of Ethiopia, established the Christian religion in Yaman, and fixed upon the throne there,

Aryat. 45. Aryat, an Ethiopian [r].

Abrah al Ashram. 46. Abraha Ebn al Sabah, surnamed Al Ashram, i. e. *the Slit-nosed*, from a wound in the face, was the second Ethiopian king, or rather viceroy to the Najashi, in Yaman. He was styled the Lord of the Elephant; which appellation appears to be founded upon the following story, handed down to us by the commentators upon the Koran. Abraha built a magnificent church for the Christians in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, with a design to induce the Arabs to go in pilgrimage thither, instead of visiting Mecca. For he thought he should be able to abolish paganism, could he destroy the veneration of the Arabs for the Caaba, by bringing them to a place more sumptuous and grand, which would more strongly attract their curiosity, and gradually excite their devotion. This scheme had soon such an effect, that the devotion and concourse of the pilgrims at the Caaba began considerably to diminish; a circumstance which being observed by the Koreish, who were superstitiously attached to that place, they sent one Nofail, as he is styled by some, of the tribe of Kenanah, to offer an indignity to the Christian church at Sanaa, in order to lessen that religious regard which the Arabs began to have for it. Nofail

[q] Baronius in Annal. ad sec. 6. Theophan. Niceph. Callist. Sim. Metaphrast. Pag. &c. Vide etiam Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. vol. i. p. 359—385. [r] Abulfeda, Akmed Ebn Yusef, & Al Jannabius. Prideaux's Life of Mahom. p. 61.

therefore,

therefore, getting into it by night, upon a ſolemn feſtival, defiled the altars and walls with his excrements; and, making his eſcape by favour of the night, publiſhed every where what he had done. At this profanation Abraha, being highly incenſed, vowed the deſtruction of the Caaba, and for that purpoſe aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, wherein were ſeveral elephants, which he had obtained of the king of Ethiopia, their number being, as ſome ſay, thirteen, though others mention but one, at the head of which he advanced towards Mecca. The Meccans, unable to defend their temple and city, and terrified at Abraha's approach, particularly on account of his elephants, none of which creatures had ever before been ſeen in Arabia, retired to the neighbouring mountains, where they intrenched themſelves. But God himſelf, at this juncture, interpoſed in an extraordinary manner. For, when the Ethiopian came near Mecca, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, named Mahmud, refuſed to advance any nearer to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would riſe, and march briſkly, if they turned him towards any other quarter. As he was the chief of the elephants, and, both on account of his ſize and whiteneſs, greatly revered by the others, they immediately followed him, ſo that Abraha could not even reconnoitre the town. The Meccans, obſerving this particular from their intrenchment, could not account for ſo unexpected a motion, believing that the enemy were retiring. In the mean time, whilſt matters were in this ſituation, a large flock of birds, called ababil, like ſwallows, came flying on a ſudden from the ſea-coaſt, every one of which carried three ſtones, one in each foot, and one in its bill, of a middle ſize betwixt a lentil and a vetch, but ſo ponderous, that, being let fall, they pierced through the helmets and bodies of men, and even of the elephants likewiſe, which they threw down upon Abraha's ſolders, killing every one they ſtruck. Then God ſent a flood, which ſwept the dead bodies, and ſome of thoſe who had not been ſtruck by the ſtones, into the ſea: the reſt fled towards Yaman, but periſhed by the way, none of them reaching Sanaa, except only Abraha himſelf, who died ſoon after his arrival, being ſtruck with a ſort of plague, or putrefaction, ſo that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piece-meal. It is ſaid, that one of Abraha's army, named Abu Yacſum, or, according to others, Abraha himſelf, eſcaped over the Red Sea into Ethiopia, and, going directly to the king, told him the tragical ſtory. Upon

which, that prince aſked him what ſort of birds they were that had occaſioned ſuch a deſtruction; in anſwer to his queſtion, he pointed to one which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head; which he had no ſooner done than the bird let fall the ſtone, and laid him dead at the king's feet. Some of the Mohammedan writers ſay, that the names of all the perſons to be deſtroyed were inſcribed on the ſtones that deſtroyed them; that this flock of birds conſiſted of two ſorts, one whoſe feathers were black, with white bills; the other all over green except the bill, which was yellow: and that they threw all their ſtones at once upon the Ethiopians. This memorable event, according to the Mohammedans, is ſaid to have happened in the time of Abd al Motalleb, the grandfather of Mohammed, and the very year in which that impoſtor was born [s].

That this piece of hiſtory has all the air of one of thoſe fictions with which the Arab writings in general, and the Koran in particular, abound, will be readily acknowleged by all our intelligent readers. We therefore, with Dr. Prideaux, rather take the fact therein aſſerted to be a creature of Mohammed's brain, than a feat of evil ſpirits, as ſuggeſted by Marracci.

Yacſum. 47. Yacſum, the ſon of Abraha, ſucceeded him; but we find nothing remarkable related of him by any ancient hiſtorians [t].

Maſruk. 48. Maſruk, another ſon of Abraha, and the laſt of the Ethiopian princes in Yaman, aſcended the throne after Yacſum. The Ethiopians, according to ſome eaſtern writers, occupied the kingdom of Hamyar about ſeventy-two years.

Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan. 49. Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan, of the old royal family of Hamyar, having obtained ſuccours of Khoſru Anuſhirwan, king of Perſia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne, and drove out the Ethiopians; but was himſelf ſlain by ſome, who were left behind. The Perſians appointed the ſucceeding princes, Wahzar, Marzaban, Sihan, Jorjis or Georgius, and Bazan, till Yaman fell into the hands of Mohammed, to whom Bazan, or rather Badhan, the laſt of them, ſubmit-

[s] Al-Kor. Mohammed. cap. 105. Al Beidawi, Jallalan. Al Ceſhaf, Abulfed. Hiſt. Gen. Al Jannab. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Ebnol Athir apud Abulfed. Al Gjuzius, in lib. de Ritib. Peregrinat. cap. 78. Khondemir, Houſſain Vaez Com. in Al-Kor. D'Herbel Bibl. Orient. in voc. Abraha. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 61. Vide etiam Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 64. [t] Pocock. ubi ſupra,

ted,

ted, and embraced his new religion. This converſion induced Mohammed to give Shahr, the ſon of Bazan, part of his father's dominions [u].

Thus ſtands the ſeries of the kings of Hamyar, which we wiſh was more perfect. The petty princes already mentioned, tributary to the king of Hamyar, were ſtyled Al Kail, and the governors of provinces Al Makawel. According to Abulfeda, this monarchy continued 2020 years, or above 3000 if we believe Ahmed Ebn Yuſef and Al Jannabius. The length of the reign of each prince muſt be allowed to be very uncertain. The hiſtory of the kings of Hamyar, ſurnamed Tobba or Tobbai, which the Arabs pronounce Tababêah, and Tabbaïah, has been written by Shahabeddin Ahmed Ebn Abdalvahab, Al Bekri, Al Teimi Al Kendi, ſurnamed Nouairi, author of an univerſal hiſtory, which he dedicated to Naſſer Mohammed Ebn Calaoun, Sultan of the Mamalukes. For an account of this work, we muſt refer our readers to M. D'Herbelot. Nouairi died in the year of the Hejra 732 [w]. *Duration of the kingdom of Hamyar.*

It has been already obſerved, that Saba made a vaſt mound or dam, to ſerve as a baſon or reſervoir, to ſupply the inhabitants of the city built by him, and called after his name, with water, which it conſtantly received from the mountains, as alſo to keep the country his predeceſſors had ſubdued in greater awe, by rendering him maſter of the water. This building ſtood like a mountain above the city, and was by the Sabæans eſteemed ſo ſtrong, that they were under no apprehenſion of its ever failing. The water roſe to the height of almoſt twenty fathoms, and was reſtrained on every ſide by a work ſo ſolid, that many had their houſes built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water diſtributed by aqueducts. But at length God, being highly diſpleaſed at their pride and inſolence, and reſolving to humble and diſperſe them, ſent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were aſleep, and carried away the whole city, with the neighbouring towns and people. This inundation is ſtyled in the Koran the Inundation of Al Arem, and occaſioned ſo terrible a deſtruction, that from thence it became a proverbial ſaying, to expreſs a total diſperſion, that "they were gone and ſcattered like Saba." Al Beidawi ſuppoſes this mound to have been the work of queen Balkis, and *The inundation of Al Arem.*

[u] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, ibid. [w] Al Jauharius, Abulfeda, Al Firauzabadius Vide etiam Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, & Al Jannabium apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 62, 63. D'Herbel. in voc. Nouaïri, p. 674, 675. & Voc. Tobba, p. 889.

that the above mentioned cataſtrophe happened after the time of Jeſus Chriſt. But both theſe notions contradict the moſt received opinion, which attributes the building of Al Arem to Saba, and fixes its deſtruction about the time of Alexander the Great. Be that as it may, no leſs than eight tribes, namely, thoſe of Anmar, Jodham, Al Azd, Tay, Khozaab, Banu, and Amela, were forced to abandon their dwellings on this occaſion, ſome of which gave riſe to the kingdoms of Hira and Ghaſſan [x] (C).

Foundation of the kingdom of Hira.

The kingdom of Hira was founded by Malec, a deſcendant of Cahlan, in Chaldæa or Irak; but after three deſcents the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians. Theſe princes, whoſe general name was Mondar, preſerved their dominion, notwithſtanding ſome ſmall interruption by the Perſians, till the khalifat of Abubecr, when Al Mondar Maghrur, the laſt king, loſt his life and crown by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walid. The kingdom of the Mondars, ſuppoſed to be the deſcendants of Nadar Ebn Rabia, continued, according to Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, ſix hundred twenty-two years and eight months. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of Perſia, whoſe lieutenants they were over the Arabs of Irak, as the kings of Ghaſſan were for the Roman emperors over thoſe of Syria. The Lakhmians were deſcended from Lakhm the ſon of Amru, the ſon of Saba. If the kingdom of the Lakhmians or Mondars was not of any longer duration than ſix hundred and twenty-two or twenty-three years, Al Beidawi ſeems not to be much miſtaken, when he affirms the inundation of Al Arem to have happened after the birth of Chriſt, notwithſtanding the authority of thoſe who carry it above three centuries higher. This ſpace was taken up by the reigns of the following kings, according to the beſt Oriental hiſtorians [y].

Malec.

1. Malec, who, ſay ſome of the eaſtern writers, flouriſhed in the time of the Kings of the Provinces, that is, of the

x Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 87. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. ii. par. 6. Al Kor. Mohammed. cap. 34. Al Beidawi. Jallal. Poc. Not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66. y Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al Beidawi, &c.

(C) At this time likewiſe probably happened the migration of thoſe tribes or colonies which were led into Meſopotamia by three different chiefs, Becr, Modar, and Rabîa; from whence the three provinces of that country are ſtill named Diyar Becr, Diyar Modar, and Diyar Rabîa (1).

(1) Golii Notæ ad Alfragan. p. 232.

governors

governors Alexander the Great appointed to preſide over the provinces of Perſia.

2. Amru, Malec's brother. *Amru.*

3. Jodaimah, the ſon of Malec, ſurnamed Al Abraſh, who firſt introduced among the Arabs the military engine called a baliſta. He defeated Amru, an Arab prince of the tribe of Amalek, who reigned in Meſopotamia, and put him to the ſword; but was afterwards himſelf aſſaſſinated, by the contrivance of Zoba, Amru's daughter, with whom he was greatly enamoured [z]. *Jodaimah.*

4. Amru, the ſon of Ad and Rakaſh the ſiſter of Jodaimah, by the aſſiſtance of Koſair, who had been ſervant to Jodaimah, revenged the murder of his uncle by the following ſtratagem: Koſair, at his own deſire, had his ears cut off, and was whipped in a moſt cruel manner, by Amru's order; after which he fled to Zoba, making the heavieſt complaints of the inhuman treatment he had received. By this ſtratagem he ſoon became a confident of Zoba, who permitted him to convey into her caſtle ſome large cheſts, full, as was pretended, of wares, but, in reality, of armed men, who immediately diſpatched her. The memory of Amru is ſtill preſerved amongſt the Arabs by ſeveral proverbs, which particularly allude to him [a]. *Amru.*

5. Amrio'l Kais, the ſon of Amru, ſurnamed Albada, ſucceeded his father. *Amrio'l Kais.*

6. Amru, the ſon of Amrio'l Kais, flouriſhed in the time of Sabur, or Sapor, Dil Actaf, king of Perſia. This Perſian monarch, whoſe ſurname imports as much, according to Abulfeda, cut off the ſhoulders of all the Arabs he took priſoners, in a war he carried on againſt that nation. His mother's name was Mary, whoſe ear-rings occaſioned a proverb amongſt the Arabs. If this piece of hiſtory may be depended upon, it is an additional proof of the truth of what Al Beidawi has advanced in relation to the time when the inundation of Al Arem happened [b]. *Amru.*

7. Aus, the ſon of Kalam, an Amalekite. *Aus.*

8. Another Amalekite prince, whoſe name is not known, ſucceeded Aus; after whoſe deceaſe the crown reverted to the family of the Lakhmians, after an interruption of two deſcents. *An anonymous king.*

9. Amrio'l Kais, the ſon of Amru, next aſcended the throne. He was ſurnamed Almohrek, or the Burner, becauſe he firſt tortured criminals with fire. *Amrio'l Kais.*

[z] Mohammedes Al Firauzabadius, Al Jaunabius, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [a] Pocockius, ubi ſupra, p. 67, 68. [b] Abulfeda. Al Beidawi.

Al Nooman. 10. Al Nooman, the ſon of Amrio'l Kais, ſurnamed Alawar, or the Blinkard, who, when he had reigned thirty years, abdicated the government, and retired from the world, ſaying, "What ſignifies a kingdom that will certainly have an end?" Al Nooman built thoſe caſtles or towers called Khaouarnak and Al Sadir, ſo celebrated by the Arab poets and proverbs. Senemmar, the builder of Khaouarnak, was thrown headlong from thence by Al Nooman's order; a puniſhment which gave riſe to the proverb, "The reward of Senemmar." We are told, that Al Nooman became a convert to the Chriſtian religion, and, in conſequence, reſigned the reins of government to his ſon Hendu. Jezdegerd, king of Perſia, committed the care of his ſon's education, and the eſtabliſhment of his conſtitution, to Al Nooman, who was afterwards very inſtrumental in fixing him upon the throne of his anceſtors [c].

Al Mondar Ebn Noomah. 11. Al Mondar Ebn Noomah, the Hendu of the Perſian hiſtorians, attended Baharam, the ſon of Jezdegerd, into Perſia, with an army of forty thouſand men, to enable him to dethrone Kerſa, an uſurper whom the Magi had elected king [d].

Al Aſwad. 12. Al Aſwald, ſon to Al Mondar, overthrew the king of Ghaſſan, and took many of his relations priſoners, according to ſome of the Oriental hiſtorians; but Ahmed Ebn Yuſef relates, that the king of Ghaſſan defeated and ſlew him, after a ſhort reign [e].

An anonymous king. 13. He was ſucceeded by his brother Al Mondar, whoſe true name has not reached us. It is probable, nothing of moment happened whilſt this prince ſat on the throne, ſince the eaſtern writers ſay little of him [f].

Al Kamah. 14. Al Kamah, ſucceſſor to the laſt king, was ſtyled Al Damyali, from the family of Damyal, of which he was a member. All the tranſactions that happened during his reign, are likewiſe buried in oblivion.

Amrio'l Kais, the ſon of Nooman. 15. Amrio'l Kais, the ſon of Nooman, the ſon of Amrio'l Kais al Mohrek, next ſwayed the ſceptre of Hira. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef aſſerts, that it was he who threw Senemmar headlong from the top of the caſtle of Khaouarnak, in which circumſtance Abulfeda and Al Jannabius agree.

Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn, Nooman. 16. Al Mondar, the ſon of the laſt king, and Mawiah the daughter of Aus, a lady of ſuch tranſcendent beauty, that ſhe was called Maiſſamai, i. e. Water of Heaven, governed after his father in Hira. From his mother he and his poſte-

[c] Al Firauzabadius, Safioddin. Al Meidan. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. Khondemir. [d] Lebtarikh. Mirkh. Khondem. ubi ſupra.
[e] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [f] Pocockius, ubi ſupra, p. 69.

rity

rity were likewiſe ſurnamed Al Mondar Ebn Maiſſamai; which appellation they had in common with the kings of Ghaſſan, according to Al Jauharius. For theſe laſt princes were ſo denominated from Abu Amer, of the tribe of Azd, the father of Amru Mazikia, who, by his ſurpriſing liberality and beneficence, ſupplied the want of rain, furniſhing his people with corn, when an extreme drought had rendered it ſo dear, that they were incapable of buying it. This prince was depoſed by Khoſru Kobad, king of Perſia [s].

17. Al Hareth Ebn Amru, of the tribe of Kenda, was placed on the throne of Hira by Khoſru Kobad, inſtead of Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais, whom he had depoſed. However, Kobad's ſon and ſucceſſor Anuſhirwan, ſurnamed the Juſt, in whoſe reign Mahommed was born, reſtored the lawful king to his dominions, and expelled the uſurper Al Hareth Ebn Amru. Kobad embraced the tenets of an impoſtor called Mazdak, who pretended to be a prophet ſent from God to preach a community of women and poſſeſſions, ſince all men were deſcended from the ſame common parents; and in moſt points agreed with Manes. By rendering wealth and women common, he propoſed taking away the luſt of both; from whence, he inſinuated, generally aroſe the feuds, quarrels, and animoſities that diſturbed the repoſe and tranquility of mankind. Such a doctrine entirely ſuiting the diſpoſition of Kobad, he not only profeſſed himſelf a convert to Mazdak's religion, but likewiſe obliged all his dependents to do the ſame; and therefore, when Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais refuſed this, he ſtripped him of his dominions, and appointed Al Hareth, who had declared himſelf a zealous follower of Mazdak, to reign over them in his ſtead: but Anuſhirwan, called Nouſchirwan by the Perſian hiſtorians, in conſequence of a vow he had made before his acceſſion, reſtored the Mondar family to the throne of Hira, put Mazdak to death, and aboliſhed the profeſſion of his impious opinions. It is ſaid, when Mazdac knew his fate, he told Anuſhirwan, that God had raiſed him to the throne of Perſia to protect his ſubjects, and not deſtroy them. To which that monarch anſwered, "True, abandoned villain; but doſt thou not remember, that with the utmoſt difficulty, even by kiſſing thy loathſome feet, I prevailed upon thee not to lie with my mother, when my father, at thy impudent requeſt, had given thee a permiſſion ſo to do? "Yes," replied Mazdak." Upon which the king ordered him to be executed immediately, cut off many of his followers, and eſtabliſhed

Al Hareth.

[s] Al Jauharius.

once more amongſt his ſubjects the ancient Magian religion [h].

Al Mondar, Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Nooman.

18. Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais was ſucceeded by his ſon Al Mondar, ſtyled, according to Al Jauharius, Modret ol' Hajarah, from his ſurpriſing ſtrength, and unparalleled bravery. Other authors, from his mother Henda, give him the ſurname of Ebn Henda. In the eighth year of his reign the falſe prophet Mahommed was born.

Kabus.

19. Kabus, the brother of Amru, comes next, of whom we find nothing worthy of notice related by the eaſtern writers.

His brother Al Mondar.

20. Al Mondar, brother to the former prince, ſucceeded him.

Al Nooman Abu Kabus.

21. Al Nooman, ſurnamed Abu Kabus, was the twenty-firſt king of Hira, and became a convert to Chriſtianity on the following occaſion: in a drunken fit he had ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen aſleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himſelf, he was extremely concerned at what he had done; and, to expiate his crime, not only raiſed a monument to the memory of his friends, but appointed two days, one of which he called the day of ſorrow, or mourning, and the other the day of mirth or gladneſs. Then he reſolved, that whoever met him on the former day ſhould be ſlain, and his blood ſprinkled on the monument; but that he, who met him on the other day, ſhould be diſmiſſed in ſafety, with magnificent gifts. On one of the unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an Arab, of the tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and ſeparated from his attendants. The king, who could neither diſcharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, againſt the laws of hoſpitality, which the Arabs religiouſly obſerve, propoſed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's reſpite, and to ſend him home with rich gifts, to make his family amends for the great loſs they were to ſuſtain, on condition that he found a ſurety for his returning at the year's end, to ſuffer death. One of the prince's courtiers, out of compaſſion, offered himſelf as his ſurety, and the Arab was diſcharged. When the laſt day of the term came, without the Arab's appearing, the king, not diſpleaſed to ſave his hoſt's life, ordered the ſurety to be brought out to execution. The ſpectators repreſented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have pa-

[h] Abulf. in Vit. Anuſhirwan. Shareſtan. apud Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 70. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, ibid. p. 71. Mirkh. Khond.

tience

tience till the evening: but in the middle of their diſcourſe the Arab appeared. The king, admiring the man's generoſity, in offering himſelf to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his friend ſuffer, aſked him what was his motive for ſo doing. To which he anſwered, he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he profeſſed; and Al Nooman demanding what religion that was, he replied, the Chriſtian. Whereupon the king, deſiring to have the doctrines of Chriſtianity explained, was baptized, together with all his ſubjects; and not only pardoned the man and his ſurety, but aboliſhed his barbarous cuſtom. This prince, however, was not the firſt king of Hira who profeſſed himſelf a convert to the Chriſtian religion: Al Mondar, the ſon of Amrio'l Kais, his grandfather, declared himſelf a Chriſtian, and built large churches in his capital. As Al Nooman took a particular delight in tulips, and would not permit them to grow in all gardens, the Arabs, from him, call them the variegated flowers of Al Nooman. After a reign of twenty-two years, Al Nooman was ſlain by Khoſru Parwiz, by whom the kingdom of Hira was tranſlated from the family of the Lakhmians to Ayas the Tayite [i].

22. Mohammed's miſſion commenced in the ſixth month of Ayas's reign [k]. *Ayas.*

23. Zadawaih, the ſon of Mahan of Hamadan, ſucceeded Ayas. *Zadawaih.*

24. Al Mondar, Ebn Nooman, Ebn Mondar, Ebn Mondar, Ebn Maiſſamai, ſurnamed Al Maghrur, governed Hira, from the death of Zadawaih to the conqueſt of the kingdom of Hira by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walid. The four royal families of Perſia, governing that kingdom before this period, were the Piſhdadian, the Caianian, the Aſhganian, and that of Khoſrû; which, as Hira was a ſtate dependent on the Perſians, we thought not improper to be obſerved [i]. *Al Mondar. Ebn Nooman. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Maiſſamai. Al Maghrur.*

The kingdom of Ghaſſan, as well as that of Hira, owed its origin to the inundation of Al Arem. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of Azd, who, according to ſome, ſettled in Syria Damaſcena, near a water called Ghaſſan, thence took their name; though others ſuppoſe they were diſtinguiſhed by this appellation before they left Yaman. Having driven out the Dajaamian Arabs, of the tribe of Salih, who before poſſeſſed the country, they made *The kingdom of Ghaſſan.*

[i] Al Meidani, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Abulfed. &c. Vide etiam Sale, ubi ſupra, p. 23, 24. [k] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 73, 74. [i] Procop. de Bell. Perſ. Al-Firauzabadius.

them-

themſelves maſters of a very conſiderable territory. Here they maintained their kingdom four hundred years; as others ſay ſix hundred; or, as Abulfeda more exactly computes, ſix hundred and ſixteen. If Ghaſſan was their name prior to this migration, they probably were the Caſſanitæ of Ptolemy. However, five of the kings of Ghaſſan were named Hareth, which the Greeks and Latins wrote Aretas; one of whom ordered the gates of Damaſcus to be guarded to take St. Paul. Dr. Pococke gives us the following liſt of the kings of Ghaſſan, extracted from the Oriental hiſtorians [m].

Jafnah. 1. Jafnah Ebn Amru, Ebn Thaalibah, Ebn Amru, Ebn Mazikia, to whom, after the exciſion of the royal family of Salih, the Kodaenſian Arabs, and the Greeks in Syria Damaſcena ſubmitted.

Amru. 2. Amru, the ſon of Jafnah, who is ſaid to have built many monaſteries in Syria.

Amru. 3. Amru, the ſon of Thaalibah.

Al Hareth. 4. Al Hareth, or Aretas, the ſon of Thaalibah.

Jabalah. 5. Jabalah, the ſon of Al Hareth.

Al Hareth. 6. Al Hareth, the ſon of Jabalah.

Al Mondar. 7. Al Mondar Al Acbar, that is, the Great, the ſon of Al Hareth.

Al Nooman. 8. Al Nooman, the brother of Al Mondar.

Jabalah. 9. Jabalah, the brother of Al Nooman.

Al Ayham. 10. Al Ayham, brother to the laſt two princes.

Amru. 11. Amru, who was brother to his three laſt predeceſſors.

Jafnah Al Aſgar. 12. Jafnah, ſurnamed Al Aſgar, the ſon of Mondar Al Acbar, who ſet the city of Hira on fire; whence his poſterity were ſaid to be of the family of the Incendiary.

Al Nooman. 13. Al Nooman Al Aſgar, brother to Jafnah.

Al Nooman. 14. Al Nooman, Ebn Amru, Ebn Mondar.

Jabalah. 15. Jabalah, Ebn Nooman, who waged war with Al Mondar Ebn Maiſſamai.

Al Nooman. 16. Al Nooman, the ſon of Al Ayham.

Al Hareth. 17. Al Hareth, brother to Al Nooman Ebn al Ayham.

Al Nooman. 18. Al Nooman, the ſon of Al Hareth.

Al Mondar. 19. Al Mondar, the ſon of Al Nooman.

Amru. 20. Amru, Al Mondar's brother.

Hajar. 21. Hajar, brother to Al Mondar and Amru.

Al Hareth. 22. Al Hareth, the ſon of Hajar.

Jabalah. 23. Jabalah, the ſon of Al Hareth.

Al Hareth. 24. Al Hareth, the ſon of Jabalah.

Al Nooman. 25. All Nooman, the ſon of Al Hareth, who is called by ſome eaſtern writers Abu Carb, and Kotam.

[m] Al Beidawi. Pocock. not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66, 75, 76, 77.

26. Al

26. Al Ayham, the ſon of Jabalah, who was likewiſe lord of Tadmor. *Al Ayham.*

27. Al Mondar, brother to Al Ayham. *Al Mondar.*

28. Sharahil, brother to the two laſt princes. *Sharahil.*

29. Amru, another of their brothers. *Amru.*

30. Jabalah, Ebn al Hareth, Ebn Jabalah. *Jabalah.*

31. Jabalah, the ſon of Al Ayham, and the laſt of the kings of Ghaſſan, who, on the great ſucceſſes of the Arabs in Syria, under the khalif Omar, profeſſed Mohammediſm; but, receiving afterwards a diſguſt, returned to his former faith, and retired to Conſtantinople. *Jabalah.*

The kingdom of Hejaz.

It has been already obſerved, that Jorham, the ſon of Kahtan, founded the kingdom of Hejaz, where princes of his line reigned till the time of Iſhmael, who married the daughter of Modad, one of thoſe princes. Some authors relate, that Kidar, one of Iſhmael's ſons, had the crown reſigned to him by his uncles the Jorhamites; but, according to others, the deſcendents of Iſhmael expelled that tribe, who, retiring to Johainah, were, after various fortune, at laſt all deſtroyed by an inundation. The following catalogue of the kings of Hejaz, taken from Dr. Pococke, is the beſt that has been hitherto exhibited to the public [n].

1. Jorham, the brother of Yaarab. *Jorham.*
2. Abd Yalil, the ſon of Jorham. *Abd Yalil.*
3. Jorſham, the ſon of Abd Yalil. *Jorſham.*
4. Abdo'l Madan, the ſon of Jorſham. *Abdo'l Madan.*
5. Nogailah, the ſon of Abdo'l Madan. *Nogailah.*
6. Abdo'l Maſih, the ſon of Nogailah. *Abdo'l Maſih.*
7. Modad, the ſon of Abdo'l Maſih. *Modad.*
8. Amru, the ſon of Modad. *Amru.*
9. Al Hareth, brother to Amru. *Al Hareth.*
10. Amru, the ſon of Al Hareth. *Amru.*
11. Baſher, brother to Amru. *Baſher.*
12. Modad, the ſon of Amru, the ſon of Modad. *Modad.*
13. ——— Anonym. *Anonym.*
14. Kidar, the ſon of Iſhmael, whoſe mother, according to the Oriental hiſtorians, was of the houſe of Jorham. *Kidar.*

Form of government in Hejaz.

After the expulſion of the Jorhamites, the government of Hejaz ſeems not to have continued many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes, almoſt in the ſame manner as the Arabs of the Deſert are governed at this time. The tribe of Khozaah, deſcended from Cahlan, the ſon of Saba, after the inundation of Al Arem, fled into the kingdom of Hejaz, and ſet-

[n] Al Jannabius. Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 38. 78, 79. Vide etiam Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 11, 12.

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tled themſelves in a valley called Marri, near Mecca; in which territory they founded an ariſtocracy, aſſuming to themſelves both the government of the city of Mecca, and the cuſtody of the Caaba or temple. Their name they derived from their being cut off, or ſeparated from, the other tribes of Yaman, by the accident above mentioned. They continued maſters of the city and territory of Mecca, as well as preſidents of the Caaba, for ſeveral ages; till at length Koſa, of the tribe of Koreiſh, circumvented Abu Gabſhan, a weak man, of whom, while in a druken humour, he bought the keys and cuſtody of the Caaba for a bottle of wine: but when Abu Gabſhan grew cool, and came to reflect upon what he had done, he ſufficiently repented of his imprudence; whence the proverbs of the Arabs: "More vexed with late repentance than Abu Gabſhan;" "More fooliſh than Abu Gabſhan:" which are applied to thoſe perſons who part with things of great moment for a trifle, and are afterwards ſorry for what they have done. The tribe of Khozaah endeavoured afterwards to give ſome diſturbance to the Koreiſh in the poſſeſſion of what Koſa had purchaſed; which furniſhed the latter with an opportunity of diveſting the former of the civil government of Mecca. Notwithſtanding what has been advanced, it is not certain whether the tribe of Khozaah were the deſcendents of Iſhmael or Joktan. We find Amru, one of their kings, a deſcendant of Cahlan, frequently mentioned by the Arab hiſtorians; but, as nothing remarkable is related either of him, or his ſon Caab, we ſhall take no farther notice of them. After the Koreiſh had poſſeſſed themſelves of Mecca, they maintained the ſame form of government that had before prevailed [o].

Beſides the kingdoms that have been already taken notice of, there were ſome other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed ſtates of inferior note. The tribe of Kenda, in particular, had ſeveral kings, of which the three following were the principal.

Hojr. 1. Hojr, ſurnamed Acelo'l Morar, i. e. *the eater of morar*, a fruit of a bitter taſte, on which camels feed. That ſurname was given him by his wife, who had an averſion to him, becauſe his lips were ſo contracted that they did not cover his teeth; which made him reſemble a camel when browſing. Kenda, from whom the tribe deduced its name, was alſo called Thaur. Abulfeda aſſerts that, before the time of Hojr, the people of Kenda were without any kind

[o] Pocockius, ubi ſupra, p. 42. 50. 342. Ecchelens. Hiſt. Arab. p. i. cap. 3. Fortal. Fidei, lib. iv. conſid. 1. Abulfeda. Vide etiam Prid Life of Mahom. p. 2, 3, 4.

of

of government, from whence many inconveniencies enſuing, induced them to chooſe him for their king.

2. Amru, the ſon of Hojr, ſurnamed Al Makſur, i. e. *contracted* or *confined*, becauſe he did not attempt to extend the dominions left him by his father. *Amru.*

3. Al Hareth, the ſon of Amru, was by Khoſru Kobad elevated to the throne of Hira, and depoſed by Anuſhirwan, for the reaſons already mentioned. He endeavoured to avoid his enemies by flying to Diyar Calb, where he died, but in what manner we are not told. Al Hareth placed his ſon Hojr over the Bani Aſad, and his other ſons over other tribes. Hojr was the father of Amrio'l Kais, a celebrated poet. The Bani Aſad endeavouring to take off Hojr by treachery, he treated them with great rigour and ſeverity, which occaſioned his meeting with a violent death. Amrio'l Kais, being appriſed of this, aſſembled a body of forces out of the tribes of Becr and Taglab, with which he defeated the Bani Aſad; but afterwards, his troops being diſperſed through fear of Al Mondar, he found himſelf obliged to fly to the Romans, in order to implore their protection, and died in his return home, near Ancyra. Some authors ſay, that Cæſar gave him a poiſoned garment, which was the cauſe of his death; but Abulfeda treats this as an improbable fable, meriting no regard. To the kings of Kenda we find one Ebn Ommil' Kotam added by Al Firauzabadius [p]. *Al Hareth.*

The following princes alſo deſerve a place here.

1. Zohair Ebnol Habab, who preſided over the tribe of Kelab, and, on account of his extraordinary ſagacity, was ſurnamed the Wiſe. He attained to a very old age, and died at laſt covered with glory. He invaded the Bani Gatfan with a powerful army, becauſe they pretended to build a temple in oppoſition to the Caaba; and entered into an alliance with Abrahah Al Aſhram, ſtyled Maſter of the Elephant. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of him, ſome authors intimate, that he came to his end by exceſſive drinking. *Zohair.*

2. Colaib Ebn Rabiah governed the Bani Maad, the Saraceni Maadeni of Procopius; and was ſo proud, that he would not ſuffer any one to hunt in his neighbourhood, nor any camels to be watered with his, nor any fire to be lighted near that which he himſelf uſed. He was at laſt ſlain by Jaſſus, for ſhooting a camel named Sarab, which he found grazing on a prohibited ſpot of ground. This camel belonged to an Arab, who had been entertained by Baſus, a *Colaib.*

[p] Abulfeda in Vit. Anuſhirwân, & alib. Al Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 80, ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid.

near

near relation of Jaſſas. The murder of Ebn Rabiah occaſioned a forty years war; whence came the Arab proverbs: "A worſe omen than Sarab: More ominous than Baſus." It may not be improper to obſerve, that the kings and chiefs of the Arabs generally forbad others to bring their flocks upon thoſe places and paſtures which they choſe for themſelves. In order to aſcertain the limits of theſe paſtures, when they came to a fruitful valley or plain, they cauſed a dog to bark, and the whole extent of ground over which he could be heard they appropriated to themſelves [q].

Mohalhel. 3. Mohalhel Ebn Rabiah, brother to Colaib, formed an army out of the families of Taglab, with which he carried on a long and bloody war againſt thoſe of Becr, in order to revenge his brother's death [r].

Zohair. 4. Zohair Ebn Jodaimah, who received a certain toll or tribute from the Arabs that frequented the celebrated fair of Ocadh, was aſſaſſinated by Khaled, who afterwards fled to Al Nooman, king of Hira. That prince took him under his protection; however, he was privately murdered by Al Hareth, an aſſaſſination which occaſioned long and bloody broils.

Kais. 5. Kais, the ſon of Zohair Ebn Johaimah, had two famous horſes called Dahes and Gabrah, which ran with two others belonging to Hadifa, for a prize of a hundred camels. This event gave riſe to that bloody war called by the Arab hiſtorians the war of Dahes and Gabrah, which continued, without intermiſſion, forty years. King Kais, in order to atone for ſo great an effuſion of blood, is ſaid to have embraced the Chriſtian religion, and even entered upon the monaſtic ſtate.

Thus have we gone through the hiſtory of the ancient Arabs before Mohammed, as far as it can be collected from the moſt authentic Arab hiſtorians: but in order to render that branch of the work we are now treating the more complete, we ſhall give a brief account of the principal tranſactions the ancient Arabs were concerned in with the Egyptians, Perſians, Greeks, and Romans, extracted from the moſt approved writers of the two laſt nations.

The Arabs never, at leaſt for any long time, ſubject to the Egyptians. According to Diodorus Siculus, Seſoſtris, that is, as Joſephus and Sir Iſaac Newton maintain, Seſac, in his father's life-time, ſubdued Arabia. However, that the Arabs were never thoroughly ſubjugated, nor even long paid any ſort of homage to the kings of Egypt, appears from hence, that, according to the ſame author, Seſac himſelf was obliged to draw a line from Heliopolis to Peluſium, in order to ſecure

[q] Procop. de Bell. Perſ. cap. 19, 20. [r] Poc. ubi ſup. p. 82.

Egypt

Egypt from the excurſions of the Arabs and Syrians. The Scenite Arabs, contiguous to Paleſtine and Syria, therefore, at leaſt, muſt have been independent on that prince. Nor indeed can it be inferred from Diodorus, that he ever traverſed Arabia Felix, though he had a fleet of four hundred ſail upon the Red Sea; but only coaſted it, or at fartheſt ſeized upon ſome of its maritime provinces in his voyage to India. As the word Arabia ſometimes denotes only Arabia Deſerta, at other times Arabia Petræa, and ſometimes Arabia Felix, or a part of that country, in the Greek and Latin authors, it can by no means be inferred from any of them, that the whole peninſula of the Arabs ever was, at leaſt for any conſiderable time, in a ſtate of ſervitude to the Egyptians; but the contrary is evident even from Diodorus Siculus himſelf, who gives us the moſt pompous account of the conqueſts of Seſoſtris or Seſac [s].

Neither the Medes, Perſians, nor Aſſyrians, could ever get any conſiderable footing among them.

We learn from the ſame author, that neither the Aſſyrians, Medes, nor Perſians, could ever gain any conſiderable footing among them. The Perſian monarchs indeed were their friends, and ſo far reſpected by them, as to have an annual preſent of frankincenſe: yet they could never make them tributary, and were ſo far from being their maſters, that Cambyſes, in his expedition againſt Egypt, was obliged to aſk permiſſion to paſs through their territories [t].

They were not afraid of Alexander.

When Alexander the Great had ſubdued the Perſian empire, notwithſtanding his exorbitant power, the Arabians had ſo little apprehenſion of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, ſent no ambaſſadors to him; which omiſſion, with a deſire of poſſeſſing ſo rich a country as that they inhabited, made him form a deſign againſt them; and, had he not died before he could put it in execution, this people might poſſibly have convinced him that he was not invincible. The happineſs of its climate, and its great fertility, as well as riches, induced him to attempt the conqueſt of Arabia, in order to fix his royal ſeat in that territory, after his return from his Indian expedition: but, according to Strabo, he had another motive likewiſe to this hazardous undertaking; for being informed that the Arabs had only two divinities, Jupiter and Bacchus, whom they worſhipped, becauſe they ſupplied them with all the good things they enjoyed, he was likewiſe deſirous that they ſhould eſteem him as their third deity; and, in order to deſerve this worſhip, he propoſed firſt to conquer them, and then to leave them in the full poſſeſſion of their ancient liberty

[s] Diod. Sic. lib. i. Joſeph. in Antiquit. Newt. in Chronol. aliique Script. plurim. paſſ. [t] Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 91, 97.

and

and independency, which he believed would merit divine honours as much as the greateſt benefaction. Full, therefore, of this ſcheme, he fitted out a powerful fleet, compoſed of ſhips built in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Babylonia, to favour the operations of the land-forces; but death put an end to this, as well as all the other projects of that ambitious prince [u].

The Arabs cut in pieces a body of troops ſent againſt them by Antigonus.

Antigonus, after the reduction of Syria and Phœnicia, advanced into that part of Arabia bordering upon thoſe countries, ſuppoſing that the Arabs were not favourably diſpoſed towards him. However, he did not formally invade them, but detached Athenæus, one of his captains, with a body of four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, to ravage the territories of the Nabathæans. That general marched to Petra without oppoſition, which finding in no poſture of defence, the Nabathæans, then under no apprehenſion of an enemy, being gone to a neighbouring fair, and having left only their wives, children, ſick, and aged in Petra, with an inconſiderable garriſon, he ſeized upon the city, put to the ſword, or took priſoners, all the ſoldiers, and carried off a booty of five hundred talents of ſilver, together with a vaſt quantity of frankincenſe and myrrh. However, this advantage was owing rather to expedition and ſurprize, than the valour of his troops, he having traverſed two thouſand two hundred ſtadia in thrice twenty-four hours. The Arabs receiving intelligence of what had happened, left the fair, and having aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, purſued the Greeks with great celerity. They found them aſleep about two hundred ſtadia from Petra, without any guards poſted to appriſe them of impending danger, not imagining it poſſible for the Arabs to come up with them ſo ſoon. Whereupon they fell upon them, and deſtroyed the whole detachment except fifty horſe, that made their eſcape to Antigonus, and brought him the melancholy advice of the blow he had received [w].

Demetrius undertakes a ſecond expedition againſt them without ſucceſs.

However, the Nabathæans, dreading the reſentment of Antigonus, ſent a letter to him written in the Syriac character, to complain of Athenæus, and to excuſe what had happened. That prince, finding it impoſſible to deal with men inhabiting a deſert by mere force, diſſembled his reſentment, and diſowned the orders he had given Athenæus, telling their ambaſſadors, that he was juſtly puniſhed for invading their country. This declaration gave great ſatisfaction to the Arabs, though, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt any unforeſeen event, they erected watch-towers,

[u] Strab. lib. xvi. Arrian. 161. [w] Diod. Sic. lib. xix.

to

to give notice of an approaching enemy, and took care always to have ready a body of troops to repel any ſudden incurſion. Antigonus finding them upon their guard, for ſome time continued in a ſtate of friendſhip with them; but at laſt imagining that a fair opportunity of revenging the late diſgrace offered, he ſent his ſon Demetrius, with a ſelect detachment of four thouſand foot, and as many horſe, to chaſtiſe them; but the watch-towers giving them timely notice of the enemy's approach, they threw a ſufficient garriſon into Petra, and made all the other neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence. However, Demetrius arrived before Petra, and immediately attacked it with great fury, but was repulſed. Having received ſuch preſents as were agreed upon between him and their chief, and hoſtages for their future good behaviour, he raiſed the ſiege, and marched with his army to the lake Aſphaltites, where he encamped. Plutarch relates, that Demetrius's ſurpriſing intrepidity in the moſt imminent dangers, ſo aſtoniſhed the Arabs, that they not only ſuffered him to retire quietly from their territories, but alſo to carry off an immenſe booty, and, among other things, ſeven hundred camels [x].

They did not ſuffer Antigonus to collect bitumen on the lake Aſphaltites.

Antigonus was greatly diſſatisfied with the ill ſucceſs of this expedition, imagining that the Arabs would grow more inſolent: but he appeared highly pleaſed with his ſon Demetrius for diſcovering the lake Aſphaltites, which it ſeems, till that time, had been unknown to the Greeks, eſpecially as he imagined his revenue would be much increaſed by the bitumen brought from off that lake. He appointed, therefore, Hieronymus Cardianus the hiſtorian, his treaſurer for that part of the revenue, ordering him to build ſhips, and collect all the bitumen that could be got from off the lake; but the Arabs collected a body of ſix thouſand men, with which they attacked and diſperſed the people Hieronymus employed [y].

Pompey made an Arab tribe tributary to the Romans.

As for the Romans, they never conquered any part of Arabia properly ſo called; though that the Arabs ſubmitted to Lucullus is aſſerted by Plutarch. The moſt they atchieved was to make ſome tribes tributary to them, as Pompey ſubdued one commanded by Sampſiceramus or Shams' Alkeram, who reigned at Hems or Emeſa. His people were more civilized, and lived under a more regular form of government than the other Arabs, as we learn from Strabo [z].

That the Arabs frequently made dreadful incurſions into Syria whilſt under the Romans, we have already obſerved

[x] Plutarch. in Demetr. [y] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. [z] Strab. lib. xvi.

from Strabo; and are now farther to premiſe, that theſe incurſions ſometimes brought upon them the Roman arms. Pompey, as we learn from Plutarch, obliged Aretas, an Arab prince, whoſe dominions bordered upon Syria and Meſopotamia, to ſubmit and receive a Roman garriſon; and the ſame general likewiſe ſubdued the Arabs, who dwelt about Mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius. After which, the king of the Arabs reſiding in Petra, who, till this time, diſregarded the Romans, ſubmitted by letter to him; but that Pompey ever poſſeſſed himſelf of that fortreſs, does not appear. Plutarch rather ſeems to inſinuate, that he was recalled from thence by the death of Mithridates, before he could make full proof of the ſincerity of that prince's ſubmiſſion. And this is the more probable, becauſe Gabinius, who ſucceeded ſoon after to the government of Syria, made preparations for an expedition againſt the Arabians, but was diverted from his deſign by Ptolemy's ſolicitation to be reſtored to his kingdom [a].

Agbarus, or, according to others, Ariamnes, an Arab emir or phylarch, miſled and deluded Craſſus to his own deſtruction. Not long after which event the Arabs probably defeated the Palmyrenians, when Antony ſent a detachment of horſe to ravage their city: for Appian tells us, that the body of troops defending them conſiſted of archers, who excelled in that way; which is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the Arabs [b].

Ælius Gallus's expedition.

But none of the Romans ever penetrated ſo far into Arabia as did Ælius Gallus, or Ælius Largus, according to Dio, in the reign of the emperor Auguſtus. Having embarked all his forces he ſailed for Leucocome, a maritime city of the Nabathæans, on the coaſt of the Red Sea. As this was an extremely dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and ſhelves which lie in that part of the Arabian Gulph, and Syllæus, who had undertaken to be his pilot, treacherouſly conducted him the worſt way through it, he was fifteen days in his paſſage, and loſt many of his ſhips. Had he marched his army by land, as was firſt intended, he might have avoided this diſaſter; but Syllæus prevented the execution of that ſalutary deſign, informing Gallus, that there was no ſafe paſſage by land for his troops through the country of the Nabathæans; though nothing was more common than for merchants to travel through it in caravans, almoſt as numerous as an army. Soon after his arrival at Leucocome, a ſtrange diſtemper, that chiefly affected the mouth and thighs of the patient, made great havock in his

[a] Plut. in Pomp. & alibi. [b] Appian. de Bell. Civil.

army;

army, which obliged him to remain inactive in that neighbourhood the remaining part of the ſummer, and the following winter. Early in the ſpring Gallus, leaving winter-quarters, advanced to the frontiers of Hira, where he met with a kind reception from Al Hareth, or, as Strabo calls him, Aretas, a near relation of Abd Wadd, or Obodas, king of the Nabathæans, his ally. He ſoon put himſelf again in motion; and on his march defeated a numerous body of Arabs, who intercepted him upon the banks of a river, with an intention to diſpute his paſſage. He then reduced ſeveral conſiderable places without oppoſition, and penetrated as far as Marſyabæ, a city of the Rhamanites, governed by a petty prince named Ilaſarus, or Al Aſar, which he beſieged ineffectually, being obliged to abandon that enterprize for want of water. In the mean time, finding his men carried off daily in great numbers, by various diſtempers proceeding from the heat of the climate, the inſalubrity of the air, water, and herbs of the country, he thought it adviſeable to march back into the country of the Nabathæans, and from thence purſue his route into Egypt. Accordingly he ſet out on his march homeward; and, by the aſſiſtance of more faithful guides, reached the city of Negra, one of Obodas's maritime towns, by the road of Anagrana, Chaalla, and Malotha, in ſixty days. Here he embarked his troops, and croſſing the Arabian Gulf, landed at Myos Hormus, on the Egyptian ſide; from whence he conducted the poor remains of his army to Alexandria. The ill ſucceſs Gallus experienced on this occaſion ought to be attributed chiefly to the treachery of Syllæus, whoſe view, in the total deſtruction of the Roman army, ſeems to have been the acquiſition of ſome of the Roman territories for his maſter Obodas. This is the more probable, as that prince concurred with his chief miniſter, by not ſupporting Gallus. Be that as it may, the Roman general diſcovered the perfidy of Syllæus before his return from Arabia; but for political reaſons he thought proper to diſſemble his reſentment. However, after his arrival in Egypt, he ſent the traitor to Rome, where, for this and other enormous crimes, he had his head ſtruck off by the emperor's order. We muſt not omit obſerving, that Gallus ſpent two years in this unfortunate expedition [c].

From this time to the reign of Trajan, we hear little of Arabia; but the eighth year of that reign was famous for the entire reduction of Arabia Petræa by Aulus Cornelius

[c] Strab. ubi ſupra. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 28. Dio, lib. liii. p. 516, & ſeq. ad ann. U. C. 730.

The Roman hiſtorians falſly aſſert Trajan to have conquered Arabia.

Palma, governor of Syria, according to Dio. Euſebius relates, that the inhabitants of Petra and Boſtra computed their time from this year, in which their country was firſt annexed to the Roman empire. Arrian, Eutropius, Lucian, and Dio, intimate, that Trajan conquered Arabia Felix, a conqueſt which ſeems to be confirmed by ſome medals coined after the fourteenth year of his reign; and meditated the conqueſt of India [d]. Nevertheleſs, this very emperor received a check in the ſequel, from the people of Arabia.

That emperor is forced to retire out of Arabia.

Receiving intelligence that the Hagarenes had declared war againſt him, he marched from Cteſiphon into their territories with a powerful army, and beſieged their capital city. As it was ſituated on the top of a high and ſteep mountain, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, ſeated in a barren country, and defended by a numerous garriſon, Trajan could not reduce it, though he made a breach in the wall. The emperor narrowly eſcaped being killed in one of the attacks; for, having laid aſide the enſigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in perſon: but the enemy diſcovering him, notwithſtanding that diſguiſe, by his grey hairs, and majeſtic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horſe, and killed a horſeman by his ſide. Beſides, as often as the Romans advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent ſtorms of wind, rain, and hail, with dreadful flaſhes of lightning. The appearance of rainbows likewiſe amazed and frightened them in an extraordinary manner. And at the ſame time they were infeſted in their camp by prodigious ſwarms of flies; ſo that Trajan was at length obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire.

As is Severus, after he had ineffectually laid ſiege to Atræ.

About eighty years after this period, the emperor Severus, being greatly incenſed againſt the Arabs bordering on Syria, for aſſiſting Niger, laid ſiege to Atræ their capital, with a formidable army, and a great train of military engines invented by Priſcus, the moſt celebrated mechanic of his age. He puſhed on the ſiege with incredible vigour, not being able to bear that, of all nations, the Hagarenes only ſhould withſtand the Romans. Being repulſed in the firſt attack with great ſlaughter, he ordered a ſecond to be made. Then he might have carried the place, but choſe rather to ſound a retreat, hoping, by his lenity, to induce the Arabs to ſue for peace; which he was determined not to grant, except they would diſcover their hidden treaſures, ſuppoſed to be conſecrated to the Sun. But for a whole

[d] Dio, lib. lxviii. p. 777. Euſeb. in Chron. p. 206. Arrian. in Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 6, 8. 46. Franciſc. Mediobarb. Birag. p. 116. Occo. p. 215.

day

day they made not the leaſt overture. In the mean time the ardour of his troops cooled to ſuch a degree, that the Europeans refuſed to begin another aſſault, and the Syrians were repulſed in one that they made. This miſcarriage ſo chagrined the emperor, that, when one of his officers repreſented that he would engage to ſtorm the place with five hundred and fifty European ſoldiers, he replied, "But where ſhall I find ſo many?" God (ſays the hiſtorian), preſerved the town by the backwardneſs of the emperor one day, and by that of his troops the next. He was therefore obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire into his own dominions [a].

Short account of the Arabs to the time of Mohammed.

From this time to the birth of Mohammed, we do not find many particulars of moment related of the Arabs in general, or of the Saracens, the moſt celebrated people among them, in particular, by the Greek and Latin hiſtorians. The Saracens, however, we are told, ravaged Meſopotamia in the time of the emperor Conſtantius, and joined the Perſians againſt Julian. That prince, and ſome of his predeceſſors, had paid the Saracens an annual ſum, that they might have a body of troops always ready for the ſervice of the Romans: but this he afterwards reſolved to diſcontinue; and, when they ſent deputies to complain of this treatment, Julian told them, that a warlike prince had ſteel, but no gold: which expreſſion they reſenting, deſerted to the Perſian, and ever after continued faithful to him. Mavia, queen of the Saracens, ſent a body of her troops to the aſſiſtance of the Romans againſt the Goths, who, after the defeat and death of Valens, by their vigorous ſallies forced thoſe Barbarians to retire from before Conſtantinople, which metropolis they had beſieged. About the year of the Chriſtian æra 411, they committed great diſorders on the frontiers of Egypt, Paleſtine, Phœnicia, and Syria; but ſoon afterwards retired. In the reign of Theodoſius, Alamundarus, or Al Mondar, with a numerous army, aſſiſted the Perſians againſt that prince; but the greateſt part of his men being ſeized with an unaccountable panic, threw themſelves headlong into the Euphrates, where, to the number of a hundred thouſand, they are ſaid to have periſhed. A. D. 452, the Saracens, Nubians, and Blemmyes, broke into the Roman empire; but were defeated by the troops of the emperor Marcian, and forced to ſue for peace; which the emperor granted upon terms extremely advantageous to the empire. In the beginning of the ſixth cen-

[a] Dio, p. 948. Herodian. lib. iii. Euſeb. Chron. Spartian. in Severo. Goltz. p. 84.

tury, a prince of the Mondar family, who was a renowned warrior, did incredible damage to the Romans, as we learn from Procopius. He haraſſed them for a great number of years, by ravaging all their territories from the borders of Egypt to the confines of Meſopotamia, killing numbers of their ſubjects, and exacting conſiderable ſums for the redemption of others taken priſoners. He flew from Egypt to Meſopotamia like lightning, being ſo rapid in his incurſions, that the Roman troops ſcarce ever began their march to ſtop his depredations, before he had brought his plunder home. He generally defeated the Romans, when he found himſelf obliged to come to an engagement with them. In one action he made a whole Roman corps priſoners, with their general Demoſtratus, the brother of Rufinus, and John the ſon of Lucas; for whoſe ranſom he received an immenſe ſum of money. Being at the head of all the Saracens bordering upon the Perſian dominions, he was one of the moſt formidable enemies the Romans had. None of their generals, nor any of the Arab phylarchs in their intereſt, could ever make head againſt him. Juſtinian, in order to annoy him, veſted an Arab prince with the regal dignity, thinking this would enable him to puſh on the war with greater vigour againſt Alamundarus; for ſo Procopius calls him. However, Al Mondar was victorious in every engagement with Aretas, either vanquiſhing him by force, or prevailing upon him to abandon the Romans. In ſhort, this prince, with Azarethes the Perſian general, defeated the renowned Beliſarius, and diffuſed terror wherever he came. The diſpute he had with Aretas, who pleaded the cauſe of the Romans, about a territory called Strata, our readers will find related in Procopius. But as the rapid conqueſts of the Saracens, and the principal tranſactions they were concerned in, happened after the death of Mohammed, we ſhall reſerve what we have to ſay of that warlike nation, till we come to the modern hiſtory of Arabia.

Arabia famous for hereſies after the introduction of Chriſtianity.

That Arabia, after the introduction of Chriſtianity, was remarkable for hereſies, has been already obſerved. The Hamyarites were infected with the Arian hereſy, in the reign of the emperor Conſtantius, as we learn from Theophilus Indus in Philoſtorgius. Some Chriſtians of this nation believed, that the ſoul died with the body, and was to be raiſed again with it at the laſt day. The hereſies of Ebion, Beryllus, the Nazaræans, and the Collyridians, were alſo broached, or at leaſt propagated, among the Arabs. The Collyridians were ſo denominated from a ſort of twiſted cake called collyris, which they offered to the Virgin Mary, whom they worſhipped as God. Other ſects likewiſe there were

were within the borders of Arabia, who took refuge from the proſcriptions of the imperial edicts; ſeveral of whoſe notions Mohammed incorporated with his religion.

The Jews, though an inconſiderable and deſpiſed people in other parts of the world, were very powerful in Arabia, whither they fled from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, as well as the great havock made amongſt them by the emperor Hadrian, and brought over ſeveral tribes to their religion.

Dhu Nowas, as has been obſerved, was a Jew, and perſecuted all, the Chriſtians particularly, who were not of his religion. He burnt three hundred and forty Chriſtians in the city of Najrân only. He alſo ſent an embaſſy to Al Mondar, king of Hira, offering him large ſums of money, if he would perſecute the Chriſtians throughout his dominions. The patriarch of Alexandria preſſing Eleſbaas the Najaſhi, or king of Ethiopia, to revenge ſuch inhuman cruelty, that prince croſſed the Streights of Bab-al-Mandab, with a fleet of four hundred and twenty-three ſail, and an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, with which he made a deſcent in Yaman. With theſe forces he overthrew Dhu Nowâs, ſeized upon his kingdom, and made St. Aretas's ſon governor of Najrân. The Abaſſines kept poſſeſſion of this kingdom, till they were expelled by Seif the ſon of Dhu Yazan, of the tribe of Hamyar, who was, however, himſelf ſlain by ſome of the ſame tribe. We ſhall conclude our hiſtory of the ancient Arabs, or the Time of Ignorance, as it is called by the Mohammedans, with the following obſervations: Abd al Motalleb, the grandfather of Mohammed, was prince or chief of the Koreiſh at the time the foregoing war happened: Mohammed himſelf was born the very year the Abaſſines were vanquiſhed in their expedition againſt Mecca: on this year, A. D. 578, commenced the æra of the Elephant, from which the Arabs computed their time for twenty years; and another, called the æra of the Unjuſt War (F), followed this, which was finally ſucceeded by that of the Hejra [f].

Concluſion of the hiſtory of the ancient Arabs.

CHAP.

[f] Abulfed. Hiſt. Gen. Al Gjuzius in lib. de Ritib. Peregrinat. cap. 78. Al Zamakhſhar. Al Beidawi, Jallal. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Abrahah. Prid. Life of Mahom. p. 61, &c. Al Kodius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 172, 173. Sim. Metaphraſtes in Vit. S. Aret. & ſocior. apud Surium, tom. v. p. 943. Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabad. Al Shareſtan. Job Ludol. in Comment ad Hiſt. Æthiop. p. 61, 62, 255, 256. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 54. aliique auctor. ſupra laudat.

(F) This was called the Unjuſt and Impious War, becauſe the principal actions of it happened betwixt the Kais Ailan

CHAP. LXXX.

The History of the Empires of Nice and Trapezond, from their Foundation, the former by Theodore Lascaris, and the latter by the Comneni, to their final Abolition, the one by Michael Palæologus, the other by Mohammed the Great.

THESE are the two last empires we have left to mention on the other side the Mediterranean, and before we repass into Europe. We have given them the last place, and have joined them in the same chapter, as they were of the latest date, smallest extent, and shortest duration, of any of those we have had occasion to describe, either in Asia or Africa, that are now extinct; and as they were both dismembered from the Greek empire about the same time, that is, soon after the taking of its great metropolis by the Latins, mentioned in a former volume. That of Nice was founded by Theodore Lascaris, and that of Trapezond by David and Alexius Comnenus, whilst Baldwin reigned at Constantinople.

A.D. 1204.

SECT. I.

The Empire and Emperors of Nice.

Theodore Lascaris founds the empire of Nice.

1. THEODORE LASCARIS, son-in-law to the tyrant Alexius Angelus, having happily escaped out of Constantinople, and fled into Bithynia, was received with such demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, that he soon subdued Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, and Ionia, from the Mæander to the Black or Euxine Sea. These provinces he erected

and Koreish, two powerful Arabian tribes, in the sacred months above mentioned. These sacred months were Moharram, Rajeb, Dulkaada, and Dulhaga. In them all acts of hostility amongst the hostile tribes, how violent soever their resentment might be, entirely ceased. They then laid aside all warlike weapons, and conversed together in the most friendly manner. If an Arab met with the person that had killed his father or brother, he could not offer any violence to him. The Hejra did not take place, till it was agreed upon in the khalifate of Omar, that the Arabs should compute their time from thence.

into

into an empire, and fixed his imperial reſidence in the famous city of Nice, from which this new empire took its name [g]. It was not long, however, before he ſaw himſelf invaded by two powerful enemies, his father-in-law, and Jathatines ſultan of Iconium, his old friend and ally, whom he called to his aſſiſtance againſt the new emperor. They marched accordingly againſt him, with an army of twenty thouſand men, and inveſted the city of Antioch, on the Mæander, the then boundary of this new empire on that ſide. Laſcaris, though he could then muſter but two thouſand men, was yet forced to march to the relief of that place, leſt its falling into their hands ſhould open a way to the heart of his dominions. They were ſurpriſed to find him come ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch a handful of troops, againſt them; but ſuch was his valour, and that of eight hundred of his Italians, that he gave the enemy a ſignal overthrow; but his Greeks being ſomewhat intimidated at ſight of the ſuperior number of the enemy, the ſultan, thinking that a proper time to renew the attack, fell ſuddenly upon them; and, having ſingled Laſcaris out, unhorſed him at the firſt ſhock. Laſcaris ſoon recovered himſelf, brought his competitor to the ground, ſtruck off his head, and, fixing it on the point of a lance, threw the enemy into ſuch a panic, that they betook themſelves to flight. Alexius, the author of this war, was taken priſoner, and carried in triumph to Nice, where he ended his days in a monaſtery. The Turks were ſoon after glad to accept of ſuch a peace as Laſcaris was pleaſed to dictate: another being concluded between him and Henry, the brother and ſucceſſor of Baldwin, he ſecured his new-founded empire to himſelf and ſucceſſors, by means of extraordinary valour and conduct, exerted againſt the Turks and Latins, during the ſpace of eighteen years [h].

Defeats Angelus, and the Turks.

At his death he left only a ſon, then an infant, and three daughters, the eldeſt of whom, named Irene, he had married to the brave John Ducas, ſurnamed Vataces, to whom he bequeathed his new monarchy, though he had two brothers, Alexius and Angelus, whom it might be expected he would have entruſted with the care of his ſon and empire: but he ſeems to have been more intent on ſtrengthening and enlarging the latter, than to ſecure it to his neareſt kindred; and accordingly appointed his ſon-in-law his ſucceſſor, as the moſt capable of anſwering his deſign.

His death and ſucceſſor.

2. John Ducas was accordingly crowned at Nice by Manuel the great patriarch, and proved no leſs brave and ſuc- A.D. 1222.

John Ducas crowned emperor.

[g] Nicet. in Bald. cap. 1, & ſeq. [h] Idem ibid. cap. 11. ad fin.

ceſsful

ceſsful than his predeceſſor. We have formerly had occaſion to mention his extraordinary ſucceſs againſt the Turks, and eſpecially the Latins, whom he defeated in ſeveral battles, and from whom he took a conſiderable number of places, which we ſhall forbear repeating here. He died, after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, in the ſixty-ſecond of his age, after having extended his conqueſts, not only in Aſia but in Europe, and even almoſt to the gates of Conſtantinople; and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

A.D. 1225. *Theodore Laſcaris crowned.*

3. Theodore Laſcaris, who, during his ſhort reign, was likewiſe very ſucceſsful againſt the Bulgarians, and the deſpot of Epirus, as we have formerly ſeen [1]. One great miſtake this prince was guilty of, was the recalling the traitor Michael Palælogus, who had joined the Turks, and reſtoring him to his former dignity; for that gave him an opportunity of depriving his ſon of the empire. Theodore died in the third year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

A.D. 1258. *John Laſcaris crowned.*

4. John Laſcaris, then about nine years of age; for which reaſon his father committed him, and the care of the empire, to Arſenius the patriarch of Nice, and to the famed Muzalo, a perſon indeed of mean extract, but of great merit and fidelity, and deſervedly raiſed to the higheſt poſts in the empire. For this promotion, Muzalo incurred the envy of the nobles, who, notwithſtanding the ſolemn oath which he had obliged them to take to the young prince, ruſhed with their ſwords drawn upon that brave miniſter, on the very place where the funeral obſequies of the deceaſed monarch were performed; and, in the midſt of the divine ſervice, diſpatched him at the foot of the altar, to which he had fled for ſanctuary. It is not improbable, that the treacherous Palælogus had the greateſt ſhare in contriving and conducting this aſſaſſination, as the moſt likely means to enable him to ſeize the imperial dignity, which he never would have attempted whilſt the young prince was under the care of ſo brave and worthy a guardian. However, Muzalo was no ſooner diſpatched, than the traitor cauſed himſelf to be choſen to ſucceed him in the guardianſhip of the young emperor, and to be declared protector of the empire, without the leaſt regard to the patriarch, who, though no conſummate ſtateſman, was yet a perſon of ſingular learning and merit.

Muzalo aſſaſſinated.

Palæologus choſen protector.

A.D. 1259. *His treachery and treaſon.*

His new dignity was ſoon after ſignalized with a complete defeat, which his brother John gave the deſpot of Epirus, who had then invaded the province of Thrace and Macedon. The news of this action no ſooner reached Magneſia, the

[1] Nicet. in Bald. cap. 12, & ſeq.

place

place where the new protector then reſided; than he was ſaluted emperor by a number of his creatures, both of the nobility and populace: for this uſurpation the worthy patriarch threatened to excommunicate him, and all his adherents; and Palæologus found no other expedient to ward off the blow, than by binding himſelf under a ſolemn oath to reſign the empire to the young prince, as ſoon as he ſhould be of age. This promiſe having ſatisfied the too credulous prelate, he was eaſily perſuaded to crown him emperor. As we are no farther concerned with any particulars of that uſurper's reign, than as they relate to the Nicean empire, to which he now put a period, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been related in a former volume; and only add, that, having ſoon after, that is, in the ſecond year of his reign, taken Conſtantinople from the Latins, he removed the ſeat of empire from Nice to that ancient metropolis, where he cauſed himſelf to be again crowned emperor of the Eaſt. The unfortunate young prince fell a ſacrifice to the ambition of that tyrant, who ordered his eyes to be put out, and himſelf to be proclaimed the ſole lawful and rightful poſſeſſor of the empire. Arſenius, now convinced, though too late, of his fatal credulity, thundered out an excommunication againſt him, and all his adherents: but neither this, nor the great oppoſition which he received from abroad, could wreſt the empire from him, though it proved a very troubleſome and thorny poſſeſſion, as we have elſewhere ſhewn. This was the end of the Nicean empire, about fifty-ſeven years after its foundation. Nice, the metropolis, though it was in a great meaſure diveſted of its grandeur by the removal of the court to Conſtantinople, yet continued to be ſo conſiderable a city, that it paſſed more than once from the Greeks to the Turks, and back again, till it was at length taken by Orchanes in the manner already related.

A.D. 1261.

SECT. II.

The Empire of Trapezond.

THIS monarchy, founded, as we lately hinted, much about the ſame time with that of Nice, laſted much longer, and made a much more conſiderable figure in the world. It took its name from the famed city of Trapezond or Trapezus, which was now made the imperial ſeat of the Comneni, and metropolis of their new empire (G). David and Alexius

A.D. 1204.

The foundation of the empire of Trapezond.

(G) Trapezus, or Trapezond, called alſo Trebizond, and by the Turks Tarabozan, was a Greek city in Pontus, founded

Alexius Comneni (H), grandſons to the tyrant Andronicus, who had been lately put to ſuch a cruel, yet deſerved death, by Iſaac Angelus, were the firſt founders of it. Theſe having the good fortune to eſcape from Conſtantinople together, ſeized on the more eaſtern parts of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, and erected them into an empire; and Trapezond being then the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable city in their dominions, they made it the ſeat of their reſidence, and called their new empire by its name. It doth not indeed appear that they immediately aſſumed the imperial title; much leſs that they were ſoon acknowleged as ſuch. On the contrary, Vincent de Beauvais ſtyles them only lords of Trapezond; but it is plain that they ſoon arrived at a conſiderable height of power and influence, ſince
A.D. 1239. the emperor Baldwin, about thirty-four years after their ſettling at Trapezond, ſought their alliance and friendſhip, and was aſſiſted by them in ſome conſiderable enterprizes againſt Vataces, emperor of Nice, who had invaded his dominions. However, it is not improbable that neither theſe of Trapezond, nor thoſe of Nice, took upon them the title of emperors till ſome time after the foundation of their monarchies; perhaps, as ſome conjecture [k], not till the uſurper Michael Palæologus had ſeized on that of Nice, and got himſelf crowned emperor at Conſtantinople; at

[k] Cruſius Annotat. in lib. i. Turco-Græc. p. 60, &c. Baudrand. ſub voce Trapez. Du Freſne Hiſt. Byzant. p. 166, & ſeq.

founded by the ancient Sinopians, and tributary to them, as we learn from Xenophon, who marched by it in his famous retreat. It is ſituate at the foot of a hill, which makes a kind of peninſula on the Black or Euxine Sea, where it begins to turn towards the eaſt. Its port was once large and convenient, and the city itſelf well peopled, and ſurrounded with ſteep mountains. It was encompaſſed with a double wall of an oblong ſquare form, from which it had the name of Trapezus, which ſignifies *a table*; but it ſuffered greatly in the wars between Mithridates and the Romans, as likewiſe from the Scythian Tartars, who ſurpriſed and took it at a time when the wealthieſt perſons had taken refuge in it, with their moſt conſiderable effects. The Comneni, having made it afterwards the metropolis of their new empire, raiſed it to the priſtine glory and ſtrength which the Romans had formerly given it; but the Turks having become maſters of this city, ſuffered it to go to decay (1).

(H) The family of the Comneni was very ancient and conſiderable. The reader may ſee a long account of it in Du Freſne, Hiſt. Byzant. de Familiis Comnenor.

(1) Baudran. Tournefort. La Martiniere,

which

which time the Comneni, either in contempt, or becauſe they could not brook an inferior title to his, likewiſe aſſumed the imperial dignity. However that be, it is certain that after they took that title, their ſucceſſors maintained it with great ſucceſs and bravery; and cauſed themſelves to be acknowleged as ſuch by foreign powers, as long as their empire laſted, that is, till it was ſubdued by Mohammed the Great, who, like an irreſiſtible inundation, drove all before him, as we ſhall ſee at the concluſion of this chapter.

It is not eaſy to gueſs from the Byzantine hiſtorians, how far they enlarged the limits of this new empire; nor what number of cities they poſſeſſed in the three provinces above mentioned. It is more likely they were in a kind of fluctuation during their wars with the emperors of Conſtantinople; ſo that we ſhall have no occaſion to dwell on the topography of it; thoſe provinces, and their chief cities, having been already deſcribed in the courſe of this hiſtory. The port called Platana lies eaſt of the city. Arrian informs us, that the emperor Adrian cauſed it to be repaired; and it appears from ſome ancient medals of this city, particularly two mentioned by Goltzius, that its port was very much frequented, and carried on a conſiderable traffick; for till that emperor repaired and altered the entrance of the harbour, the ſhips could not come into it, but at ſome certain ſeaſons of the year; but it then became fit to receive and ſhelter a great number of them, and of the largeſt ſize. The Genoeſe, who had it once in their poſſeſſion, are ſaid to have improved it with a large mole; which the Turks have ſince ſuffered to go to ruin; ſo that at preſent the port is only fit to receive ſaics, and other ſmall veſſels; and what is ſtill left ſeems to be the remains of what Adrian had formerly executed.

The port of Trapezond deſcribed.

Run to decay.

The country about Trapezond is fertile in variety of plants and fruit-trees, corn, and other products common to all thoſe provinces along the Euxine; but is moſt remarkable for the intoxicating and purgative quality of its honey. Ariſtotle ſays, it is chiefly gathered from the box-trees that grow on that plain; and that it is almoſt an infallible remedy againſt epilepſies; but adds, that if a perſon in health ventures to eat of it, it bereaves him of his ſenſes [1], as we find it operated on Xenophon's army for ſome ſhort time: and as this is juſtly eſteemed a ſingular rarity in nature, which the judicious Mr. Tournefort attributes to the quality of the flowers peculiar to this territory; ſo this country affords a

Wonderful effects of its honey.

[1] De Mirab. Orb. See Steph. de Urb. ſub voce Trapezus, & alibi: Pauſan. in Arcad. & alibi.

no

no leſs remarkable one in art, if we may call by that name a ſtructure which is reared, in ſome meaſure, without any. We mean the famed convent of St. John, ſituate in the middle of a large wood, about twenty-five miles ſouth of Trapezond, and ſurrounded with the greateſt variety of trees, moſt of them of a monſtrous ſize and height.

A ſtrange rude monaſtery deſcribed.

This wonderful edifice, all of wood, is built on a very ſteep and craggy rock, and inhabited by monks, who are wholly engaged with their temporal as well as ſpiritual concerns, and have neither books, learning, politeneſs, nor even ſo much as a kitchen. The aſcent to it is by a flight of ſteps, if a couple of monſtrous fir-trees (reared oppoſite to each other againſt the ſteep rock, like the two ſides of a ladder, and ſo coarſely notched with a hatchet, that the experteſt rope-dancer could not go up and down it without danger of breaking his neck) can deſerve that name. However, to prevent accidents of that nature, the cunning architect hath wiſely reared ſome poſts on each ſide to aſſiſt the climbers, without which it would be impoſſible to reach half-way up to the top, or even to deſcend, without being giddy; the two trees being as high as the maſt of a large ſhip. It is hardly poſſible for the firſt men, had they been even the mutum & turpe pecus that Horace makes them, to have contrived a more rude and ſimple ſtair-caſe. The reſt of the building is after the ſame primitive ſtyle, and all the avenues to it give the moſt lively idea of the infancy of nature, though variegated with the moſt delightful proſpects of ſmall landſkips, rivulets flowing from a great number of clear ſprings, ſtored with delicious fiſh: at a diſtance appear ſtately woods, which ſhelter it from bad weather and worſe neighbours, capable of raiſing and delighting the moſt contemplative minds; but the good monks here, who are about forty in number, are of too coarſe a ſtamp to improve it to ſuch advantages, and only uſe their apartments as ſo many cells or dens, where they retreat and ſecure themſelves from the inſults of the Turks, that they may attend their devotions with greater eaſe and ſafety.

Its income.

They are nevertheleſs wealthy, being maſters of all the territory round them for above ſix miles, and having ſome conſiderable farms on the adjacent mountains, and even ſome houſes in Trapezond. The misfortune is, that the tyranny of the Turkiſh government ſuffers them to reap but little comfort or advantage from either, inſomuch that they dare not build themſelves a church, or a better monaſtery, leſt the Turks ſhould demand or ſeize on the money that was deſigned for that uſe, as ſoon as either work was begun.

On

On which account they chooſe to live a kind of eremetic life, in that rude and almoſt inacceſſible retreat.

There are ſeveral ancient ruins in the neighbourhood of Trapezond, which ſtill preſerve ſo much of their priſtine grandeur as to make one regret the dreadful havock which the Turks have made among them, particularly ſome once ſtately churches; part of which are now turned into moſques, and the reſt gone to ruin. As to the city of Trapezond, it ſtill retains the title of archbiſhopric, though a very poor one, and is the reſidence of a beglerbeigh. It ſtands on the coaſt of the Euxine ſea, eighteen miles north-eaſt of Tocat, and about forty ſouth-weſt of Rizza, in latitude 41 degrees 5 minutes, and eaſt longitude 39 degrees 22 minutes. *Other curioſities.*

The Trapezuntines were of the Greek church; and after the foundation of this new empire had a patriarch of their own, but whether choſen by the emperor, or the clergy, can only be gueſſed at. After their becoming ſubject to the Turks, the latter ſtill choſe their patriarchs, who were afterwards confirmed by the ſultan: this was done in every place throughout the Turkiſh conqueſts, in the ſame manner as it was practiſed under the Chriſtian emperors; that is, without paying any fine to the treaſury. The clergy of Trapezond were the firſt who cauſed this dignity to be loaded with a tax of a thouſand ducats; which by degrees came afterwards to extend to thoſe of their other conqueſts. As for other particulars of their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, it is unneceſſary to dwell longer on them, conſidering that theſe two empires were only diſmembered from the grand one, and differed in nothing from it but in their change of government, or rather governors. With reſpect to their trade, conſidering the excellent ſituation of their metropolis, and ſome other cities, of which we have formerly given an account in the Pontic hiſtory, we need not doubt but the emperors encouraged it all they could; and the medals produced by Tournefort [m], as well as the coins mentioned by Du Freſne [n], are proofs of the trade and opulence, both of their empire and its metropolis, though, ſince their falling into the hands of the Turks, they have fared like all the reſt of their conqueſts, and greatly failed of their ancient commerce and ſplendor. We ſhall now give an account of the Trapezuntine monarchs, from Alexius their founder to David their laſt emperor, and of their different wars, by which they maintained themſelves in their high dignity againſt ſo many powerful enemies, *Their religion, patriarchs, &c.* *Trade.*

[m] Voyages au Levant. [n] Hiſt. Byzant. Stemm 28. p. 168.

ſuch

ſuch as were ſome time the Latins and the Greeks, eſpecially thoſe of the new Nicean empire, and at other times the Turks, Saracens, and Perſians. Theſe would doubtleſs make a conſiderable figure in hiſtory, had they been tranſmitted in an uninterrupted ſeries; but the misfortune is, that the Byzantine hiſtorians, from whom we have all our chief intelligence, have only mentioned them occaſionally, and as they were immediately linked with the affairs of the Conſtantinopolitan empire. We ſhall only add, that the duration of the Trapezuntine empire was about two hundred and fifty-ſeven, or two hundred and fifty-eight years, being founded in the year of Chriſt 1204, and ſubdued anno 1461, or 1462.

SECT. III.

Emperors of Trapezond.

Alexius the Great.

1. ALEXIUS COMNENUS, ſurnamed the Great, and his brother David, were the ſons of Manuel, and grandſons of the tyrant Andronicus Comnenus. We have already ſpoken of the uſurpation and tyranny, as well as the tragical end of the latter. Manuel was the eldeſt ſon of Andronicus; but ſo unlike his father in his vices, that he was diſinherited and impriſoned by him, and his next brother John was appointed his ſucceſſor; but when he found the whole populace exaſperated at this ſettlement, he then tried in vain to appeaſe them, by pretending that he always deſigned the empire for Manuel. Upon the death of Andronicus, and the reſtoration of Iſaac Angelus, or rather, ſoon after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins, Manuel's two ſons, Alexius, and his brother David, fled into Pontus, ſeized on Heraclea, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of the whole province of Paphlagonia, Colchis, Galatia, Cappadocia, with ſome other cities of leſs note; and Alexius fixed his imperial ſeat at Trapezond [o]. He ſoon after formed an alliance with Baldwin, emperor of Conſtantinople, and aſſiſted him againſt Theodore Laſcaris, as we have already hinted. It does not, however, appear that he then took the imperial title, moſt authors being of opinion, that it was either his grandſon or great-grandſon that firſt aſſumed it [p]; and that he contented himſelf with that of duke or lord of Trapezond, as he is ſtyled by an ancient author, who mentions him on account of his having

Founds the Trapezuntine empire.

[o] Nicetas in Baldwin. Acrop. cap. 7. Aithon. cap. 13. [p] Du Freſne ſub Alex. Mag.

bound

bound himself to furnish the sultan of Iconium with two hundred lances [q]. He was succeeded by,

2. —— Comnenus; and he by
3. —— Comnenus; of whose name and father we know nothing. *His successors.*

4. John Comnenus; the first, as is generally supposed, that took upon him the title of emperor. We hinted, a little higher, that he probably assumed it out of emulation to Michael Palæologus. A contemporary author, who was prothonotary to Palæologus, says [r], that John rather suffered himself to be complimented with it by the Greeks, out of contempt to that usurper, who, by his submission to the pope, and uniting the Greek and Latin churches, had rendered himself odious to them. Another, who lived near the same time [s], affirms, that the province of Trapezond was anciently under the government of dukes, who were sent thither in that quality by the Constantinopolitan emperors; that one of those governors, having rendered himself absolute, took upon him the title of king. We do not find that Michael made any opposition to it. The odium and other misfortunes he then laboured under, obliged him to confirm it; at least he thought fit to court his friendship and alliance, by offering him his daughter Eudocia Palæologina in marriage; which John readily accepted, and went to Constantinople to espouse her: and it is probable that his new title was then acknowleged and confirmed by his father-in-law. All that we know farther of him is, that he was earnestly courted by pope Nicolas IV. to engage in the Holy War about the year 1291; and that he died about four years after, and left two sons by his wife Eudocia, namely, Alexius II. who succeeded him, and John his younger brother, whom that princess took with her, being then very young, to Constantinople, soon after the emperor's death [t]. *John, the first who is styled emperor.* A.D. 1281. *Alliance with Michael.* A.D. 1295. *Death.*

5. Alexius II. was born in 1282, and left, by his father's last will, under the guardianship of Andronicus Palæologus the elder. He married the daughter of an Iberian prince, though he had the offer of a much richer wife, which Andronicus Augustus had designed for him. He defeated the Genoese, and soon after entered into an alliance with them. He was succeeded by his son *Alexius II.* A.D. 1303.

6. Basilius I. who was compelled to take arms, in order to gain his paternal inheritance [u]. He was highly courted by *Basilius I.* A.D. 1320.

[q] Vincent. Bellovac. sub ann. 1240. [r] Ogerius apud Wadd. Vide Du Fresne sub Joh. Comnen. [s] Aithon. cap. 13. [t] Pachym. lib. vi. cap. 32, & seq. Gregoras, lib. v. & vi. Bzov. sub ann. 1281, n. 12. [u] Gregor. lib. xi.

pope John XXII. to go over to the church of Rome [w]. His firſt wife, or, as ſome think, his ſecond, was Eudocia, the natural daughter of Andronicus Palæologus the younger [x]. He was ſucceeded by

Baſilius II. 7. Baſilius II. called alſo the Younger, to diſtinguiſh him, as is ſuppoſed, from his father. He married Irene Palæologina, the daughter of Andronicus the younger; which proves that he muſt be different from the former, who had married Eudocia, another of that monarch's daughters; for it was contrary to the canons of the Greek church to marry two ſiſters. Irene, however, was afterwards divorced, to make way for another woman of the ſame name, with whom the emperor was much enamoured; a circumſtance which A.D. 1339. ſo exaſperated his queen, that ſhe ſoon after contrived their ruin: ſhe cauſed him to be killed by ſome private means; and ſhe ſent her with her children, under a guard, to Conſtantinople. She governed the empire for ſome time, during which ſhe diſpatched an embaſſy to her father, deſiring him to ſend ſome proper perſon, to whom ſhe might be lawfully married, and have children by, to ſucceed to the empire. The matter was no ſooner known at Trapezond, than an inſurrection was raiſed againſt her, which ended in a civil war, in which Tzanychita, a Trapezuntine nobleman, who was head of one of the factions, was killed [y]. What became of her, or how the matter was concluded, we are not told; only that Baſil the emperor died in the year of Chriſt 1339 [z]. He left children both by his wife and by his concubine. He was ſucceeded by a ſon of the former,

Cut off by his wife.

Her reign raiſes a revolt.

Baſil's death.

— Comnenus. 8. —— Comnenus, whoſe Chriſtian name has not been tranſmitted to us; and this laſt by his ſon Alexius.

Alexius III. and Eudocia. 9. Alexius III. and the famed princeſs Eudocia Comnena ſeem, by all circumſtances of time and place, to have been brother and ſiſter, though their father's name is not recorded by any hiſtorian; neither is it eaſy to gueſs at what time the former began to reign. His ſiſter was a lady of extraordinary beauty, and, after having been married ſome time to a Turkiſh nobleman of great diſtinction, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children, as ſoon as ſhe was a widow ſhe was courted and betrothed to Manuel, the ſon of John, emperor of Conſtantinople, who brought her accordingly thither to conſummate his marriage: but here that old monarch, though decrepit with age, gout, and other infirmities, became ſo enamoured of her, that he married her himſelf

Married to the old emperor.

[w] Od. Reinald. ſub ann. 1329. n. 95. [x] Greg. lib. xi. Vide Du Freſne in Baſil. I. [y] Excerpt. ex Greg. apud Du Freſne in Baſil. II. p. 193. [z] Vigner. in Bibl. Hiſtor.

about

about the year 1380 [a], that is, towards the end of his life and reign; at which time this Alexius was upon the throne of Trapezond. This laſt married, if we believe Laonicus, ſome great lady of the Cantacuzenian family; who, being already in love with a Trapezuntine nobleman, ſaid to have been the keeper of the imperial wardrobe, was reported to carry on a ſhameful intrigue with him. His eldeſt ſon was no ſooner appriſed of it, than he took an opportunity to diſpatch her paramour, and then ſhut her up, with the emperor, in a room, with a deſign to have ſent them both out of the world by the ſame way. He was, however, prevented by the people from committing that double parricide, and forced to fly into Spain. Alexius was ſo exaſperated at his ſon, that he diſinherited him, and named Alexander, his younger ſon, to ſucceed him; but John found means, by the help of ſome Spaniards and Genoeſe, to return to Trapezond, where he privately murdered his father, and afterwards ordered him to be magnificently interred in the cathedral of that metropolis, to avoid being ſuſpected of having had any concern in his death [b].

Alexius murdered by his ſon.

10. John II. called alſo Calo-Johannes, having thus diſpatched his father, mounted the throne; but found it very difficult to keep himſelf upon it: for the Turks, by this time grown very powerful, attacked him on all ſides; ſo that he was forced to pay an annual tribute of three thouſand ducats to Amurath, and afterwards to his ſon Mohammed II. to enjoy the quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions. At his death, he left only one ſon, named Alexius, then but four years of age, who was afterwards carried captive, with the reſt of the family, at the taking of Trapezond by Mohammed, and a daughter, named Catharina Comnena, who was, by her uncle David, given to Aſan Beigh, vulgarly called Uſum Cazanes, in order to prevail upon that monarch to aſſiſt him againſt the continual irruptions of the Turks [c]. John had theſe two by the daughter of one of the kings of Spain, whom he married during his abode in that country. Some aſſert ſhe was David's own daughter [d], the laſt emperor of Trapezond; but without any foundation: for Laonicus expreſly calls her the daughter of John; and David himſelf, in his letter to Philip duke of Burgundy, ſays, that ſhe was the daughter of Calo-Johannes [e].

A.D. 1449.

John II.

[a] Laonic. lib. ii. Phranz. lib. iii. cap. 2. [b] Vide & Phranz. lib. ii. cap. 1. Ducas, cap. 22, & 45. Du Freſne ſub Alexandr. p. 194. [c] Leuncl. in Pand. Turc. n. 188. & Vigner. Bibl. Hiſtor. in an. 1456. Vid. & Cruis, Not. in Turco-Græc. p. 61. [d] Spandugin. Pius in Aſia, cap. 53, & al. [e] Æneæ Sylv. Epiſt. 391.

David the last emperor.

11. David Comnenus, the third brother of John, and last emperor of Trapezond, usurped the crown from his nephew, the young son of Alexius. He was a man of a savage and cowardly disposition [f]. He had married the princess Irene of the Cantacuzene family, a lady celebrated for her greatness of soul, and constancy under adversities [g]. Mohammed II. surnamed the Great, who by that time had made himself master of Græcia, Rascia, and Servia, and of the city of Constantinople, declared war against David, under pretence that he had assisted Usum Cazanes king of Persia, and was become tributary to him. David had neither courage nor strength to oppose him; so that he marched directly to his capital, and closely invested it by sea and land. The siege had lasted little above a month, when David, having in vain implored the assistance of the Christian princes, particularly of Charles VII. king of France, agreed to deliver up his metropolis, with the whole empire, on condition that his and his family's lives should be spared; that he himself should be permitted to carry with him all his children and treasures into Europe, and have a sufficient revenue assigned for their subsistence. Mohammed at first refused these offers with great indignation, not doubting to be soon master of that metropolis; but a second parley being desired, he in appearance accepted of them; but, having got the unfortunate emperor in his power, he treacherously caused him to be loaded with chains, and kept close prisoner. Being now master of the city, he seized on the emperor's wife, daughters, and upon the rest of his family, with as many of the nobility as he found in that metropolis, and caused them to be sent in triumph to Constantinople. Of the rest of the Trapezuntines he chose as many as he thought fit for his service, and ordered eight hundred promising youths to be brought up janisaries. The handsome females he distributed among his officers and favourites, and some of the finest amongst his own sons. He left in the city none but the meanest of the people; put a strong guard of janisaries into the castle, another of common soldiers into the town; and made his admiral governor of both. The other cities of the empire submitted to the conqueror; so that the whole was reduced to his obedience in a few months, and he returned triumphant to Constantinople [h].

Trapezond taken by Mohammed.

[f] Doroth. Monemb. apud Leon. Allat. de Consens. utr. Eccles. [g] Phranz. lib. iii. Spandug. Laonic. [h] Phranz. lib. iii. Spandug. Laonic. Doroth. Monemb. & alii. Vide & Cruis. Du Fresne, & auct. ab eis citat.

Soon

Soon after his arrival, he ſent the emperor David, and his children, priſoners to Adrianople; and, in the ſequel, upon ſome motions made, or pretended to have been made, in their favour, by the wife of Uſum Cazanes, he cauſed them to be put to death. He endeavoured to deſtroy the whole Comnenian family; and none of them were ſpared, but George the youngeſt ſon of David, who turned Mohammedan; and one of his ſiſters, who became afterwards Mohammed's concubine [1]. Thus ended the Trapezuntine empire, in the year of Chriſt 1462, and in the 257th or 258th of its foundation. A.D. 1462.

The royal family butchered by him.

CHAP. LXXXI.

The ancient State and Hiſtory of Spain, to the Expulſion of the Carthaginians by the Romans; and briefly continued to the Deſcent of the Northern Nations, and the uniting of its ſeveral Kingdoms under Ferdinand and Iſabella.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Spain.

AS the only land contiguous to Spain was Gaul, from whence it was ſeparated on the north by the Pyrenees, we may conſider it as a peninſula. On the other other ſides, we find it ſurrounded by the Mediterrenean; the Sinus Gaditanus, or bay of Gadez; the Fretum Herculeum, or Streights of Gibraltar; the weſtern ocean; and ſea of Cantabria. It extended, from eaſt to weſt, near 13 degrees; ſince Liſbon is 9 degrees 30 minutes weſt of London, and cape de Bauger in Catalonia 3 degrees 15 minutes eaſt of that city; and from north to ſouth about 9 degrees 40 minutes; for cape de Ortegal, the northern extremity of modern Spain, is in 44 degrees 10 minutes north latitude, and the ſouthermoſt point of Tariffa in 35 degrees 50 minutes north latitude. According to this *Limits and extent of Spain.*

[1] Lapnic. lib. ix. & x. Hiſt. Politic. p. 21. Ricaut. Ottoman Empire, &c.

determination, ancient Spain, including Luſitania or Portugal, was about five hundred and ninety-four miles long, and five hundred and eighty broad. As the natural limits of ancient and modern Spain are the ſame, they may be conſidered as entirely the ſame region[k].

Names of Spain. The generality of the Greek writers call Spain Ἰβηρία, Iberia, either from a colony of Iberians, a people bordering upon Mount Caucaſus, planted there; or from the Iberus, the Ebro of the moderns, one of the moſt famous rivers of this country. However, the ancients, who lived before Polybius, by Iberia underſtood only that part of Spain extending from the Pyrenees to Calpe, or the Streights of Gibraltar, and terminated by the Mediterranean; the other part being unknown to, and conſequently going under no name amongſt the Greeks and Romans. As the Iberus was by far the moſt conſiderable river of this tract, it might have received the denomination of Iberia from thence, as Egypt is ſaid to have derived its name from the Nile, which Homer intimates to have been called Ægyptus. But notwithſtanding what is here advanced, we apprehend, that the true and proper Iberia was originally only that part of Spain called Celtiberia, from a body of Celts ſettling in it, bounded by the Iberus, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean.

Whence called Spania, or Hiſpania. The generality of Spaniſh writers derive its name from Hiſpan, the ſon of Hercules, or Hiſpal, one of their fabulous kings; and father Briet from Pan, the lieutenant of Bacchus, to which the ſyllable *his*, which, in the Teutonic tongue, ſignifies *weſt*, was added, to denote its ſituation with reſpect to the reſt of Europe: but it appears from Bochart and others, that the Phœnicians called Spain, at leaſt that part of it known to them, שְׂפָנִיה Sphanija, or Spanija, from שָׁפָן *ſhaphan* or *ſpan*, a *rabbit*, becauſe it abounded with thoſe animals. That the *ſaphan* of the Phœnicians anſwered to the *rabbit*, can by no means be allowed. However, as the former, in many particulars, bore a near reſemblance to the latter, the Phœnicians, at their firſt arrival in Spain, might take them to be the ſame animal, and from thence impoſe upon this country a name which has ever ſince prevailed. The ancients ſometimes, from its weſtern ſituation, called Spain by the name of Heſperia, and Heſperia Ultima: but theſe, and other poetical appellations, being alſo given to Italy, as well as to other weſtern coun-

[k] Strab lib. iii. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 1. Ptol. Geogr. lib. ii. cap. 4. Vid. & Chriſtophor. Cellar. in Geogr. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 1. ſub init. Morden, Moll, Cluver, &c.

tries,

tries, we shall take no farther notice of, except that there were two principal Hesperias, namely, the Great, which was Italy; and the Less, which was Spain: these were likewise distinguished into Citerior and Ulterior, or the Nearer and the Farther [l].

Various divisions of Spain.

As Spain, before the Carthaginians made any conquests there, was inhabited by many cantons, governed by their own reguli, and independent of each other, it must have been originally divided into various petty kingdoms, the precise number of which it is impossible for us to determine. What number of provinces the Carthaginians divided that part of Spain subject to them into, for want of sufficient light from history, we must likewise own ourselves incapable of ascertaining. As for the Romans, the first division they made of Spain, or rather that part of it they had reduced, was into Hispania Citerior, and Hispania Ulterior; and this, according to Livy, took place immediately after the conclusion of the second Punic war. However, for some political reasons, they thought proper to unite these two provinces in the beginning of the Macedonian war; and again separated them in the consulate of Q. Ælius Pætus and M. Junius Pennus. This last disposition of Spain remained till the reign of Augustus, who altered it, by dividing Hispania Ulterior into two provinces, Provincia Bætica and Lusitania, and affixing the name of Provincia Tarraconensis to Hispania Citerior. In some of the succeeding reigns we find Hispania Ulterior and Hispania Citerior again mentioned; notwithstanding which, that the division introduced by Augustus, continued as long as the Romans had any power in Spain, appears extremely probable, both from the ancient geographers and many antique inscriptions exhibited by Gruter and Reinesius. Upon this plan, therefore, we shall here give our readers a geographical description of ancient Spain [m].

Limits and extent of Lusitania.

The limits of Lusitania not having been always the same, we cannot take upon us to define them. That this province extended from the Tagus to the Cantabrian ocean, or

[l] Euseb. in Chron. p. 13. Epiphan. in Hæres. lxvi. sect. 83. Pæan. de Hadrian. Scholiast. Vet. Salmas. & Casaub. ap. Bochart. in Chan. lib. i. cap. 35. ut & ipse Bochart. ibid. Strab. lib. iii. p. 144—168. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 5. & lib. viii. cap. 29, 58. Ælian. de Animal. lib. xiii. cap. 25. Shaw's Physical Observations, &c. in Syr. Phœnic, &c. p. 376. [m] Polyb. & Liv. pass. Cic. pro Fonteio, cap. 3. & pro lege Manil. cap. 12. Strab. in Extrem. Par. Geogr. Dio, lib. liii. p. 503. Pompon. Mel. lib. i. cap. 6. Solin. cap. 23. Tacit. Ann. iv. cap. 13. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 2. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. & Luc. Holstein in loc. Grut. Inscript. xiii. p. 31. & alibi. Reines Inscript. Class. ii. not. 13. & alib. Vid. & Cellar. ubi supra.

at leaſt the Promontorium Celticum, is intimated by Strabo. That part of it, ſituated betwixt the Anas and the Tagus, went by the name of Celtica, or the country of the Celts, as has been obſerved by Iſaac Voſſius. After Auguſtus had made the diſpoſition of Spain already mentioned, the Anas bounded Luſitania on the ſouth, and the Durius, or Douro of the moderns, on the north; ſo that the whole tract, lying betwixt the Durius and the Cantabrian ocean, was annexed to the Provincia Tarraconenſis. The interior limits of Luſitania, upon the frontiers of the Vettones and Carpetani, are fixed differently by different authors. The Luſitani poſſeſſed the diſtrict bordering upon the Atlantic ocean, and ſtretching itſelf from the mouth of the Anas to the Promontorium Sacrum, now known by the name of Cape St. Vincent. The ſituation of the Celtici, whoſe true name was Mirobrigenſes, according to Pliny, may be collected from what has been already obſerved. Some of the ancient geographers make the Turduli and the Turdetani one nation, particularly Ptolemy and Strabo; though they were conſidered in a different light by Polybius. Be that as it may, the Turdetani were undoubtedly a powerful people, ſince they occupied a conſiderable part both of Luſitania and Bætica, as appears from Strabo. The ſame may be ſaid of the Vettones, who ſpread themſelves over a large tract, terminated on the north by the Durius, and on the ſouth by the Tagus. However, as the ancients differ with regard to the extent of territory every one of thoſe nations or cantons poſſeſſed, it is probable that their frontiers were not always the ſame. Some authors aſſert Vettonia, or the country of the Vettones, to have been a province diſtinct from Luſitania, and limited on the ſouth by the Anas; and this notion is countenanced by an inſcription in Gruter[n]. The principal cities of this province are the following:

On the ſea-coaſt, 1. Barbarium Promontorium. 2. Oliſippo. 3. Tagi Fluvii Oſtia. 4. Fontes Fluv. 5. Lunæ Montis Promontorium. 6. Mondæ Fluv. Oſtia. 7. Vaci Fluv. Oſtia. 8. Doriæ Fluv. Oſtia. 9. Hannibal.

The inlands were, 1. Lavara. 2. Aritium. 3. Selium. 4. Elbocoris. 5. Araducta. 6. Verarium. 7. Velladis. 8. Æminium. 9. Chretina. 10. Arabriga. 11. Scalabiſcus. 12. Tacubis. 13. Concordia. 14. Talabriga. 15. Langobriga. 16. Mendeculia. 17. Caurium. 18. Turmogum.

[n] Strab. lib. iii. p. 96, 105. & alibi. Iſaac Voſſius in Pompon. Mel. Plin. ubi ſupra. Polyb. ubi ſupra. Prudent. Paſſion. Eulal. ver. 186. Petr. de Marca, Marcæ Hiſpanic. lib. ii. cap. 2. Grut. Inſcript. p. 383. not. 7. & Cellar. ubi ſupra.

19. Burdua.

19. Burdua. 20. Colarnum. 21. Iſallæcus. 22. Ammea. 23. Ebura or Ebora. 24. Norba Cæſarea. 25. Liciniana. 26. Auguſta Emerita. 27. Evandria. 28. Geræa. 29. Cæcilia Gemittina. 30. Capaſa. 31. Conimbrica. 32. Collipo. 33. Bletiſa. 34. Salmantica. 35. Salatia. 36. Pax Julia, and ſome others of leſs note.

It will not be expected that we ſhould give a particular deſcription of thoſe places, a great part of which we know little of but the names. The moſt remarkable are as follows.

Oliſipo, Oliſippo, or Olioſipon, ſince called Liſboa by the Portugueſe, and by us Liſbon, ſtands at the mouth of the Tagus, and was corruptly named by ſeveral of the ancients Ulyſippo; from whence ſome have imagined, that it was built by Ulyſſes, in his return from the Trojan war: but this notion ought to be treated as a mere fiction, deſtitute of the leaſt ſhadow of hiſtorical proof. We cannot therefore but believe, that Oliſipo, or Oliſippo, which from Pliny, the Itinerary, and Gruter, appears to have been the genuine proper name of this city, was originally formed from the two Phœnician words עליץ עבא *alis ubbo*, or *olis ippa*, *the pleaſant bay*; for that the ancient Oliſipo was ſeated on a bay we learn from Mela; and that the bay, on which Liſbon ſtands, is extremely pleaſant, all the moderns allow. Oliſipo, or Liſbon, the capital of the preſent kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve, is in 39 degrees 10 minutes north atitude, and 9 degrees 30 minutes weſt of London [o]. *Oliſipo.*

Talabrica, or Talabriga, a city ſeated upon the Vacus, mentioned by Pliny, Antoninus, and Appian. The citizens of Talabriga, from their frequent violations of treaties concluded between them and the Romans, appear to have had an implacable averſion to that people [p]. *Talabrica.*

Langobriga (B), a town ſituated between the Vacus and the Durius, near the ſea-coaſt. As both Pliny and Anto- *Langobriga.*

[o] Solin. cap. 23. Grut. Inſcript. p. 252. not. 5. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 22. Cellar. ubi ſupra, p. 56. Pompon. Mela, & Mercator. apud Bochart. ubi ſupra, ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. [p] Antonin. Itinerar. Plin. lib. iii. Appian. in Bell. Hiſpan.

(B) The word *Brica* or *Briga*, in the old Spaniſh language, ſignified *a city*, as we learn from Reſendius. Therefore Cetobriga, Arabriga, Langobriga, Meidobriga, &c. are equivalent to the city of Ceto, the city of Ara, the city of Lango, the city of Meido, &c. Hence probably came the words Brigantes, Brigantii, Brigæcum, Brigobanna, &c. all which are evidently of Celtic extraction (1).

(1) Laur. Andr. Reſend. in Antiq. Luſitan. lib. iv. Cetobrig.

ninus

nius take particular notice of it, it must have been a place of some consequence.

Araducta. Araducta, or, according to Reinesius, Ara Traducta, a Roman town, standing to the west of Langobriga. Our readers will find it in Ptolemy's list of the towns appertaining to Lusitania [q].

Æminium. Æminium, a city of this province mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, near the northern bank of the Munda a little to the south of Talabriga [r].

Conimbrica. Conimbrica, a city situated on the opposite bank of the Monda. Out of the ruins of this place has arisen the modern Coimbra, one of the finest towns in Portugal, celebrated all over the learned world for the famous university which has so long flourished there.

Arabriga, Sellium, and Concordia. Arabriga, Sellium, and Concordia, betwixt Conimbrica and the Tagus, were places of some note, though we have scarce any particulars relating to them preserved by the ancient geographers [s].

Collippo. Collippo, a Roman municipium, between the Munda and the Tagus, upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean. We find this town named, by an inscription in Gruter, Collipro; but that the *r* there was originally a *p*, appears from the best manuscripts of Pliny, as well as another inscription. Not far from this city, in a south-western direction, stood Eburobritium, or as, in our opinion, it ought to have been written, Eburobriga. As the stones that preserved the above mentioned inscriptions were in the neighbourhood of Liria, some believe that the ruins of the ancient Collippo are to be found there [t].

Scalabis. Scalabis, or Scalabiscus, as some think it called by Ptolemy, has been considered by Cellarius as the fifth Roman colony of Lusitania, surnamed Præsidium Julium. The Spanish writers almost unanimously agree that the spot on which this town stood, is at present occupied by Santerien, a Portuguese town, about forty miles north-east of Lisbon; though the Scalabiscus of Ptolemy had a situation assigned it to the north of the Munda [u].

Aritium Prætorium and Hierabriga. Aritium Prætorium and Hierabriga, in the neighbourhood of Scalabis, are mentioned by the Itinerary. The former place stood thirty-eight Roman miles from Olisippo, and the latter thirty.

Norba Cæsarea. Norba Cæsarea, a town of repute during the government of the Romans in Spain, on the southern bank of the

[q] Ptol. Geograph. lib. ii. cap. 5. Tho. Reines, apud Cellar. ubi supra. [r] Laur. Andr. Resend. in Antiquit. Lusitan. lib. iv. [s] Antonin. ubi supra. [t] Grut. Inscript. p. 323, & p. 1155. [u] Plin. & Cellar. ubi supra.

Tagus,

Tagus, near the famous ſtone bridge built over that river, and dedicated to Trajan. Pliny calls the inhabitants of this city Colonia Norbenſis. Some Spaniſh authors believe Norba Cæſarea to have been contiguous to Trajan's bridge; but other writers of that nation, well verſed in the antiquities of their country, maintain the contrary. Pliny and Ptolemy favour the ſentiment of thoſe who place Norba at ſome diſtance from the bridge, ſince they make that town, or, which is the ſame thing, the Colonia Norbenſis, to have been ſituated in a territory on the ſouth of the Tagus. We are informed by an ancient Roman inſcription in Gruter, that the Roman municipia of Luſitania, by ſums raiſed amongſt themſelves, finiſhed the aforeſaid bridge in the reign of the emperor Trajan. The names of theſe municipia, or rather their inhabitants, have been preſerved by a ſtone, belonging formerly either to the bridge or town of Norba, and are theſe; Icadita, Lancia Oppidana, Arabriga, Mirobriga, Lancia Tranſcudana, Colarnum, Meidobriga, and Interamnia. Some, if not all of theſe municipia, undoubtedly made a conſiderable figure, though we are ſupplied with very few particulars relating to them by the ancient geographers and hiſtorians [w].

Bletiſa. Bletiſa was ſituated near ſome of the above mentioned municipia, on the ſouthern bank of the Durius, as may be inferred from an inſcription in Gruter. The modern name of Bletiſa is Ledeſma, according to Mariana. With reſpect to any farther particulars of this place we are entirely in the dark [x].

Salmantica. Salmantica, called at this day Salamanca, was in the neighbourhood of Bletiſa, as appears from the above mentioned inſcription. It is at preſent famous all over the world, on account of the flouriſhing univerſity founded there, which, for many ages, has been deemed the principal ſeat of literature in Spain.

Auguſta Emerita. Auguſta Emerita, the capital of this province in the Roman times, upon the Anas, was built by a body of ſuperannuated ſoldiers, to whom Auguſtus aſſigned a diſtrict in Luſitania, from whence this city deduced its name. This colony we find frequently mentioned by ancient Roman coins and inſcriptions. Emerita at firſt appertained to the Turduli, according to Strabo; though afterwards it was ranked among the towns of the Vettones, as we learn from Prudentius [y].

[w] Plin. Ptol. Reſend. ubi ſupra. Nonius & Vaſæus apud Cellar. ubi ſupra, p. 58. Grut. Inſcript. p. 162. [x] Marian. lib. vii. cap. 4. [y] Strab. ubi ſup. Dio, lib. liii. p. 114. Num. Auguſt. & Num. Tiber. apud Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 60. Prudent. ubi ſup. Ludov. Non. cap. 31.

Ebora,

Ebora. Ebora, called by the Romans, Liberalitas Julia, was ſeated between the Tagus and the Anas, though it approached nearer the latter than the former river. The ſame ſpot is at preſent occupied by Evora, where there has long flouriſhed a famous univerſity. This town was a Latin municipium, as appears from ſeveral ancient coins and inſcriptions [z].

Salacia. Salacia, the Alacer do Sal of the moderns, ſtood ſome miles to the weſt of Ebora. From ſome ancient inſcriptions in Gruter it may be inferred that this place was a Roman municipium.

Pax Julia Pax Julia, the Beja of the moderns, a city in the ſouthern part of the province, ſtood near the frontiers of the Turdetani, if it did not actually belong to that nation. It is mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy, and Antoninus. Near this place a great number of Roman coins and inſcriptions have been found within theſe few years. All the remaining tract to the ſouth of this city, limited on the eaſt, weſt, and ſouth, by the Anas, the Atlantic ocean, and bay of Gades, from its figure, was called Cuneus by Pomponius Mela and Strabo. Myrtilis, Balſa, Oſſonaba, and other places of this tract, do not deſerve any great regard. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that, according to Reſendius, Mortola, or Mertola, a modern town upon the Anas, and Tanilla, or Tavira, a conſiderable city of Algarve, anſwer to the ancient Myrtilis and Balſa. Oſſonaba, if we believe the ſame author, has for a long time lain in ruins, though ſome footſteps of it are ſtill remaining, particularly in the walls of Faro, another town of Algrave, upon the ſea-coaſt. The Lacobriga of Mela ſtood under the Promontorium Sacrum, known in theſe times by the name of Cape St. Vincent, upon a ſpot occupied at preſent by a village called Lagoa by the Portugueſe, near the city of Lagos, where ſome ruins are ſtill to be ſeen [a].

The Luſitanians, if we credit Strabo, preferred exiſting upon the plunder of their neighbours to the improving their lands, though naturally fertile and rich. In other caſes their manner of living was rude and ſimple. They uſed to warm themſelves by means of fire-ſtones made red hot. They bathed in cold water, eat only of one diſh at a meal, and that very ſparingly. Their dreſs was commonly black. They made no uſe of coin, but either bartered one commodity for another, or for ſome plates of ſilver, flatted with the hammer, and cut into pieces. They uſed, like the Egyp-

[z] Gruter. Inſcript. p. 489. n. 9. [a] Plin. Ptol. Antonin. ubi ſupra. Pompon. Mel. & Strab. ubi ſupra. Laur. Andr. Reſend. in Antiquit. Luſitan. Grut. Inſcript. paſſ.

tians,

tians, Gauls, and other ancient nations, to expoſe their ſick on the highways, that travellers might direct them to proper medicines for their cure. They were exceedingly robuſt, and ſo warlike, that the Romans did not conquer them without great difficulty and length of time [b].

Promontories of Luſitania.

The chief promontories of Luſitania were the Promontorium Sacrum, Promontorium Barbarium, and the Promontorium Magnum, or Oliſiponenſe; to which ſome add a fourth, called by Pliny Cuneus. The Promontorium Sacrum, or Cape St. Vincent, formed an angle, projecting into the bay of Gades and the Atlantic ocean, which was termed the weſtern extremity of the world by Strabo. The Promontorium Barbarium, at preſent Cape Spichel, lay to the ſouth of Oliſipo, though not very diſtant from the mouth of the Tagus. The Promontorium Magnum, or Oliſiponeſe, ſtyled by ſome of the moderns Cape de Rocca Sintra, projected into the Alantic ocean near Oliſipo, and was eſteemed by Pliny the common boundary of earth, ſea, and heaven. As for Pliny's Cuneus, it is ſuppoſed to be the promontory now known by the name of Cape St. Mary, by Cellarius [c].

Ports and iſlands.

The principal ports of this province were thoſe of Oliſipo, at preſent Liſbon, and Hannibal. The ſituation of the former is ſo well known as not to admit of a diſpute; but that of the latter cannot be ſo eaſily aſcertained. Mela, upon whoſe authority it entirely depends, places it near the Promontorium Sacrum; which is all that we can ſay of it. The only iſland deſcribed by the ancients, on the coaſt of Luſitania, is the Londobris of Ptolemy, the Barlenga or Barlinges of the moderns [d].

Mountains.

The Mons Herminius of Hirtius, the modern Arminno, was the only mountain of note in this country. It is rather a long ridge of mountains, ſince known by the name of Sierra de Eſtretta, and running from north to ſouth, between the provinces of Beira and Tra los Montes. On the top are two lakes of vaſt extent, and very deep, one of them eſpecially, which they have never yet been able to fathom. It is ſtill more ſurpriſing, that they are calm when the ſea is ſo, and rough when that is ſtormy. Hence, as well as from the loud and dreadful noiſe they make, which is echoed by the adjacent hills, and heard at many leagues diſtance, they are judged to have ſome ſubterranean communication with the ocean; which is ſtill farther confirmed by wrecks of ſhips which are ſometimes thrown up by their

[b] Strabo, lib. iii. [c] Plin. lib. iv. cap. 22. & alibi, & Hardouin. in loc. Ptol. lib. ii. cap. 5. Cellar. ubi ſupra. [d] Mel. lib. iii. cap. 1.

waves,

waves, though at near four miles diſtance from the ſea. Herminius Minor, now Sierra de Marvao, from the city of that name, is part of the greater Herminius, and runs into the province of Alentejo; but is not near ſo conſiderable. The warlike inhabitants of the former were called Plumbarii, from their lead-mines and works; and, according to Cellarius, the city of Medobriga or Meidobriga, ſtood at the foot of it [e].

Rivers. The moſt celebrated rivers of Luſitania were the Anas, the Tagus (now Tajo), and the Durius. The Anas is called at preſent the Guadiana, the Tagus the Tajo, and the Durius the Douro. To theſe may be added the Munda, which now goes under the name of the Mondego; and the Vacus, now called the Voga. They all flow from E. to W. and empty themſelves into the Atlantic ocean [f].

Curioſities. We ſhall here only mention ſome few natural curioſities of Luſitania: 1. The lead-mine near Meidobriga, from whence Pliny denominates the inhabitants of that place Plumbarii; which ſtill exiſts. 2. The golden ſand, or ſmall particles of gold, mixed with the ſand of the Tagus. This we find atteſted by Pomponius Mela, Ovid, Pliny, and Silius Italicus; and the truth of it ſeems confirmed by Reſendius; for that famous antiquary aſſures us, that ſome of thoſe golden particles were found, intermixed with the ſand of the Tagus, in his time; but that the laws of Portugal would not permit people to throw up the interior ſand on the banks of the Tagus, with which theſe particles are ſuppoſed to be incorporated, leſt the neighbouring fruitful fields ſhould be thereby damaged. He adds, that the kings of Portugal have a ſceptre of the Tagan gold, than which no purer is to be found in the world [g]. 3. Beſides the two lakes already deſcribed, we may add the famed pool near Roya, remarkable for its hideous noiſe, like that of thunder at a diſtance, which is commonly heard before a ſtorm, at the diſtance of eighteen or twenty miles. 4. Another pool, near the river Mondego, mentioned by Pliny, and by many modern authors, which is obſerved to ſwallow every thing that is thrown into it, though ever ſo light. We might add the great variety of hot and medicinal, and other ſurpriſing ſprings, with which this kingdom abounds; theſe may be ſeen in Vaſeus's deſcription of it, who adds, that the ſingle province, formerly called Interamnis, and now Entre Duero e Minho, hath no leſs than twenty-five thouſand conſtantly flowing with clear and excellent water.

[e] Hirt. cap. 48. Cellar. ubi ſupra, p. 60, 61, & ſeq. [f] Ptol. ubi ſupra. [g] Pompon. Mel. lib. iii. cap. 1. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 22. & lib. xxxiii. cap. 4.

The

The ſecond province of Hiſpania Ulterior, or Farther Spain, was Bætica, ſo called from the famed river Bætis, ſince Tarteſſus, and now Guadalquiver, or the Great River. We have already mentioned its limits on the weſt or Luſitanic ſide; it was bounded on the ſouth by the Mediterranean, and the Sinus Gaditanus, or gulph of Gades; and on the north by the Cantabric ſea, now the ſea of Biſcay. Its limits towards the north-eaſt, or province of Tarraco, cannot be ſo well fixed, becauſe they are rightly ſuppoſed to have been in a conſtant fluctuation, as each petty monarch had an opportunity to incroach upon his neighbour[h]. The Bætis divided this province into two parts; on the one ſide of which, towards the Anas, were ſituate the Turdetani, from whence the country was called Turdetania, but better known by the name of Bæturia. On the other ſide were ſituated the Baſtuli, Baſtitani, and Conteſtani, along the Mediterranean coaſts. We forbear mentioning a great number of others, of which we know little more than the names. The reader may ſee them in Cellarius above mentioned.

Bætica deſcribed.

Its inhabitants.

We come now to ſpeak of the Roman colonies in this province; which Pliny ſays was the moſt fertile, beſt cultivated, and pleaſanteſt of all the reſt. The Romans had four tribunals, or, as they ſtyled them, Conventus juridici; namely, 1. Gades, now Cadiz; 2. Cordova: 3. Aſtigi, now Ecija: 4. Hiſpal, now Seville. They had, beſides, about one hundred and thirty cities, among which nine were ſtyled colonies; eighteen municipal; twenty-nine which enjoyed the franchiſe of Latium; ſix free cities; three allied ones; and one hundred and twenty tributary[i].

Roman colonies.

The whole province of Bætica, according to the laſt quoted author's diviſion, contained what we now call Andaluſia, part of the kingdom of Granada, and the outward boundaries of Eſtramadura.

With reſpect to the cities and colonies above mentioned, we ſhall, for brevity's ſake, ſingle out only ſome of the moſt celebrated; namely, that of the Accitani, ſituate between the Baſtuli and Baſtitani, along the ſame ſhore. We find it mentioned by Pliny[k], and by ſome ancient inſcriptions, under the name of Colonia Julia Gemella Accitana[l], whoſe citizens were called Gemellenſes, becauſe that colony was compoſed of two legions, the third and fixth, as appears by thoſe inſcriptions[m]. It is ſuppoſed to be the

[h] Cellar. lib. ii. cap. 1. ſect i. Gerund. [i] Vid. Briet. Parallel. part. 2. lib. iv. cap. 3. [k] Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 1. [l] Grut. p. 271. n. 6. [m] Cellar. lib. ii. cap. 1. ſect. 3.

preſent

preſent city of Guadiz in Granada, an ancient epiſcopal ſee, formerly called the Accitanus, from Acci, the name of that city. Thoſe of Gades, Corduba, Aſtigi, and Hiſpal, were famous for their courts of judicature. The other four, whoſe ſituation is leſs known, together with their other municipal and free cities, in a much greater number than in any of the other two provinces, the reader may ſee in Briet's Parallel.

Their cities. How few of thoſe ancient cities this province had before the introduction of the Romans, is not difficult to gueſs, if we only conſult the beſt ancient authors with any tolerable attention; though, if we were to truſt to the Spaniſh writers, it muſt have not only abounded with them, but they muſt likewiſe have been vaſtly large, populous, and opulent, even before the arrival of the Tyrians, Phœnicians, and other nations. But, when we come to examine things more cloſely, we find no traces of this boaſted number of cities: on the contrary it is plain, that, when the Turdetani had, at the inſtigation of Hannibal, aſſiſted the brave Saguntines their neighbours againſt the Romans, we read but of one city they had, the name of which is not even recorded [n]. Ptolemy mentions only one ſea-port town on the coaſt of the Baſtitani; namely, that of Οὐρκὴ, Urce, ſince Vorgi, in the bay of that name, though we find ſome conſiderable places on thoſe coaſts, ſuch as Menobia, Abdera, Portus Magnus, Beria, Murgis, and ſome others. In the inland parts, were likewiſe a conſiderable number, which Pliny, in his Natural Hiſtory, tells us in his time, amounted to a hundred and ſeventy-two. The greateſt part of theſe being, in all appearance, and from the Roman names given them, either founded or inlarged by that nation, ſuch as thoſe of Aſta Nebriſa, Ugia, and Orippa [o], on the banks of the Bætis, below Hiſpal; we have not time to dwell upon them, but ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort recital of thoſe of

Hiſpal. the greateſt note. Among theſe is the famed city of Hiſpal, now Seville, ſituate on the river Bætis, and the metropolis of this province. It was formerly a great emporium, by means of that navigable river, which brought a vaſt quantity of merchandize to this city, and thence quite up to Corduba. This city is ſtyled by Pliny Colonia Romulenſis, and by ſome ancient inſcriptions Colonia Romulea. The

Corduba. next city in rank to Hiſpal is Corduba, now Cordoua, no leſs famed for its rich mines, and fertile ſoil, or, as the poet calls it [p], Aurifera Terra, than the other was for its

[n] Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 6. lib. xxiv. cap. 42. [o] De his vide Cellar. ubi ſupra. [p] Sil. Ital. lib. iii. ver. 401.

trade.

trade. It is ſituate on the banks of the ſame river, was called a patrician colony, and is ſaid by Strabo to have been the work of Marcellus; but which of the Roman generals ſo called, he leaves us to gueſs. Tarteſſus was once a famed city, pleaſantly ſeated between the two mouths of the Bætis, which made a kind of iſland, called after the name of that city [q], Tarteſſida. This ancient city is celebrated by ſome of the Latin poets, as ſituate on the fartheſt verge of the weſtern ſhore. *Tarteſſus.*

We come now to the famous bays and ports of this province; the firſt of which, next to Gades, is that called Portus Meneſtæus, mentioned by Ptolemy and Strabo, who likewiſe places here the oracle of that name. The next is that of Beſippo, the country of the famed Pomponius Mela, and ſome others, without the Streight's mouth. Calpe, Carteia, Barbeſul, Cilniana, Solduba, Suel, and Malaca, within the Streight, and on the coaſts of the Baſtuli. Menoba, Selumbina, Abdera, and Portus Magnus, and likewiſe the famed promontory of Charidemus, are mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Mela, and placed by them on the Baſtitanian coaſts. Beyond the promontory lately mentioned are the cities of Baria or Barea, and Murgis, in the Virgitanian bay; the former of which is reckoned by Ptolemy, and the latter by Pliny, the laſt ſea-port of the Baſtitani. Thoſe ancient authors, however, do not agree about the ſituation, names, and ſome other particulars relating to thoſe cities. For inſtance, Calpe, which is by Strabo ſtyled a famed ancient Spaniſh ſea-port, Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, only call a mountain: whence the learned Bochart and Caſaubon have thought, that Calpe, in the former, was inſerted, by the miſtake of the tranſcriber, for Carteia, eſpecially as no notice is taken in the others of any city beſides it in that bay. But this has been in a great meaſure anſwered, by ſome learned men, from the inſcription on a medal, with theſe letters, C. I. CALPE; that is, as they read it [r], Colonia Julia Calpe: and this they ſupport with a paſſage out of N. Damaſcen [s]; who ſays, that Octavius overtook Cæſar near the city of Calpia, which is the ſame with Calpe: ſo that Strabo's text wants no amendment, and one of theſe two opinions muſt be right; either that there were ſeveral cities ſituate on the mouth of the Streight, on account of its advantageous ſituation, one of which was call- *Bays and ports.* *Meneſtæus Portus.* *Baria.* *Margis.* *Calpe.*

[q] Strab. ubi ſupra. Cenotaph. Piſan. p. 207. [r] Spanh. de Præſt. Numiſm. p. 766. Norris cap. 1. ſect 2. art. 34. [s] Excerpt. Valeſ. apud Cellar. lib. ii.

ed Calpe or Calpa, or else, that the Carteia, which was situate near the promontory of Calpe, had likewise taken that name from it; and accordingly the Itinerary mentions a city, in the road from Malaga to Cadiz, called Calpe Carteia, joining thereby those two names, probably to shew that they signified the same thing. Barbesula, Asta, and some other sea-ports, appear likewise to have been considerable colonies, as well as a number of inland towns, in particular that of Munda, where Cæsar defeated the sons of Pompey.

The river, Bætis, &c. There are not any remarkable rivers in this province, except the Bætis, or, as it is sometimes written, Bætes and Betis. It hath, according to Pliny[t], its spring-head in the Tugienian foreſt, so named from Tugia, a town mentioned in the Itinerarium of Antoninus, in the province of Tarracon, at the foot of the Oreſpodan mountains. Others of leſſer note are the Barbeſola, near the city or mount Calpe; the Saduca, which seems to have divided the Bastuli from the Accitani; and some few others not worth regarding. This

Mountains. province is incumbered with mountains of a considerable length and height. We find, however, but few described by ancient authors. Ptolemy takes notice only of two, the Mariani and Hipylæ, the latter of which were scarcely known to any other ancient writer. These, as they run along the territories of Hispal or Seville, were, we are told, called Illipæ; and, as they approached nearer to Corduba, denominated Themarini, and Orthosdadæ[u]: the former, which are by Pliny called Ariani, run along the famed desert of the same name, now known by that of Sierra Morena, in the neighbourhood of the city of Castulo. The region of the Bastitani was likewise full of them; and all that is necessary to add, with relation to them, is, that they abounded with metals and minerals of several kinds, particularly gold, quicksilver, copper, and lead; the greatest quantities of which appear, however, to have been dug out of those called Mariani, from which the Romans reaped considerable advantage, having every where their procuratores rei metallicæ, or overseers of the mines. That of Calpe, is neither famed for its height, mines, fertility, or on any account but that of its situation.

Soil, climate, and produce. The goodness of the soil and air of Spain, in general, is too well known to dwell on. This province was particularly remarkable for it; as appeared from the healthiness and longe-

[t] Plin. lib. iii. cap. 1. sect. de Montibus.

[u] Vide Marin. Sicul. Reb. Hisp. lib. i.

vity

vity of its inhabitants. And ſo little did they know of phyſic, that, if we believe Poſidonius, they uſed, like the Luſitani, to lay their ſick relations along the public ſtreets and roads, to have the advice of paſſengers. He adds, that their very women were ſo robuſt and healthy, that they never kept their beds after delivery. Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded plenty of corn for men, and barley for their horſes and cattle, the former of which they bred in great quantities, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and eſpecially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it ſeems, ſo very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on thoſe healthy mountains, that it could not be uſed either for food or drink, or even made into cheeſe, without ſome mixture of water. Fruits of all kinds grow there in the greateſt perfection: but theſe are topics well known to every reader. Mineral waters flow, in the greateſt quantity, both hot and cold; and the kingdom of Granada is famed for them, and for their medicinal virtues. Some of them riſe ſo hot, as to exceed, we are told, even boiling water. The moſt famous of the warm kind are thoſe of Hiſpal, Cordoua, and Granada; to which they attribute the virtue of curing the moſt inveterate diſeaſes. There are two others of great reputation; that called Bætio, from a ſmall town near it; it ſprings, in a ſmall rivulet, from the top of a very high rock, and falls, by two ſtreams, into two lakes; and its waters are celebrated for curing all hæmorrhages, by waſhing. The other is near the town of Antiquitaria; which is no leſs diſtinguiſhed for diſſolving the ſtone, and bringing it off by urine [x].

Healthy inhabitants.

Stout women.

Rich mountains.

Natural rarities.

Medicinal waters.

Againſt hæmorrhages and ſtone.

Tarracon, the third province in Spain, was by the Romans ſtyled Hiſpania Citerior, or Hither Spain, and diſtinguiſhed, by the name of Tarraconenſis, from the ancient city of that name, then the capital of it, and the reſidence of the Roman præſes, or governor. We have ſeen, under the two former articles, how difficult it is to ſettle the limits of this province, with reſpect to thoſe of Bætica and Luſitania, on account of their frequent fluctuation. On the three other ſides they are eaſily determined, it having the Mediterranean on the eaſt, the ocean on the weſt, and the Cantabrian Sea and the Pyrenees on the north, by which laſt it is divided from Gaul. Tarracon, being by far the largeſt of the three, had a much greater number of cities, and variety of nations, as well as, in all likelihood, of petty kingdoms and governments. It was divided into two parts by the famed river Iberus, now Ebro, which ran almoſt

Tarracon deſcribed.

Its limits.

Divided by the Iberus.

[x] Marin. Sicul. de Reb. Hiſp. lib. i. cap. de Fontibus.

acroſs the whole province, having its ſource on the north-weſt ſide of it, between the Cantabrian mountains, and very near the ſea of that name; and by a ſouth-eaſt courſe, emptying itſelf into the Mediterranean, about thirty miles below the city of Tarraco. Along the ſouth-weſt ſide of that river were ſeated the Celtiberians, the moſt ancient, and by far the moſt conſiderable, of all the nations of this province, if the others were not, indeed, ſo many diſtinct tribes deſcended from them, as we are apt to believe, from the greater part of their names being of Celtic rather than of any other extract. This canton was denominated from them Celtiberia, and reached from the mouth of the Iberus quite to the country of the Cantabri, on the oppoſite coaſts. Along the courſe of it, on that ſide, were, among other people of leſs note, the Illercaones, ſeated juſt within the mouth of it. Higher up are placed the Hedetani or Sedetani, Pelendones, Berones, and laſtly the Cantabri. Nearer to Bætica, and on the borders of it, were, towards the Mediterranean, firſt, the Conteſtani, mentioned alſo under the laſt article; and acroſs the country, towards the oppoſite ſhore, another tribe of the Turdetani, the Lobetani, Luſones, Carpetani, Arevacæ, and Vaccæi. Theſe two laſt were ſeparated from each other by the river Duero, which was the confine of Luſitania on that ſide. Weſt of the Cantabri and Vaccæi were, on the Cantabrian coaſt, the Tranſmontani and Artabri; and in this laſt was the Artabrum Celticum, called alſo Promontorium Nericum, now Cape Finiſterre. In the inland parts are placed the Aſtures, Auguſtani, Lucenſis, and Gravii. On the weſtern coaſt, between the cape above mentioned and the Durius, were the Callaici or Callæci, whoſe country was called Callæcia, one tribe or canton of which were named Bracarii, and the country Bracara; and theſe were ſeated on the banks of the Durius: the others were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Lucenſes; and both were ſubdivided by Ptolemy into ſeveral tribes. All theſe are mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo, Mela, as ſeated, the former on the other ſide of the Iberus, and the latter on the hither ſide of the Tagus. On the other ſide of the Iberus, along the Mediterranean coaſts, were ſituated the Lacetani and Auſetani, who were parted by the river Rubicratus, or, as Mela calls it, Lubricatus, now Lobragat, near the city of Barcelona. Along the Iberus were the Ilergetes, Jacetani, Sueſſitani, Vaſcones, Varduli, Autrigones, and Concani; and theſe were ſeated between the head of the Iberus and the Cantabrian Sea. Nearer to the Pyrenean Mountains, along that vaſt ridge, were the Ceretani, Indigetes, Cemſi, Lacetani, and ſome others of leſs con-

Celtiberians, where ſeated.

Other nations and cantons along the coaſts.

In the inland.

Lucenſes.

Lacetani, and other tribes.

conſequence. Every one had its diſtinct metropolis, from which they either took their name, or, which is perhaps more likely, to which they gave that of their own tribe (L). We have already obſerved in general on this head, that thoſe diſtricts which end in *tania*, and the cities which end in *briga*, are of Celtic extract; and we ſhall add here, that this province abounds with ſuch, more than the other two, as may be ſeen by the liſt of the people we have given below; for where their name terminated in *tani*, the country of courſe ended in *tania*, as Auſetani and Auſetania.

Roman colonies.

We find, however, the following colonies to have been planted amongſt theſe Celtic ſettlements; namely, in Aſturia, the famed Colonia Auguſta. It is mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, and in ſome ancient medals, though differently placed [y], and was a court of judicature, according to Pliny. It divided the Aſtures into Auguſtanos and Tranſmontanos: we find here alſo the ſeventh Roman legion, ſurnamed Gemina, ſettled between the Aſturian ſea and the capital of this diſtrict, called Aſturia Auguſta, now Aſtorga, ſtill a city of ſome note. This country was alſo celebrated by the poets for the gold it produced. The next was the infamous Calaguris, diſtinguiſhed by Pliny by the name of Naſcica, juſtly execrated, by the Roman authors [z], for the murder of the brave Sertorius, mentioned in a for-

Colonia Auguſta.

Auguſta Gemina.

Calaguris.

y Vide Golitz. Holſtein. & Hardouin. apud Cellar. lib. ii. cap. 1. ſect. 3, & 44. Vide Strabo, lib. iii. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 22. z Vide Valer. Max. lib. vii. cap. 6. L. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 22.

(L) Thus the Bracarii had Bracara, the Artabri Artabrum, the Aſtures Aſturia, the Sueſſitani Sueſſa, the Lacetani Lacca, the Ilergetes Ilerda; and ſo of the reſt, unleſs where the Romans, ſettling afterwards, called thoſe towns by new names; eſpecially we find ſome few of thoſe places ſtyled Julia and Auguſta, as Julia Libyca, in the canton of the Ceretani; Cæſar Auguſta, among the Lacetani; Auguſta Bracara, Porta Auguſta, Auguſti Lacus, in Gallicia, and the like.

Here we muſt obſerve, that this laſt province was not called ſo from the Galli, as ſome have imagined, but from its ancient metropolis, which was called Calle, ſituate in a pleaſant valley upon the Durius, and near the mouth of it; and the port of it, being become conſiderable in time, was ſince named barely Porto and Puerto by the Spaniards, by the Dutch Port a Port, and by us Oporto. From theſe two, Porto and Calle, came the name of Portugal, or Portucalle. As for Calle, it muſt be owned, that it is not mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, &c. but we find it in the Itinerarium, which places it on the road between Uliſippo, or Liſbon, and Auguſta Bracara (1).

(1) Cellar. ubi ſupra, lib. ii. cap. 1. ſect. 3.

mer volume. The city was at first municipal, in some inscriptions, surnamed Julia, and then made a colony, with some others mentioned by Pliny[a], particularly those of Osca, Ilerda, and Tusiasa. Calaguris, since Calahorta, was the chief town of the Autrigones, seated indifferently by geographers on either side, but by the most exact on the other side the Iberus. Grachuris, or Graccuris, placed by Ptolemy among the chief cities of the Vascones, was, as we are told by Livy, built by Tit. Sempron. Gracchus, who took it from the Celtiberians, and called it by his name. Its situation is uncertain; only the Itinerarium places it in the road to Cæsar Augusta, at sixty-four miles distance from it, in the road to Tarraco. It is, in some ancient inscriptions, styled Municipium Graccuris. Some Christian champions, who suffered here for the faith in those early times, are, in some martyrologies, called the Grachurian, and in others the Ilerdan martyrs, from the vicinity, probably, of those two places. The last we shall name is the famous town of the Vaccæi, called Intercata, celebrated by ancient authors for a single combat, which was fought, at the siege of that city, between Scipio Æmilianus and a bold Spanish tribune, in which the latter was killed; and the former had no sooner escaped one danger, than he exposed himself to a greater, and was the first who scaled the walls of that place [b]. We come now to treat of some of the most celebrated cities of this province, at the head of which we may justly place the metropolis.

Graccuris.

Intercata.

Tarraco. Tarraco, now Tarragon, situate on the Mediterranean coast, between the rivers Iberus, or Ibero, and the Rubricatus, now Lobregat. It was a colony planted by the two Scipios, Publ. and Cornel. with a juridical court; and was the capital of Hispania Romana [c]: but Spanish authors, though they grant those two Roman generals to have planted a colony here, will by no means allow that they founded the city; but derive its origin as high as Hercules, or even Tubal [d].

Saguntus. Below Tarraco was the famed city of Saguntus, or Saguntum, on the same coast, of which we have spoken amply in a former volume.

Valentia. Valentia, another ancient city near Saguntum, was the capital of the Edetani. It is situate on the mouth of the river Thurias, about three miles from the sea, and was anciently styled Colonia Julia, founded by Junius Brutus, whilst he was consul in Spain [e], and given to his army. It was afterwards destroyed, with Herennius

[a] Plin. lib. iii. cap. 3. [b] Liv. Epitom. xlviii. Aurel. Vict. in Scip. Æmil. Appian. in Iberic. &c. [c] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. [d] See Gerund. lib. v. & Taraph. ex Berosi & al. [e] Liv. Epitom. lv.

and

and his accomplices, by Pompey, and rebuilt by Julius Cæsar. It has retained its ancient dignity and grandeur, was once the metropolis of the kingdom, as it is ſtill of the province of that name, an archiepiſcopal ſee, and one of the moſt conſiderable cities of Spain. The people of this city were formerly as much celebrated for their valour and honeſty by Tully, as they now are cenſured by their own authors, for their ſuperſtition and bigotry [f]. Before we leave this part of Spain, we muſt not omit the famous city of Complutum, now Alcala de Henarez, ſo called from the river Henarez, on whoſe banks it was ſituate, in a pleaſant plain; and, as that river falls into the Tagus, the circumjacent cities are eaſily furniſhed will all kinds of proviſions and merchandizes. Complutum has now no biſhoprick, but only a collegiate church, and is a conſiderable univerſity, having been greatly endowed by the celebrated cardinal Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, under whoſe auſpices, care, and immenſe charges, the firſt polyglot Bible was compiled, and printed in this city, and is from thence called the Complutenſian polyglot. *Complutum.*

Weſtward of Complutum and the ancient city of Toletum, now Toledo, and on the river Tagus, was ſituate the Mantua of Ptolemy; near which ſpot the town of Madrid, the now metropolis of all Spain, is ſuppoſed to have been ſince built (S): but of this, and many others, both on the ſea-coaſts and on the continent, we ſhall forbear ſaying any thing farther, they being well known to almoſt every reader. We have already had occaſion to mention ſome of the moſt conſiderable rivers, mountains, and promontories, in the courſe of this article: the reſt, that are of any conſequence, together with ſuch natural rarities as may be worth obſerving, the reader will find in the following note (T). *Mantua.*

The

[f] De his vide Marin. Sicul. de Reb. Hiſp. in fin. lib. iii.

(S) Hence we find it called by ſome Mantua Carpetana, by others Madritum and Madritt; but commonly now Madrid (1).

(T) Beſides the cities above mentioned, we ſhould take notice of a very famed one, namely, Carthage; but we have had occaſion to ſpeak of it in a former volume. Segobriga, alias Segobrica, was the capital of the Celtiberi, concerning the ſituation of which authors differ ſo much, that we can hardly ſay any thing poſitive about it. It was, however, entirely deſtroyed by the two Scipios; but ſince we find it mentioned by many ancient authors, and by the Itinerary, we need not doubt but it was rebuilt by ſome of their ſucceſſors. We have al-

(2) Vide Sicul. Marin. de Reb. Hiſp. lib. ii.

Iſlands. Gades.

The chief iſlands belonging to the Tarraconian province are, firſt, that of Gades, ſituated on the gulph of that name, between the ſtreights of Gibraltar and the river Bætis, and celebrated, not ſo much for its magnitude, as for the concourſe of foreign nations from the earlieſt times, and for its city and temple, of which, as well as of its foundation, names, and other particulars, we have already ſpoken in this chapter, and in a former volume. Strabo gives it the length of one hundred furlongs, and a much ſmaller breadth, yet it had, according to him, no leſs than five hundred horſemen in his time [g]. As for the city, we have, in the preceding part of this volume, mentioned its being plundered by the Carthaginians, and taken by the Romans. It was ſince erected into a biſhoprick, under the title of Epiſcopatus Gaditanus [h]. The next is the ſo much celebrated, and ſo difficult to find, iſland of Erythia, where Geryon is ſaid to have kept his fine oxen, which Hercules ſtole from him [i]. Some have placed it near that of Gades; others think it was the ſame; and others have thought that it was either ſunk into the ſea, or was to be ſought for among the rocks.

Baleares.

The Baleares and Gyneſiæ were diſtinguiſhed into Major and Minor, or, as Mela expreſſes it, Majores and Minores. Their extent, ſituation, and other particulars, are ſo well known to every reader, that it were ſuperfluous to dwell upon them. All that we need ſay of them here is, in what ſtate they were in thoſe ancient times. In the former, now Majorca, Ptolemy and Strabo place the two cities of Palma and Pollentia, the one on the eaſt, and the other on the

[g] Strab. lib. iii. [h] Vaſ. Chronic. cap. 21. [i] Heſiod. Theogon. ver. 289, & ſeq.

ready given a full account of the Numantine war, and the ſad cataſtrophe of that city.

The remarkable mountains, beſides thoſe already mentioned, are the Pyrenees, which divide Spain from Gaul by a continued ridge of vaſt height and depth, reaching from ſea to ſea. They are ſuppoſed to have been ſo called, from a fire which ſpread itſelf over the ſurface of them, and burnt with ſuch fierceneſs during ſeveral days, that it even melted the metals within their bowels. The Idubedan hills were another ridge, which croſſed one part of this province, and at the foot of which were the heads of ſeveral large rivers, ſuch as the Tagus and Anas, which flowed weſtward toward the ocean, on one ſide; and of the Suero and Thurias, which ran eaſtward into the Mediterranean on the other. The Oroſpedan ridge ſeems to have ſeparated this province in part from Bætica. They were alſo called Mariani Montes, and now Serra Moena.

weſt;

weſt; and theſe are by Strabo, Pliny, and Mela, ſtyled Coloniæ. In the latter, now Minorca, they place likewiſe two cities, Jamno and Mago, which were, however, no more than caſtles or forts, if Mela's judgment, who was a native of that country, is to be preferred to the others; but as they ſeem to have been both built near the mouths of two convenient harbours, which are in this iſland, they doubtleſs ſoon grew into conſiderable ſea-ports, eſpecially that of Mago, which became ſince a celebrated one, under the name of Maon. Theſe two iſlands were, on account of their ſituation and harbours, ſtyled Fortunatæ, and ſtand about thirty miles diſtance from each other. They were at firſt poſſeſſed by the Phœnicians, who held them till Q. Metellus brought them under the Roman yoke, for which he got the ſurname of Balearicus [k].

Pityuſæ iſlands.

Farther, towards the Streights, oppoſite Cape Dianium, now Denia, are the two iſlands called Pityuſæ by the ancients, from the vaſt quantity of pine-trees which they produced [l]; one of which, by far the larger of the two, though ſmaller than that of Minorca, was named Ebuſus, now Ivica; the other Ophiuſa, now Formentera. They are both mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny; and Mela adds, that the former was not only very fertile, but that it bred no kind of poiſonous, nor even wild creatures; and that if any were brought thither, they could not live in it [m]. The iſland abounded with paſture-ground [n], and with great variety of fruits, particularly a kind of figs, for which it was famed; ſome have even added ſugar-canes [o], which it is ſaid they boiled into ſugar, and made a traffick of; but this opinion Cellarius has ſhewn to be a miſtake, and that it means no other than the dried figs above mentioned. The other, by far the ſmalleſt, is thought by ſome to have been the ſame with that which the Latins call Colubraria; but the author laſt quoted hath plainly proved, from the teſtimonies of Pliny and Mela, that they were two different iſlands, and that the latter was at a much greater diſtance from that of Ebuſus than the former; and both of them are ſmall and inconſiderable. Ebuſus was the name both of the iſland and of the city in it, though the latter was more commonly called Ebuſium; for we find, in ancient inſcriptions of Gruter, Ordo Ebuſii, and Rp. or Reſpublica Ebuſii; and are farther told, that it was a colony of the Phœnicians [p]. The laſt iſland worth mentioning was called Capra-

Their product.

Colubraria.

Ebuſus.

Capraria.

[k] Flor. lib. iii. cap. 8. [l] Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5. [m] Mel. de Sit. in fin. lib. ii. [n] Feſt. Avien. Deſcript. Orb. vet. 621. [o] Nonn. cap. 94. in Stat. Sylv. lib. i. [p] Sil. Ital. lib. iii. ver. 362.

ria,

ria, and now Cabrera, probably from the number of goats it bred, as the Colubraria ſeems to have been from its great quantity of adders. It ſtands on the ſouth of Majorca, and is remarked for being fatal to mariners. All theſe iſlands, and a great number of others mentioned by ancient writers, ſuppoſed to have been ſwallowed by the ſea, belonged to the province of Tarracon, and underwent the ſame fate of paſſing from the Carthaginian to the Roman yoke. We ſhall conclude this ſection with obſerving from Pliny [q], that this province was divided into ſeven conventus, or provincial aſſemblies, whoſe names the reader will find in the note (W). It had ſeventy-nine towns, twelve colonies, twelve Roman, and eighteen Latian cities, and a hundred and thirty-five ſtipendiaria or garriſons, in the Roman pay, and one confederate.

The ſeven Carthaginian conventus.

SECT. II.

The Religion, Laws, Government, Cuſtoms, Learning, &c. of the Ancient Spaniards.

The religion of the ancient Spaniards.

THERE is no doubt that wherever Spain was inhabited by the deſcendents of the Celtes, thither they brought their old religion and government. What theſe were we have already explained, and ſhall ſpeak more largely upon in the next chapter of the ancient Gauls, the undoubted and immediate deſcendents of the ancient Celtic ſtock; for we find a great affinity between them in all theſe particulars, as they ſprang from the ſame origin; but as the Gauls are better known to us than the Spaniards, we ſhall refer the greateſt part of what we have to ſay on theſe different heads to their hiſtory; for could we even admit what the generality of Spaniſh writers affirm, after Beroſus, that Tubal, the fifth ſon of Japhet, came and peopled Spain ſo early as a hundred and forty-three years after the flood, Gomer, his eldeſt brother, and the father of the Celtes, muſt have been as ſoon in poſſeſſion of Gaul; and both muſt of courſe be ſuppoſed to have brought the ſame religion, laws, and government, namely, that which they received from their grandfather Noah; which they ſtrictly adhered to for a long ſeries of years, and was in all theſe countries the ſame as that of the old patriarchs. They wor-

[q] Plin. lib. iii. cap. 3. & al. ſupra citat.

(W) Theſe were the Carthaginienſis, Tarraconenſis, Cæſar Auguſtanus, Clunienſis, Aſtugienſis, Lucenſis, and Braccarus.

ſhipped

shipped one Supreme Being, not in temples, but in consecrated groves. They believed a future state of rewards and punishments. They offered victims to, and celebrated festivals in honour of him; and in most things observed a great simplicity in all their religious rites during a series of ages, till, by intermingling with other nations, they degenerated into several of their superstitions, especially into their various ways of divination. One bloody and inhuman custom they adopted indeed very early, in common with most ancient nations, that of human sacrifices[r]. *Simplicity of their worship.* *Superstitious customs.*

But as this country was afterwards invaded by a variety of other nations, the Egyptians, Tyrians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and a multitude of others who settled amongst them, it is natural to think, that every people brought their own religion and customs with them; and what these were may be seen in the history we have given of each of those nations in the course of this work. It is plain such a mixture of different nations must have brought not only a vast variety of religious laws and customs, but produced some alterations in each of them, as they mutually borrowed some doctrines and notions, rites and fashions, from one another, as suited their taste and circumstances. However, after the invasion of the imperious Romans, whose constant policy it was to introduce every where their gods, religion, and laws, we need not doubt but those that fell under their dominion were obliged to submit to this change. *Various religions introduced; and superstitious, under the Romans,*

The inundation likewise of the northern nations, such as the Suevi, Goths, and Vandals, must likewise have introduced such changes as may be better imagined than expressed. We shall have occasion to speak of them in their several histories; only thus much may be observed here, that though they had embraced Christianity, yet they were all of them infected with the Arian heresy. This did not, however, relax their zeal against the heathenish idolatry and superstition, which had been introduced by the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Romans, and other nations, whose temples, altars, and statues they destroyed wherever they came, obliging all who fell under their dominion to embrace their religion; but both Sueves and Goths at length exchanged their Arianism for the orthodox faith, the former under the reign of their king Ariamirus, or Theodemirus, and the latter under Reccaredus, who made open profession of it upon his accession to the crown. Their example was followed by the nobles, bishops, and clergy; and their confession of faith was presented to the famed council of Toledo, where some farther regulations were made *under the Goths, &c.* *Heathenish idolatry abolished.* *Arians converted.* *Their confession of faith.*

made for the preſervation of orthodoxy, and for introducing a general conformity of worſhip. This great change was ſo much the more remarkable, conſidering the tenaciouſneſs of thoſe nations for their old religion, as it was brought about without perſecution, or any other violent means. Upon the whole it muſt be owned, that the Goths made many excellent laws and regulations for the better government in church and ſtate. We ſhall ſpeak of them in a ſubſequent chapter; and ſhall only mention here a famed liturgy peculiar to them, known by ſeveral names, ſuch as officium Gothicum, Toletanum, and Mozarabicum (A), ſuppoſed by moſt authors to have been compiled by Iſidore, then biſhop of Hiſpal or Seville. This liturgy was confirmed by the Toletan council, though the pope did not ſuffer them to enjoy it long, before he obliged them to exchange it for the Roman, not without a long and ſtrenuous oppoſition from the Goths, eſpecially thoſe of Catalonia, who ſent a number of deputies to the council of Mantua, to expoſtulate againſt ſuch a forced innovation. Some extraordinary particulars are recorded with relation to this ſucceſsleſs deputation, which, as they diſplay the unfair intrigues and arbitrary ſway of the Romiſh court, as well as the ſuperſtitious practices of thoſe times, we ſhall give our readers in the note (B).

Liturgy.

Suppreſſed by the pope.

It

(A) So called from the name of Mozarabes, which they then gave to thoſe Chriſtians, who were under the ſubjection of the Saracens.

(B) The merit of theſe two liturgies, we are told, was to be decided by ſingle combat; in which one champion was to fight for the Gothic, and the other for the Roman. They did ſo; and the latter loſt the battle; but the Roman party refuſing to abide by the event, it was again agreed to have it tried by fire. Accordingly both books were flung into the flames, from which the Gothic was preſerved, and the other burnt: but ſuch was the prevalence of the pope's party, as it was managed by his legate, that the ſynod of Leon decided again in favour of the latter. The Gothic, however, was far from being wholly ſet aſide. It was retained by ſeveral congregations, and by ſeven churches of Toledo, during a conſiderable number of years. Neither did it loſe its credit by being diſuſed, ſince even the famed cardinal Ximenes erected a chapel in that city; in which the divine worſhip was to be performed according to the Gothic or Mozarabic liturgy; but in the end, means were found to get it condemned, and wholly ſet aſide, and with it the old character, in which it was written.

This character was not, however, the old Runic, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the German hiſtory, as hath been affirmed by ſeveral authors; but the old Gothic, in which moſt, if not all, books were

It is probable, that though the first inhabitants of Spain were under one monarchical government, upon their first settling in it, as well as those of Gaul, Germany, and other European nations, yet as they came to increase in number, and enlarge their territories, they split themselves into a multiplicity of petty kingdoms and commonwealths. There was not only a great variety, but likewise a constant fluctuation of them as they passed from one dominion to another, especially when they came under that of the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals. *Government, laws, &c.*

After the expulsion of the Carthaginians by the Scipios, Spain was governed by consuls, proconsuls, prætors, proprætors, and præsides, from that time to the reign of Tiberius, if not later; for we find L. Piso prætor of the Hither Spain in his time, and a rescript of Adrian directed to the consul of Bætica. The præsides are mentioned likewise in subsequent reigns; but that title was of a more general signification, and given to the governors of every inferior province. However, it continued under the government of forty-six emperors, from Augustus, who is said to have finished the conquest of it, to Honorius, in whose reign the Romans were expelled by the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi. Under these emperors Spain was divided into two provinces; but soon after reduced to one, though under several governors, or legati and tribuni [s]. About the reign of Diocletian and Maximinian it began to be governed by comites or counts; and if any of these were compelled to be absent from their jurisdiction, they left the care of it to substitutes, who were called vicarii. At length, in the time of the Goths, those provinces that were subject to the Romans, were governed by duces and præfecti. Under the Goths they had nineteen kings, during the space of two hundred years, that is, from Athanaric, who began his reign in the year of Christ 369, to Leovigild, anno 569. The Suevi reigned in Galicia, according to Isidorus, a hundred and seventy-seven years, that is, from Hermeric, A. D. 408, to Andeca, defeated and dethroned by Leovigild, who brought that kingdom under his subjection, A. D. 581. In this list of Suevian kings, there is a chasm of their names *Under the Romans.* *Under the Roman emperors.* *Under the Goths,* *and Suevi.* *Succession of their kings.*

[s] Tacit. Ann. Vide & Vas. Chron. cap. 13.

were written at that time in Spain, and elsewhere; and was near the same with the old Roman, but of a coarser mould; and was particularly used in all the Visigothic dominions (1).

(1) De hoc vide Vas. Chron. sub ann 727. Comec. de Gest. Fr. Ximenii. lib. ii.

for

for a hundred years, from Remiſmund, who infected that kingdom with Arianiſm, A. D. 464, to Theodemirus, who embraced the orthodox faith, the hiſtorians not having judged them worthy of being recorded: the others are ten in number, including Reccaredus juſt mentioned. Laſtly, the united kingdoms of Goths and Suevi, which commenced with Reccaredus, the ſucceſſor of Leovigild, and firſt orthodox king of the Goths, A. D. 568, continued a hundred and twenty-ſeven years, that is, to A. D. 713, when the Moors ſubverted the kingdom in the third year of Roderic, their ſeventeenth and laſt king.

Laws. What laws the ancient Spaniards originally had, or what new laws were impoſed upon them by their conquerors, we are ignorant of. We are indeed told that Hercules, upon his coming thither, gave them a body of laws, ſuch as he had brought from his own country, whether Egypt, Tyre, or Greece; but what they were we are totally unacquainted with.

Valour and diſcipline. In the art of war, and military diſcipline, we ſhall have occaſion to point out, that the Gauls, Germans, and other nations of Celtic extract, were very deficient, truſting too much to their ſtrength and bravery, contemning all other arts, and even defenſive weapons as unbecoming men of real courage; but in this reſpect the Spaniards, though no leſs courageous and athletic, had much the advantage of them; and this was chiefly owing to their being ſo early and ſo frequently at war with other belligerent nations, from whom they received great improvements. Diodorus Siculus tells us [t], that the Celtiberians had ſuch an excellent way of tempering the ſteel with which they made their weapons, that no ſhield or helmet could reſiſt them; and that they uſed them with equal dexterity, whether cavalry or infantry. He likewiſe commends them much for their extraordinary agility; and adds, that they uſed defenſive weapons, ſuch as the ſhield and helmet. This is the reaſon the Romans were ſo long in ſubduing them. At the introduction of the Romans, the Spaniards had ſuſtained ſuch long and dreadful wars againſt the Carthaginians, that one might have expected they would have been quite exhauſted; and yet it is evident they held out againſt them near two hundred years before they were totally ſubdued.

Excellent weapons.

Learning, arts, and ſciences. That the Spaniards were not deficient in point of genius, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, of which we ſhall mention only three of the moſt illuſtrious, namely, the famed Stoic Seneca, who was a na-

[t] Lib. ii. cap. 1.

tive

tive of Corduba; the learned orator Quintilian; and the great coſmographer Pomponius Mela, often quoted through this work: and though we find other European nations very ſlow and tardy in cultivating the arts, ſuch as the Gauls, Germans, and others, who affected a ſingular contempt for them, as unworthy of their martial genius; yet, conſidering the vaſt concourſe of foreign nations in this kingdom, their excellent ſituation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they began to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours; and it ſeems indeed almoſt incredible that they could have ſubſiſted without them, conſidering the continued invaſions they were expoſed to, and the many enemies they were forced to oppoſe. Even learning, and the liberal arts, if we may believe Strabo, began early to flouriſh here [u]; for he tells us, that the Turdetani, a people of Bætica, were become very celebrated for them, and were poſſeſſed of a vaſt number of volumes of great antiquity, and codes of laws written in verſe, and other pieces of poetry of above ſix thouſand years ſtanding; which laſt, however exaggerated, at leaſt evinces, that there was ſome foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of learning: and this truth is farther confirmed by ſeveral other ancient authors [w], particularly by what Pliny tells us [x] of one Lartius Licinius, a private perſon, who made no difficulty to give no leſs a ſum than forty thouſand nummi for a book of Pliny II.'s Commentaries.

Their early progreſs in Spain.

We make no ſcruple to affirm, that the original language of Spain was the old Celtic, of which we have already given ſome account, and ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak farther of in the next chapter; for, whether we ſuppoſe, with the generality of Spaniſh authors, that Tubal went thither by ſea, and peopled that country, or, as we have elſewhere hinted, that the Celtes, or deſcendents of Gomer his eldeſt brother, ſpread themſelves by gradual migrations, the caſe will be much the ſame in this reſpect; becauſe, on the ſuppoſition of the former hypotheſis, Tubal and Gomer parting ſo ſoon after the flood, their language muſt have been ſimilar; that is, the Tubalians, or, as they are called by others, Cetubales, and the Gomerians, muſt have carried the ſame language into thoſe countries where they ſettled, be it called by either name; with this difference only, that it muſt have been much purer, and more

Their language, the old Celtic.

[u] Strab. lib. iii. Lucan. & al. plur.

[w] Pomp. Mela, Sil. Ital. Columel. Martial.

[x] Plin. Epiſt. lib. iii.

analagous

analagous to that of the antediluvian patriarchs, whether Hebrew or not: but as that Beroſian account is now, by moſt learned men (except the Spaniards, who are fond of their own antiquity beyond other nations), rejected as fabulous, we have ventured here, and elſewhere, to aſcribe the firſt peopling of Spain to the Celtes, or deſcendents of Gomer (G); for if we allow the Celtes to have been either the firſt, or even ſome of the moſt early inhabitants of Spain, it will not appear ſo wonderful there ſhould ſtill be found, in the modern language of that country, ſuch primitive words, notwithſtanding the length of time, and various changes, it may have undergone, ſince it is no more than what may be obſerved, not only in the High and Low Dutch, and other northern languages, but even in the French, the fartheſt removed, and moſt altered, from the old Gauliſh or Celtic. We may add, that the modern Spaniſh preſerves more of the maſculine grandeur, beauty, and energy, of the old Celtic, than any other in Europe. The ſame may be ſaid of the Spaniſh nation, with reſpect to the ancient Celtic grandeur and dignity; and we may add, of their pride, and ſingular contempt not only for trade, commerce, manufactures, and the like, but even for agriculture, which they looked upon as beneath their rank and martial genius; and therefore transferred them in a great degree to their ſlaves, as we ſhall find when we come to mention the Gauls, in the ſucceeding chapter.

Its conformity with other languages.

Analogy between the Celtes and Spaniards.

The Latin introduced by the Romans.

But whatever the original language of Spain may have primarily been, it muſt have undergone great changes by the different nations, who ſubdued this country: but the greateſt of all was under the Romans; for theſe made it their conſtant buſineſs to introduce their tongue into every country that fell under their yoke, at firſt, by founding ſchools, and even univerſities, where youth might, with the Latin tongue and character, be taught the arts and ſciences, which was no ſmall inducement to inſpire them with a fondneſs for it; and where that failed, more forcible means were uſed: ſo that, in time, almoſt the whole kingdom came to ſpeak it as their native language, except thoſe few tribes of the ancient inhabitants, who, perhaps, like our Welſh, fled into their mountainous countries, where they could not be conquered, and retained their original tongue.

(G) What confirms this hypotheſis ſtill more, is, that their ancient language, as it is ſtill preſerved in ſome parts of Spain, appears to be much the ſame with that which is ſpoken by our Welſh, who are deſcended from Gomer, and retain ſtill their paternal name of Gomerai, and call their own language Gomraeg.

The

The Latin continued no longer there than to the irruption of the Goths and Vandals, under whom it began by degrees to degenerate from its purity, as it did in Gaul, Italy, and other parts, where thoſe barbarous nations prevailed. *Corrupted by the Goths and Vandals.*

From what we have lately quoted out of Strabo, it is evident that the ancient Spaniards muſt had admitted writing amongſt them many ages before either the Gauls, Germans, or any others of Celtic extraction; ſince theſe made it a religious maxim to commit nothing to writing, either of their hiſtory, learning, or religion, but were contented with preſerving them in poems which their druids and bards learned by heart, and tranſmitted in the ſame manner to their diſciples: but it is more than probable, that the former were, in ſome meaſure, forced to it by ſome of thoſe many nations under whoſe dominion they gradually paſſed, ſuch as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, the Greeks, and the Romans. But which of thoſe different characters was firſt adopted, or became moſt in vogue, we cannot pretend to determine; but may aver that, from the ſettlement of the Romans, their letters, as well as language, extirpated all the reſt, and were in uſe till their expulſion, when the old Gothic took place. *Their writing.*

It will not be amiſs here to take notice of a ſingular method which the ancient Spaniards had of computing time, and which was peculiar to that nation. It took its riſe in the reign of Cæſar Auguſtus, prevailed all over Spain, and was not aboliſhed till after the middle of the thirteenth century; that is, firſt in Arragon, by Peter IV. A. D. 1358, in Caſtile, by king John, anno 1383, and in Portugal, by John I. anno 1415. This method was, to reckon the years by æras, or rather from the æra, as they called it, without any other explanation, inſtead of computing from the creation, flood, birth of Chriſt, or any other remarkable epocha; and this was uſed, not only in their profane, but what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, in their eccleſiaſtical records. So that it puzzled the learned to fix the point of time of this æra, and to find out a proper etymon for that word thus uſed. It may ſuffice to ſay here, that they are all agreed on one point; namely, that the æra commenced in Auguſtus's time; ſome add, that it was inſtituted in honour of him; but they differ about the number of years which it preceded the birth of Chriſt. Some reckon it but barely twenty-ſix years; and think thoſe highly miſtaken who allot it any more[y]. Others think it began on the year in which that *An odd way of computing time in Spain.*

[y] Gerund. Paralipom. Hiſpan. lib. x. in fin.

prince ordered the world to be taxed, as the evangeliſt expreſſes it; and that it was called æra from the *æs*, or *copper coin*, which was exacted by that decree. Some carry it higher, to fifty-two years before Chriſt, which was, according to them, the year in which Julius Cæſar was killed, and Auguſtus ſucceeded him[z]. The moſt reaſonable of them are thoſe who deduct the firſt four years out of that emperor's reign, becauſe, as he was then but one of the triumvirs, it is not likely the Spaniards ſhould have begun ſo ſoon to compliment him with this new computation; and conſequently think, that it did not take place till the fifth year of his triumvirate, when that country, together with Gaul, and ſome other provinces, fell to his lot; and that was, according to Uſher, forty years before the birth of Chriſt. As for the origin of the word, thoſe that do not approve of the derivation we have mentioned, which is that of Iſidore biſhop of Seville [a], will be leſs pleaſed with ſome others, ſtill far remote of the Spaniſh critics. Vaſeus thinks that æra was a mark ſtamped on the coin, to ſhew the value of it; and Reſendius affirms that æra was nothing elſe but a term to ſignify a computation, or computed number: theſe opinions would appear moſt probable to us, if they were ſupported with any good authority.

Why called æra.

Excellent way of educating their youth.

Great love of liberty.

The education of their children, in ancient times, conſiſted principally in training them to martial deeds, uſing them to ſuch food and exerciſes as tended to make them ſtrong and athletic, active and nimble; in inſpiring them with a love of liberty, and a contempt of death. Theſe principles were ſo ſtrongly inculcated into them from their infancy, and ſo carefully enforced both by precept and example, as they grew up, as well by the hopes of future glory to the bold and brave, and of miſery and ignominy to the baſe and cowardly, that the whole nation ſeemed unanimouſly to prefer death to ſlavery; and looked upon it as the greateſt of all bleſſings to die fighting in defence of their country. Even their women, by being obliged to train up their children in this martial way, contracted ſuch a habit of bravery, that they ſeldom or never failed of ſhewing ſome ſignal examples of it, as often as an opportunity preſented itſelf.

Bravery of their women.

We have already obſerved, that this country was not only excellently ſituated for trade and commerce, but abounded with ſuch commodities, eſpecially ſilver, as invited all the trading nations of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, to go thither,

[z] Vide Vaſei Chronic. cap. 22. apud eund. ibid.

[a] Iſidor. Epiſt. ad Vaſ.

to

to ſettle among them, and even to ſubdue them; inſomuch that ſcarce any kingdom under heaven ever paſſed under ſo many different maſters. Egyptians, Phœnicians, Tyrians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, Goths, Vandals, Moors, and many others, have had their particular ſettlements in it; and the greateſt part of them, if not all, have held it, or at leaſt ſome conſiderable ſhare of it under ſubjection, promoted its trade and navigation, and founded in it great and opulent cities.

General character of the ancient Spaniards.

To cloſe the character of the ancient Spaniards: they poſſeſſed all the virtues of the old Celtic nation, and inherited fewer of their vices than any others of their deſcendents; they were brave, noble, magnanimous, and hoſpitable to a high degree; and ſo famed for their fidelity, that, even after their being conquered by the Romans, ſeveral of thoſe emperors preferred them to other nations, to be their body guard. They were ſober, frugal, patient under hardſhips, jealous of their honour, and till a few centuries paſt, rather deſirous to preſerve their own territories, than to go in ſearch of new ſettlements abroad. As for the vices they had in common with all others of Celtic extraction, thoſe of pride, cruelty, ſuperſtition, and lazineſs, are juſtly laid to their charge; but it doth not appear, that they imitated the Gauls and Germans in their ſumptuous banquets, much leſs in their exceſſive fondneſs of Bacchanalian exceſſes; on the contrary, they are famed for their ſobriety, by which they preſerved themſelves from ſuch bloody quarrels as were the natural conſequence of thoſe revels which we find ſo prevalent among their neighbours, and were uſually attended with the worſt effects.

SECT. III.

The Origin, Antiquity, and Chronology, of the Ancient Spaniards.

Spain, its firſt inhabitants.

WE have, in ſeveral parts of this work, proceeded on the moſt probable hypotheſis, founded on the teſtimony of the beſt and moſt ancient authors, that the Celtes, the deſcendents of Gomer the eldeſt ſon of Japhet, were the firſt who peopled Europe, at leaſt as far as the Danube and Rhine, and even beyond theſe rivers. Whether by gradual migrations from the place of their diſperſion after the flood, or by colonies brought thither by ſea, will, we think, be with more propriety enquired into in the next chapter, where we ſhall ſpeak of the Gauls, the immediate deſcen-

dents of thoſe Celtes: but it will be impoſſible to conjecture at what time either this, or any other country of Europe, was peopled by them, or which of them hath the preference in point of antiquity.

The Spaniards have derived their origin from Tubal, the fifth ſon of Japhet [b], who is ſaid to have arrived, and reigned in Spain from the year of the flood 143 to 258, and from whom they pretend to give a tedious and regular ſeries of monarchs, down to three Geryons, who were killed by the Egyptian Hercules, to ſay nothing of a much longer æra, which they likewiſe draw from this laſt hero, and ſome other invaders from Libya, down to the time in which they allow the Celtes to have made their firſt entrance into Spain, in the year of the flood 1350. So that, according to theſe authors, Spain had been a monarchy, and had laſted one thouſand two hundred and twenty-ſix years before the arrival of the Celtes [c]. This account, however fabulous, not only with regard to Tubal's reign, and his pretended ſucceſſors, but likewiſe, in ſome meaſure, with reſpect to thoſe of Hercules, as it is not only adopted by Spaniſh authors in general, but likewiſe by all the followers of Beroſus, we ſhall be obliged, before we proceed, to give our readers a compendious ſketch of it, eſpecially as we have hitherto, in the courſe of this work, given an account of the fabulous, as well as the more certain, part of the hiſtory of each nation.

Beroſian liſt of their kings.

Tubal, or Thubal.

1. Tubal, having received his grandfather's bleſſing, came, according to theſe hiſtorians, and ſettled in ſome part of Spain, in the 134th year of the flood, and reigned there to the year 258; during which interval Noah, called by profane authors Janus, came thither, and built two cities, one of which he called, from his own name, Nœla, in Galicia, and the other Nœga, in Aſturia, and which ſtill retains that of Navia.

Iberus.

2. Iberus, the ſon of Tubal, who began his reign in the year of the flood 258, reigned thirty-ſeven years, that is, to the year 295. From him theſe authors pretend, that the river Iberus, from which Spain was called Iberia, had its name.

Idubeda.

3. Idubeda, by ſome called Juballa, and Jubalda, who reigned ſixty-four years, gave name to the famous Idubedean mountains, peopled the province of Briga, now Riola, and it was called by that name from,

Brigo.

4. Brigo, his ſon and ſucceſſor, who reigned fifty-two years, and left the kingdom to his ſon,

[b] Geneſ. ubi ſupra. [c] Vide inter al. Garibay. Compend. Hiſt. Hiſpan. lib. iv. cap. 4, & ſeq. Vaſ. Chron. Hiſpan. cap. 10. ſub. an. Diluv. 1350. Gerund. Paralip. Hiſp. Sant. Marianna. et al. mult.

5. Tagus,

5. Tagus, who reigned thirty years, gave name to the river Tagus, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Tagus.*

6. Bœtus, from whom the river Bœtis, and the province of Bœtia or Bœtica, formerly Turdetania, and ſince Andaluſia, had their names. He is ſaid to have been ſurnamed Turdetanus, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging learning. *Bœtus, the laſt of Tubal's line.*

7. Geryon, an African or Libyan, of a gigantic ſtature, and a barbarous tyrant, who began his reign in the year of the flood 514, and reigned, according to ſome, twenty-five, and thirty-four years, according to others [d]. He was oppoſed by Oſiris, or, as he is called by others, Dionyſius, king of Egypt, with a powerful army, who defeated and killed the tyrant, and divided his kingdom amongſt his three ſons, commonly called the three Geryons, after having firſt exacted a ſtrict promiſe from them, that they would reign amicably, and abſtain from thoſe plunders, ravages, and cruelties, for which he had ſo juſtly puniſhed their father. *Geryon.*

8. Three Geryons, ſaid to have been all of one birth, and the laſt of the Geryonic race, reigned with ſuch ſurpriſing concord, that they are thought to have given birth to the fable that repreſents them with a threefold body. Theſe being ſuppoſed to have had a ſhare in the death of Oſiris, to revenge that of their father, Hercules his ſon brought a great army from Egypt, overcame and ſlew them ſucceſſively in ſingle combat. It is ſaid, that the columns between the Carpean and Abylean mountains were ſet up in memory of this exploit. They had reigned, according to our authors, near forty years, when they met with this defeat, and were buried in the iſle of Gades [e]. Hercules, who was not ſo emulous to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world from tyrants and robbers, had no ſooner vanquiſhed the three Geryons, than he prepared to paſs into Italy, and left the government of Spain to his ſon, *Geryons.*

9. Hiſpal, who built the city of that name, now called Seville, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by Cæſar: and from Hiſpal began a new ſucceſſion of Spaniſh kings. He is ſaid to have reigned ſeventeen years, and to have left his kingdom to his ſon, *Hiſpal.*

10. Hiſpan, or Hiſpanus, from whom the country took its name, which it hath ever ſince retained. He began his reign in the year of the flood 607, reigned thirty-one years, and is affirmed to have been a noble and magnificent prince. The city of Gades was his chief reſidence [f]. *Hiſpan.*

[d] Conf. Garibay, Compend. Vaſ. Chron. Hiſp. ſub an. Diluvii 514. [e] Garibay, ubi ſupra, lib. iv. cap. 12. ad fin. [f] Idem ibid. in fin. cap. 14.

Hercules. Hercules, hearing of his grandſon Hiſpan's death, returned into Spain, and reigned there from the year of the flood 639 to 658. Being much advanced in years, he bequeathed the Spaniſh kingdom to Heſperus, one of his captains and companions, died, and was buried at Gades, or Cadiz, where that ſtately monument was erected to him which was long held in high veneration, not only among the Spaniards, but was reſorted to by moſt nations of Europe, Aſia, and Africa.

Heſperus. 11. Heſperus, from whom both Spain and Italy were called Heſperia, but the former, by way of diſtinction, Heſperia Magna, and his brother Atlas, ſurnamed Italus, had accompanied Hercules in all his expeditions and conqueſts. Upon the death of that hero, Heſperus proclaimed himſelf his ſucceſſor. Atlas, who is ſuppoſed to have been left in Italy, upon the return of the other two into Spain, went thither alſo, and drove him out of his kingdom, in the year of the flood 669, after he had reigned eleven years.

Atlas. 12. Atlas, after he had reigned ten years in Spain, is ſaid to have returned into Italy, in order to dethrone his brother; for, it ſeems, that fugitive prince fled thither, and was ſo well received, as to give him freſh cauſe of jealouſy. Upon his departure, he left the kingdom to his ſon,

Orus. 13. Orus, or Sicorus, who reigned forty-five years. He gave his name to the river Sicoris, now Segre, which falls into the Iberus, or Ebro; and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Sicanus. 14. Sicanus, who had followed him from Italy into Spain; a prince ſaid to have been liberal and magnanimous. He gave name to the river Anas, now Ana, and reigned thirty-two years; during which period he is ſaid to have carried his ſucceſsful arms into Italy and Sicily, which from him was called Sicania, as it had been before Trinacria, and ſince Sicily, from his ſucceſſor,

Siceleus. 15. Siceleus ſucceeded his father, and reigned forty-four years; during which time he is ſaid to have paſſed over into Italy, and performed great feats, aſſiſted Iaſius, the grandſon of Atlas, by Electra his daughter, who was then engaged in a war with Dardanus, about the ſucceſſion to certain ſtates in that country. In this prince's reign the Deucalion flood is ſaid to have happened; and Moſes was then performing his wonders before the hardened king of Egypt.

Luſus. 16. Siceleus was ſucceeded by his ſon Luſus, who had accompanied him in his wars in Italy. He is ſaid to have been a brave prince, but much addicted to the heatheniſh ſuperſtitions which then prevailed. Some aſcribe to him the peopling of Luſitania, now Portugal; others to Luſus, a chief-

a chieftain and companion of Bacchus. Lusus reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by,

17. Ulus, or Sic-Ulus, whom some suppose to be the son of Lusus, others of Atlas. He maintained such numerous armies and fleets, that he was called the son of Neptune: he passed over into Italy, to assist those Spanish colonies which had been settled there by Atlas, repressed their enemies, peopled some countries in the neighbourhood of Rome, built some cities, and particularly the famous castle of Alsino: thence he passed into Sicily, to assist those Spanish colonies which his predecessors had fixed there, and who, it seems, were harassed by the other inhabitants of that island; which, from his great exploits, he called by his own name. He reigned about sixty years, and was succeeded by, *Ulus.*

18. Testa, an African or Libyan, to whom, however, the Spanish historians give the character of a good and wise prince. Some of them affirm, that in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, a colony of Greeks, from the island of Zacynthus, came into Spain, by sea, and with his permission settled in that part of it which they called by the name of their native place, though they became afterwards better known by those of Saguntini and Saguntines, mentioned in a preceding volume. Testa, after a reign of seventy-four years, was succeeded by his son, *Testa.*

19. Romus, who reigned thirty-three years, and is supposed to have founded the city of Rome in the province of Tarragona, since called Valentia, from the Romans denominating that city afterwards by his name, and enlarging and beautifying it, and rendering it the metropolis. Romus was succeeded by, *Romus.*

20. Palatuus, the supposed founder of the city of Palentia, or Palantia. This prince had reigned about eighteen or nineteen years in great tranquility, when a famous warrior, named Licinius Cacus, waged war against him, deprived him of his whole kingdom, and compelled him to wander about, whilst he, the usurper, reigned uncontrouled, and encouraged all kinds of arts, which till then had been much neglected in that country. At length Palatuus found means to recover his kingdom, after his adversary had possessed it thirty-six years, and gave him a total defeat near Mount Cacus, now Montcajo, so called from him after this overthrow. Some pretend that Cacus was slain upon the spot; others, that he retired into Italy. Be this as it may, Palatuus reigned seventy years, and was succeeded by, *Palatuus.* *Cacus defeated.*

21. Erythræus, in whose reign is placed the founding of Carthage, which we shall not dwell upon here, having given an account of it in a former volume. He is said to *Erythræus.*

have given name to the celebrated iſland of Erythræa, or Erythia, as it is called by Mela [g] and Pliny [h], an iſland which has been ſought for in vain [i]. Erythræus was the laſt of the line of Teſta; in which the monarchy had ſubſiſted two hundred and forty-five years, according to ſome, or a hundred and twenty-three, according to others [k], including the thirty-ſix years of Licinius's uſurpation. He was ſucceeded by,

Gargoras. 22. Gargoras, furnamed Mellicola, becauſe he diſcovered the uſe of honey, and the art of cultivating of bees. He was by birth a Spaniard, a wiſe prince, and great promoter of induſtry. In his reign the famous city of Troy having been deſtroyed by the Greeks, many of thoſe warriors, who were prevented by contrary winds from returning to their own country, came and ſettled in Spain, and built cities in ſeveral parts. To Gargoras ſucceeded, if we may believe Juſtin,

Habis, his excellent reign. 23. Habis, his grandſon by a daughter, and a baſtard, was an extraordinary prince, whether we conſider the many and ſurpriſing dangers from which he was delivered, as it were, by miracle, or the beauty and ſtature of his perſon, or the many and ſignal benefits which the Spaniſh nation received from him during his reign, to which he was, for his apparent merit, nominated by his grandfather. The Spaniards at that time were ſtill ſo very little civilized, that they knew nothing of the uſe of bread, or agriculture. It was he that firſt taught them to plow their land with oxen, to ſow and reap corn, to grind, knead, and bake it into bread. He likewiſe enacted many excellent laws, obliged them to live in towns, and appointed them ſeven courts of judicature in ſeven cities of his kingdom. After his death, his poſterity ſucceeded to his kingdom for ſeveral centuries. How long the king reigned who ſucceeded him, what other kings governed in other parts of Spain, and in ſhort, every other particular relative to the ancient hiſtory of it, we are totally unacquainted with till the time of the Carthaginians. This chaſm is filled up, by ſome of their authors, with ſuch fables, as we meet with in England from our own monkiſh books.

Yr. of Fl. 699. Ante Chr. 1649. The Celtes, or Gauls, are ſaid to have come firſt into Spain about the 699th year of the flood; and they were ſoon followed by the Rhodians. Of the firſt it is affirmed, that they fought for ſome time with the Spaniards, or Ibe-

g Mel. de ſitu, lib. iii. cap. 6. h Plin. lib. iv. cap. 22. i Conf. Auct. ſupra citat. et Arrian. cum mult. al. k Conf. Ant. Nebrigenſ. Garibay, et Vaſæum, ubi ſupra, Juſtin.

rians,

rians, as they were then called, about their settlements; but agreed at length upon a peace and mutual friendship; so that by intermarrying and living together, they soon became as one people, under the name of Celtiberians [l]. The Rhodians, who came by sea, landed at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains, and there built a city, to which they gave their name. It was a bishop's see till the time of the Goths, but is now reduced to ruins. About ten years after happened the great fire, which spread all over that vast ridge of mountains called the Pyrenees, and from thence Incendium Pyrenæum, or as others say more properly, that these mountains were thence called Pyrenean. This fire, we are told, was at first kindled by some shepherds, and burnt with such fury for many days, that it spread itself almost over the whole ridge. With regard to what they add, that the intenseness of the heat melted the silver in the mines, and made it boil and emerge in rivulets along those hills, it is looked upon as fabulous by Possidonius, Strabo [m], and others (I).

The Gauls and Rhodians settle in Spain.

Yr. of Fl. 729. Ante Chr. 1619.

Besides the Tyrians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians, already mentioned, who obtained dominion in this country, Eusebius mentions [n] several other nations that made settlements there before the arrival of the Carthaginians, such as the Egyptians a second time, who held the dominion of the sea thirty-five years, and built some cities, especially Tarracona, which they so called from Tarraco their leader. The Milesians are likewise mentioned, by the same author, to have possessed some districts there for the space of twenty-

Other nations that governed in Spain.

[l] Diod. Sic. Bibl. lib. vi. Lucan. Hieron. & al. Vide & Aristot. de Mirab. Auscult. [m] Strab. lib. iii. [n] Euseb. Chron. Vide & Taraph. sub ann. Ante Chr. 840.

(I) It must be owned, however, that Spain yielded extraordinary quantities of that metal; since Aristotle assures us, that the Phœnicians, who are supposed to have come thither about the 1500th year of the flood, exchanged their naval commodities for such an immense weight of it, that their ships could neither contain nor sustain its load, though they used it for ballast, and made their anchors, and other implements of silver; and yet this is trifling compared (1) to what we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel, of the amazing product of these mines. With respect to the Phœnicians, they are supposed likewise to have settled in Spain, and to have built several other cities, especially in Bætica, and to have had the dominion of the sea for the space of forty-one years; after which they settled in the Balearic islands.

(1) Aristot. & Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

nine

nine years. Ptolemy affirms the Cariſti in Spain are deſcended from a colony of Carians. The Leſbians ſucceeded them, who built ſeveral cities, and governed, according to the ſame Euſebius, ſixty-eight years. Then the Phocians, in the ſixteenth year of Tarquinius Priſcus, ſettled in Spain, from whence they removed to the ſouthern part of Gaul, where they built the city of Marſeilles. Laſtly, Nebuchadnezzar, after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and conqueſt of Judæa, is affirmed, by Joſephus and Strabo, to have reigned nine years in Spain [o], at the end of which period it is ſaid, that he abandoned it to the Carthaginians; though it is probable, as the Spaniſh writers affirm, that a great part of the numerous hoſt, which he had brought with him, ſettled there, and built cities and caſtles, which they called by their own, or ſome Chaldee names; by which they may be ſtill traced to their origin [p]. Upon the whole it ſeems probable, that moſt, if not all, of theſe nations, contented themſelves with maritime ſituations, for the advantage of commerce and the command of the ſea, and penetrated but a little way into the country; while the natives might enjoy their own laws and government, and be glad to trade and barter with them, and be leſs ſolicitous who were maſters of the ſea-coaſts and parts adjacent, if they could but obtain the benefits of their commerce, and the produce of their own lands, in peace and tranquility. As for the Celtiberi already mentioned, they increaſed ſo faſt in that pleaſant and healthy country, that they were forced to have recourſe to their ancient method of ſending colonies abroad. Some of them ſettled in Luſitania, where they founded ſeveral cities, and called them by Celtic names; and from theſe colonies the Luſitanians derived that of Celtiberi: hence Diodorus Siculus ſays, that of all the Celtiberians the Luſitanian were the ſtouteſt. Another colony of them went into Bætica, where they likewiſe left ſeveral cities, and other monuments of their ſettlement. The goodneſs of the climate, however, joined to their laborious exerciſes, and plain way of living, which made them ſo ſtout and long-lived, may be juſtly eſteemed one of the principal cauſes of their multiplying ſo faſt, and being obliged to ſend abroad ſuch numerous colonies. Arganthonius, king of the Tarteſſii, is ſaid to have reigned at Gades, now Cadiz, full fourſcore years [q], and to have died in the hundred and fortieth year of his age [r].

Nebuchadnezzar.

The coaſts chiefly inhabited by thoſe ſtrange nations.

Celtiberians in Luſitania.

Arganthonius, his longevity and reign.

[o] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. x, cap. 9. Geogr. lib. iv. [p] Vide Liv. Decad. iv. Garibai. lib. v. cap. 4. Vaſ. ſub. ann. U. C. 13, & 204. [q] Valer. Max. lib. viii. cap. 14. [r] Aſin. Pol. apud eund.

All

All that we know relating to the hiſtory of Spain from this period to the irruption of the Goths, and other northern nations, the æra propoſed for the commencement of the modern hiſtory, we have already ſpecified in our accounts of the Romans and Carthaginians, who ſucceſſively invaded and made conqueſts of this country, to which we muſt refer the reader. We ſhall only mention a few particulars of its ancient mines.

Stript of its mines and treaſures.

The Romans being maſters of this rich and noble country, or at leaſt of a conſiderable part of it, by the expulſion of the Carthaginians, one of their firſt cares was to ſeize on all its valuable mines, eſpecially thoſe of ſilver and gold[a], and to ſtrip it of its immenſe wealth; and how conſiderable this was may be conjectured by the ſketch we ſhall give in the next note (K), of the prodigious quantities which their prætors,

[a] 1 Maccab. chap. viii. ver. 3. & ſeq. Liv. Oroſ. &c.

(K) Thus we are told (1), that Scipio, upon his return to Rome, carried with him fourteen thouſand three hundred and forty two pounds of ſilver, beſides an immenſe quantity of coin, cloaths, corn, arms, and other valuable effects. L Lentulus is ſaid to have brought away forty-four thouſand pounds of ſilver, and two thouſand five hundred and fifty of gold, beſides the money which he diſtributed among his ſoldiery. L. Manlius carried with him twelve hundred pounds of ſilver, and about thirty of gold. Corn. Lentulus, after having governed the Hither Spain two years, poſſeſſed himſelf of one thouſand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold, and of ſilver two thouſand, beſides thirty-four thouſand five hundred and fifty denarii in coin; whilſt his colleague brought from Farther Spain fifty thouſand pounds of ſilver.

It is ſtill more ſurpriſing that theſe immenſe ſums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thouſand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of ſilver, four thouſand and ninety-five of gold, beſides coin and other things of value, were brought away within the ſhort ſpace of nine years; for juſt this period elapſed between the firſt and the laſt of theſe Roman prætors (2); and immediately after they had been as ſeverely fleeced, in all likelihood, by their other friends the Carthaginians. Theſe few inſtances may ſuffice to ſhew, how rich this country muſt then have been, and what an immenſe treaſure it yielded to their conquerors; for though theſe laſt never remitted their vigilance, but continued bringing freſh ſupplies from thence, yet we do not find that it was in any degree exhauſted. On the contrary, it was this prodigious richneſs of the country that invited the northern nations many

(1) Liv. Decad. 4. lib. i. ii. & iii.

(2) Vide Vaſ. Chronic. ab urb. con. ad an. 558.

centuries

prætors, even by the confeſſion of their own authors, carried out of it, and brought into the public as well as into their own treaſury.

CHAP. LXXXII.

The Ancient State of the Gauls, to their Conqueſt by Julius Cæſar; and from thence to the Irruption of the Franks.

SECT. I.

The Origin of the Gauls, and Extent of their Country.

Their origin, names, &c.

THE Gauls were certainly deſcended from the Celtes or Gomerians, or, to ſpeak more properly, were the ſame people, under a different and more modern name, given them, in all probability, by ſome of their neighbours, whilſt they ſtill retained their primitive one of Gomerai, or deſcendents of Gomer. Other names they were diſtinguiſhed by, ſuch as they either aſſumed upon ſome particular occaſions, or ſuch as other nations thought fit to beſtow upon them; of all which the reader may ſee a ſpecimen in the following note (L). The name therefore of Gaul,

centuries after, to make incurſions, and drive the Romans out of it, as we ſhall ſee in a ſubſequent chapter.

We are, indeed, told by Strabo, that when the Carthaginians firſt went thither, they found ſilver in ſuch amazing plenty, that their utenſils, and even mangers, were made of it (3); inſomuch that Poſſidonius ſaid of this country, that Pluto, the god of riches, had his reſidence in the bowels of it. And Pliny mentions ſeveral rich mines of ſilver dug there by the Carthaginians, one of which, called Bebel, from being the diſcoverer of it, yielded Hannibal three hundred pounds of ſilver per day (4). In a word, moſt ancient authors have celebrated this country for its richneſs to ſuch a degree, that it hath only expoſed it the more to the invaſion of foreign adventurers.

(L) Of the firſt kind we may reaſonably reckon all thoſe which are of Celtic extraction; ſuch as thoſe of Celte and Gaul, which ſignify *brave* and *warlike*; Armoric, *maritime*. Even that of Belga, which ſignifies

(3) Poſidon. lib. iii.

(4) Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 6.

fierce

Gaul, Galli, and Gallia, is not only foreign, but of a more recent date, as are likewiſe thoſe other appellatives, by which Julius Cæſar [t], and other ancient authors, diſtinguiſh one part of their country from another. Such are thoſe, for inſtance, of Ciſalpina or Citerior, Tranſalpina or Ulterior, and Subalpina, which was ſituate at the foot of the Alps [u]. The inhabitants, however, were formerly better known by the name of Celtes [w], and the country, upon the whole, by that of Celto-Gallia [x]. Cæſar afterwards diſtinguiſhed the whole country under the three following names, Belgia, Aquitania, and Gallia Propria, or that which, according to him, was chiefly inhabited by the Celtes or Gauls. This laſt was again diſtinguiſhed into Comata, whoſe inhabitants wore long hair; Brachata, from their wearing breeches; and Togata from the Roman toga being worn there.

The extent of Gaul.

We have already ſhewn, in the hiſtory of the ancient Celtes, that they were poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of Europe. There is ſcarce a province, or even a corner of it, in which they have not left ſome evident monument of themſelves, either in the names of cities and towns, cantons and provinces, or of their rivers, lakes, mountains, and promontories. In every part of it, where either the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, or Romans, ſent their invading bands, there they are affirmed by ancient writers to have found the Celtes or Gauls already ſettled [y]: not that they particularize them by thoſe two names; for we have juſt obſerved on what account they had ſeveral other appellatives given them, but yet ſuch as plainly appear, from the conformity of their language, religion, and cuſtoms, to have ſignified one and the

[t] Cæſ. Comment. lib. i. cap. 1, &c. [u] Plut. in Cæſ. & Marcell. Plin. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 11. Strab. Mela, Cluver. et al. [w] Pauſan. in Attic. cap. 3. [x] Ptol. lib. ii. cap. 7. Diodor. lib. xxxix. et alibi. [y] Vide Diodor. Sic. lib. v. Lucan. lib. vi. Sil. Ital. lib. iii. Appian. Ptol. & al.

fierce and *querulous*, might have been given to that canton by their brethren and neighbours, on account of their retaining their original ferocity, from which the reſt had poliſhed themſelves by their commerce and intercourſe with other nations; thoſe of Cis, Trans, and Subalpine, from their ſituation on either ſide of the Alps; that of Celto-Scythians, from their being neighbours to, and intermixed with that nation; that of Celtiberians to thoſe that were ſeated on the other ſide the Pyrenees.

As they ſpread themſelves, by degrees, farther and wider from each other, and their original tongue became divided into a great number of dialects, their appellatives became ſo numerous, and ſo different from the original, that it is with great difficulty they can be traced to their ſource.

ſame

ſame nation. However, we will not venture to ſay, that they were all of the ſame Celtic extraction who inhabited thoſe parts of Europe, either towards the ſea-ſide, ſuch as Spain, Portugal, and the French coaſts, along the Mediterranean, or towards the north-eaſt, where they ſeem to have been ſo blended with the Scythians and Sarmatians, that it is nearly impoſſible to deſcribe their boundaries on that ſide. All that we pretend to infer from thoſe ancient authors, who have written moſt clearly and intelligently on this head, is, that the Celtes or Gauls plainly appear to have been the firſt who peopled and poſſeſſed themſelves of, or claimed a dominion over, this country.

Gauls in Spain and Portugal.

The greateſt difficulty is to prove the Gauls or Celtes to have been ſettled in Spain and Portugal before any other nation; firſt, becauſe they were here called by the name of Iberians, or, at moſt, Celtiberians; from which appellation ſome are apt to conclude the former to have been the name of the firſt inhabitants of that part, and the latter to have been given to the Celtes, who traverſed the Pyrenees, and ſettled amongſt them. And, ſecondly, becauſe Varro [a] mentions no leſs than five different nations, who were found there, when the Romans firſt invaded that country. Theſe were, according to him, the Iberians, Perſians, Phœnicians, Celtes, and Carthaginians. As to the firſt, we have already ſhewn, that the word *Iberian* ſignified, in the ancient Celtic, any people, country, or place, that was ſituate over, or on the other ſide of, a ſea, river, or ridge of mountains; ſo that theſe might be naturally called Iberians, on account of their ſituation over the Pyrenees, by thoſe who inhabited this ſide; and Celtiberians, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe nations they were there blended with and intermixed. As to what is objected to by Varro, we have had occaſion to hint, in the hiſtory of ancient Spain, that neither the Tyrian or Phœnician colonies, nor thoſe of the Carthaginians, went thither till a long time after the Celtes or Gauls had been ſettled there, and peopled a great part of that country. The greateſt part of ancient authors expreſly affirm [a], that theſe inhabitants were of the ſame extraction with thoſe who filled the hither parts of Europe, to all whom they gave the ſame common name of Celtes and Gauls, and ſometimes the more ancient one of Cymmerians and Cymbrians [b]. And this aſſertion is confirmed by traces and monuments they have left in almoſt every canton and province of that

[a] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 1. Vide & Lucan. Appian. Diod. &c. ubi ſupra. [a] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 33. lib. iv. cap. 49. & alibi. Ephor. apud Strab. lib. iv. Vide et Pelloutier. Hiſt. Celt. lib. i. cap. 4. [b] Strab. ubi ſupra.

country;

country; ſuch as the names of ſeas, rivers, mountains, and cities, all which are of Celtic extraction, as has been formerly obſerved.

In Italy.

Italy cannot be ſuppoſed to have been long unpoſſeſſed by them, if they were not the firſt ſettlers of it, for which opinion we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid on that head in former volumes. It was, indeed, too fair a ſpot not to invite ſuch a warlike and populous nation thither, had it been previouſly ever ſo well peopled; but, we think, we have made it appear at leaſt very probable, that they came thither ſooner than any other; for if the Humbri or Umbri really were, as they are affirmed by many authors to have been [c], the aborigines or ancient people of Italy, and they were deſcended from the Celtes, as their name and other concurring circumſtances moſt plainly intimate, then it will ſcarcely be doubted, that they muſt have entered and peopled that country at a very early period.

Umbri, ancient inhabitants of it.

Germans, &c. of Celtic extraction.

We ſhall ſpeedily have occaſion to ſpeak of the Germans, and other northern nations, as well as of the iſles of Great Britain, Ireland, Iceland, and others leſs conſiderable; all which plainly appear to have been firſt diſcovered and peopled by the Gauls or Celtes. As for the Germans, they ſo greatly reſembled the Celtes in their language, religion, and cuſtoms, except, as Strabo obſerves [d], their retaining ſome of their original fierceneſs, which was doubtleſs owing to their vicinity and intermixture with the Scythians and Sarmatians, that they ſeem to have been one and the ſame nation. The Helvetii, Rhætii, Norici, and Pannonians, of whom we have given an account in a former volume, are ſometimes called Celtes, and ſometimes Gauls, indiſcriminately; and their troops were ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the name of Celtic and Gauliſh legions in Aurelian's time [e], as were alſo thoſe that lived along the foot, or upon the ſummit of, the Alps.

How they came firſt into Europe.

In the mean time, it will not be improper to enquire how this ancient nation came at firſt to ſpread itſelf all over Europe; that is, whether they advanced by gradual ſteps from the place of their firſt diſperſion, which we formerly fixed in Phrygia, or whether they came by ſea, and then landing on ſome of the Italic or Mediterranean ſhores, dilated themſelves from thence as far and wide as we find they did. Either hypotheſis has its difficulties. If that of Beroſius and his followers could be credited, that Gomer's ſons ſettled themſelves in ſeveral parts of Spain and Italy ſo early as a

Beroſus's account confuted.

[c] Flor. lib. i. cap. 17. Plin. Dion. Halicar. & al. [d] Lib. iv. & vii. [e] Zoſ. lib. li. cap. 2. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 30, et ſeq. Polyb. lib. iii. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 20, et alibi.

hundred

hundred and forty-two years after the flood, the gradual migrations will ſcarcely be judged ſufficiently rapid to have extended themſelves to ſuch vaſt tracts of land in ſo ſhort a time; and it will be more natural to ſuppoſe, that they ſailed thither from Leſſer Aſia: but then it will be equally difficult to imagine how they could, in the ſhort ſpace of a hundred and forty-two years, become ſuch expert mariners as this ſuppoſes them to have been; and, if we allow them a longer period for making themſelves ſo far maſters of navigation, they may be as reaſonably thought to have extended themſelves thus far by ſuch gradual migrations, as either want of room, curioſity, or deſire of change, may be ſuppoſed to have occaſioned.

The Gauliſh boundaries ſtraitened.

The ſame fate having attended them, not only in Italy, but likewiſe on this ſide of the Alps, where the provinces of Noricum, Helvetia, Rhætia, and that whole tract which lies between thoſe mountains and the lake of Geneva, were taken from them, as we have ſeen in the Roman hiſtory, the whole Gauliſh extent was then confined between that lake and the Pyrenees, having ſtill the Mediterranean on the ſouth, the Rhine on the north, and the Britiſh channel on the weſt.

SECT. II.

The Religion of the Gauls.

Their religion derived from the Celtes.

WE have already given an account of the religion of the ancient Celtes, in a former volume; and as the Gauls were deſcended from them, as we have ſhewn under the laſt article, it is not to be doubted but it was continued and propagated amongſt them, in the ſame manner and form as they received it, till their intercourſe with other nations, or perhaps rather their ſubjection to them, gave birth to thoſe changes and intermixtures which it afterwards underwent. To acquire therefore a tolerable idea of the true Gauliſh religion, we ſhould trace it amongſt thoſe Gauls who were leaſt converſant with other people, and had little occaſion or neceſſity of receiving or adopting any thing from them; inſtead of having recourſe to that of the Greeks and Romans, from whom whatever they might, in

Not borrowed from other nations.

proceſs of time, borrow, and which occaſioned a kind of reſemblance between them, yet originally they differed as much, not only in this, but in almoſt all other reſpects, as poſſible. Much worſe have they ſucceeded in this point, who have transformed the Gauliſh deities into Greek and

Roman

Roman divinities, and loſt much time and pains to no purpoſe, to prove them to have been ſuch [f]; whereas, we hope, in the ſequel, to give our readers indubitable arguguments of their being of Celtic extraction. For the ſame reaſon we muſt be aware how we depend too much on thoſe few ancient authors, whether Greeks or Romans, who have occaſionally ſpoken of them. Theſe ſlight particulars they have left us of Gauliſh religion, ſufficiently ſhew, that they knew little of it; and that, even in thoſe points in which they do not diſagree with one another, they have betrayed ſuch a fondneſs and partiality for their own, as if they had conſidered it as the mother, and the other as the offspring.

Whether the Gauls, or ancient Celts, were the firſt introducers of theſe hypotheſes, or adopted them in imitation of other ancient nations, is a very difficult point to determine. However, it is plain they in ancient times adored a Supreme Being under the name of Eſus, which ſeems only a corruption of the old Celtic word Dhew, from which the Greeks probably borrowed their Θεὸς and Ζεὺς, and the Romans their Deus. This opinion was religiouſly preſerved by their druids; and if they, for worldly ends, or perhaps to pleaſe the people, whoſe impetuous deſire after this novelty they could not reſiſt, ſuffered the worſhip and images of theſe gods to be introduced amongſt them, yet they never looked upon them as any other than inferior deities, whatever lengths the laity might go in proceſs of time; but the worſhip of the true God was ſtill carefully kept up, and the oak eſteemed the ſymbol of the Deity, as fire was among the Perſes. To frame, therefore, a right notion of the religion of this, or any other nation, we muſt not judge of it by the corruptions introduced by a frantic populace, and connived at by the prieſts and philoſophers, but as it was believed and profeſſed by thoſe who inculcated it. And in this caſe we ſhall perhaps find the moſt material difference between the religion of the Gauls and that of the Greeks and Romans, even with reſpect to thoſe points in which they ſeem moſt to agree, we mean the worſhip of the ſame gods, in regard to the different characters which they gave, and ideas they entertained of them.

Worſhip the ſupreme Deity.

We think ourſelves obliged to be the more particular in our inquiry into the religion of the Gauls, as it is the ſource and foundation, not only of the ancient Germans, and other more ancient nations, but likewiſe of that of the ancient Britons, who were deſcended, and had received their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, originally from them; ſo that

The Gauliſh religion the mother of all the northern ones.

[f] Sched. Biblioth. Hiſt. Franc. p. 29. Vide Relig. des Gaul. Pref. p. 4.

what is ſaid on that ſubject in this chapter, will ſerve as a clue to that of thoſe other nations we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in the ſequel; by which means we ſhall avoid many unneceſſary repetitions, and be able to confine our account of them chiefly to thoſe points in which they differed from this their common mother; or in ſuch caſes, where there appears a neceſſity to ſhew the affinity they bear to each other. Here, then, we ſhall begin with an account of the different deities worſhipped by the ancient Gauls, and the particular ceremonies and ſacrifices uſed to each of them, not as they were tranſmitted to them from their Celtic anceſtors, concerning which we refer our readers to what has been ſaid in their hiſtory, but as they were found when the Romans firſt became acquainted with their cuſtoms and conſtitution.

Eſus the ſupreme Deity.

We have already mentioned, that they anciently worſhipped the Supreme Deity, under the name of Eſus or Heſus, and the ſymbol of the oak; and it will not appear extraordinary, that this notion of a Supreme Being ſhould have been preſerved among the deſcendents of Japheth, when we find ſuch lively traces of it even among the idolatrous Syrians, Midianites, and even the Canaanites, as in the family of Laban, of Jethro, and of the two Abimelechs, kings of Gerar in the times of Abraham and Iſaac, and ſome others we could mention, particularly the Gibeonites in Joſhua's time, Adonibezek in the time of the judges, and Hiram king of Tyre, in the reigns of David and Solomon; who all not only retained the notion of the Deity, notwithſtanding their idolatry, but had likewiſe a peculiar name for him, diſtinct from thoſe of their other gods. To this obſervation we muſt add, that, in the midſt of thoſe heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, which crept by degrees into their religion, the Gauls never erected any other temples or idols unto this Eſus or Supreme Deity; ſo that he ſeems to have been acknowleged by them, as the unknown God was worſhipped by the Athenians; which notion was far from being peculiar to them. Others had alſo their unknown God, and owned themſeles his offspring, though their opinion and worſhip of him were very imperfect, and, in many caſes, quite unworthy of him, as even the Gauls did when they came to intermingle the Roman theology with their own. However, anciently they ſeem to have entertained ſome ſublime notions of him; to confirm which opinion, we need only add what Tacitus ſays of the Senones, who were a branch of the Celtes, and poſſeſſed of the ſame religion: They, ſays that author, have no other temples but a wood or grove, where they perform all their religious rites. No one

Worſhipped by other ancient nations.

No temples erected to him by the Gauls.

Worſhipped in groves.

one is admitted to enter it, unless he carries a chain, in token of his dependence on the supreme dominion, which God has over him; and, if he chance to fall down, none must dare to help him up; but he must either roll himself, or crawl upon his belly, out of the place. He adds, that their whole religion consisted in an acknowlegement, that the Deity, which makes its abode there, governs all things; that all things depend on him, and ought to obey him. Strabo relates much the same of the Celtiberians, another branch of the Celtes; and adds, that they worshiped the God without name, and danced every full moon, before their houses, all the night, in honour of him. *Their sublime notions of him.*

Another remarkable circumstance in their religion was, their great veneration for the oak. This seems likewise to have been common to them, and the old patriarchs and Jews, among whom that tree was in great esteem, though not in the same superstitious degree. Abraham is recorded to have pitched his tents under some famed oaks, such as those of Mamre, of Moreh; which, though our version, and some others, have transformed into plains, yet, in the original, plainly signify an oak, or grove of oaks [g]. He is said likewise to have planted groves of those trees; and, wherever he pitched his tent, he is recorded to have built an altar unto the Lord, and to have given some significant name to the place, such as that of Beersheba [h], Bethel, and the like appellations. The Gauls, in particular, improved upon this patriarchal custom; but, among them, the oak was esteemed and reverenced as an emblem, or as the peculiar residence, of the Deity. The fruit of it, especially the missoldine, was thought to have a kind of divine virtue, was used as a panacea for man and beast, and applied to both, as well inwardly as outwardly, in wounds, contusions, and cuticular ailments, and also for inward diseases, and even barrenness and abortion, in men, women, and cattle. The leaves, or some small boughs of it, were worn by the druids and laity in all their religious ceremonies, which were constantly performed, under those trees, or in groves of oak. These, if we may guess from the few fragments preserved in history, and from some carneads or heaps of stones still standing in some of our isles, especially that of Anglesey [i], and which may be supposed to have been cinctures or fences round the grove, to prevent their entrance between the trees; we say, if we may guess *Their veneration for the oak.* *Whence probably derived.* *The misleto.* *Their groves for worship.*

[g] Genes. xxi. 33. See also the margin of our Bibles, and the generality of commentators. [h] Gen. xxi. 31. Vide & Gen. xxviii. 19. & alib. [i] See Mona Antiqua, p. 91, & seq. Keyzler. Antiq. Septentrion. p. 77. & in addend.

Their form. at them by theſe few ancient monuments, theſe groves were of different forms, ſome circular, ſome oblong, and more or leſs capacious, according to the number of votaries, or the extent of the diſtrict or canton to which they belonged. The area, which was in the centre of the grove, was open at the top, and encompaſſed with ſeveral rows of theſe oaks, ſet very thick and cloſe. Within the large circle were ſeveral ſmaller ones, ſurrounded, as is ſuppoſed, with large ſtones, which ſerved for the ſacrifices, and other moſt ſolemn part of their worſhip. In the centre, or near it, of theſe ſmall circles, were placed ſolid ſtones of a large ſize and convenient height, on which the victims were killed, diſſected, and offered up. Each of theſe, being a kind of altar, was ſurrounded with another row of ſtones, the uſe of which cannot be eaſily aſcertained, unleſs it was to keep the people at a proper diſtance from the prieſts that officiated. One or more of theſe interior circles are likewiſe thought to have ſerved for their courts of judicature, another for their grand council or aſſembly. How conformable the religion of the druids was to that of the patriarchs, in the moſt eſſential points, is what we ſhall now endeavour to evince.

Altar.

Cinctures.

Affinity between the Celtic religion and that of the patriarchs and Jews.

1. The Gauls had a ſovereign pontiff or head of the druidiſh order, to whom both theſe, and the whole nation, paid the moſt implicit obedience. The ſame we find among the Jews, to ſay nothing of Melchiſedek, to whom Abraham paid tythes of the ſpoil he had lately gained.

2. The druids, under their head, had ſuch an uncontrolable power and dominion, that whoever refuſed to ſubmit to their deciſions, not only in religious, but civil matters, was interdicted from aſſiſting at their ſolemnities. The Jewiſh high-prieſt, at the head of the ſanhedrin, was regarded as the laſt appeal in all cauſes; and excommunication, the greateſt puniſhment among the Jews, was to be the ſentence of thoſe who refuſed to abide by their deciſion.

3. The druids were obliged to aſſemble in the territories of Chartrain once a-year. The Jews had their three grand feſtivals, on which their males were obliged to repair to Jeruſalem.

4. The druids wore white garments: ſo did the Jewiſh prieſts.

5. The druids lived in woods and groves: ſo did generally the patriarchs, the ſons of the prophets, and the Eſſenians, a kind of monks among the Jews. The Gauls had their female druids, propheteſſes, and aruſpices. The Jews had Miriam, Aaron's ſiſter, Deborah, Huldah, and other pro-

propheteſſes, to ſay nothing of other women, who retained familiar ſpirits. Some of thoſe females were in high eſtimation among the Gauls, and bore a great ſway in the government: Deborah was a famed judge in Iſrael.

6. The Gauls conſecrated to Mars, part of the ſpoil they took in war, and it was death for any one to infringe upon it. The ſame cuſtom prevailed among the Iſraelites with reſpect to thoſe cities and kingdoms which were ſubject to anathema, as in the caſe of Jericho. The reſt they divided among themſelves, according to certain ſettled laws and cuſtoms. Moſes, Joſhua, and David, framed alſo laws on the ſame head, what portion ſhould be offered to God, what given to the prieſts, and how the reſt ſhould be divided between the combatants and thoſe who guarded the camp and baggage.

7. The Gauls worſhipped a brazen bull; and the Iſraelites adored golden calves.

8. In public calamities they offered a human victim, on whom they transferred all the curſes that threatened them. The Jews made the ſame uſe of their ſcape-goat [k].

9. The Gauls had power of life and death over their ſervants. The patriarchs and Jews claimed the ſame prerogative, the former even over their own families, as may be concluded from the inſtance of Judah and his daughter-in-law Tamar [l].

10. They began their days from the evening, as the patriarchs and Jews computed; and, like them, diſtinguiſhed the year only in three ſeaſons, ſpring, ſummer or harveſt, and winter. The autumn was ſo unknown to both, that they had no name for it.

11. The Gauls believed the immortality of the ſoul; ſo that no people under heaven could ſhew a greater contempt of death. The patriarchs and Jews, if we except the Sadducees, were remarkable for regarding this life only as a mere paſſage into a better.

12. When their life or liberty was in danger, they endeavoured to redeem it by one or more of their own ſervants. We have an inſtance of this practice in Jephthah, one of the Iſraelitiſh judges, and his raſh vow [m], though it was more common among the Phœnicians, and other ancient nations.

13. The Jews had the waters of jealouſy, to aſſure them of the fidelity or infidelity of their wives. The Gauls had ſome kinds of ordeals or trials of the ſame nature; and Ju-

[k] Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi. [l] Geneſ. xxxviii. 24. [m] Judg. xi. 30, et ſeq.

lian the emperor aſſerts, that the waters of the Rhine had ſome ſecret virtue to puniſh incontinent wives (L).

14. The druids made it a conſtant maxim not to commit any particulars of their laws, philoſophy, or hiſtory, to writing; but to couch them in poems and canticles, to be learned and ſung at proper places and ſeaſons. Theſe ſongs were, it ſeems, ſo multiplied in Cæſar's time, that it took up ſome druids near twenty years in acquiring them. We find that this was the ancient cuſtom of the patriarchs, and other nations in Canaan before Moſes, who quotes ſome of thoſe canticles, and compoſed many himſelf, as did other prophets after him, in memory of ſignal victories and deliverances.

15. Some Gauliſh nations carried their gods with them to war, as did the Iſraelites their ark, and their apoſtates the tabernacles of Moloch, Chiun, and Remphan [n].

Human victims how offered. As to the barbarous cuſtom of ſacrificing human victims, which began ſo early with the Gauls [o], and did not end till ſome centuries after their embracing Chriſtianity, we can only ſpeak of it as tranſacted out of their groves, or places of worſhip; for, as to what was done within them, no ſtranger was made acquainted with, much leſs admitted to ſee it. Concerning thoſe unhappy victims, which were publicly offered, Cæſar and Plutarch gives us the following account: "When a man's life is in danger, either through ſickneſs or other accident, they immediately ſacrifice, or at leaſt make a vow to ſacrifice, ſome human victims; for, beſides that they think them the moſt perfect and pleaſing to the gods, they believe, that one man's life cannot be redeemed but by that of another, without which no ſatisfaction could be made to them for their goodneſs to men. And theſe are the ceremonies eſtabliſhed amongſt them upon all ſuch occaſions [p]. They erect a huge hollow pile of oſier, which they fill with theſe unhappy wretches, who are quickly ſuffocated by the ſmoke, and reduced to aſhes ſoon

The occaſion of ſome of them.

How performed.

[n] Comment. ubi ſupra. [o] Procop. Goth. lib. ii. cap. 25.
[p] Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi. Plut. de Superſtit.

(L) He tells us (1), that, when a Gaul ſuſpected his wife of infidelity, he obliged her to throw, with her own hands, the children that were born of her body into that rapid river. If they ſunk, the woman was deemed guilty, and put to death. If they ſwam, and moved towards the place where he ſtood trembling at a convenient diſtance, and ready to receive them, ſhe was cleared, and reſtored to her huſband's favour.

(1) Julian. Orat. xvi.

after

after. They imagine, however, that criminals of any kind are much more acceptable victims; but where they are not to be found, the innocent must suffer in their stead. In their funerals, which are very magnificent, they throw into the burning pile every thing that the deceased delighted in, even to living creatures; and it is not long since they threw likewise into it all his favourite servants and slaves. Some of his near relations (continues Cæsar), likewise flung themselves into the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the next world." *At funerals.*

We hinted at their imitating, in some measure, the Jewish scape-goat, by devoting vicarious victims to death, and praying, that all the curses due to them might fall upon it. The Massilians, among the rest, are reported to have, in times of pestilence, made choice of some indigent person, that offered himself voluntarily, whom they fattened with the daintiest fare during a whole year; after which they decked him with garlands and other rich ornaments, and led him through the streets, loaded with the bittereſt imprecations, to his death [q]. If the Gauls, in such calamitous times, could procure any of the handsomer and nobler sort to offer themselves to such a voluntary death, they not only preferred, but encouraged them by every incentive. These were led, like the poorer sort, out of the city, and stoned: the former were thrown down from a high precipice. The common notion among them was, that such a spontaneous death for the good of the commonwealth intitled them to rank among the gods. In other cases, they either tied or nailed them to some tree or post, and shot them to death with arrows: others they burnt, with a number of beasts, on a pile of hay [r]. It was also customary among them to reserve their criminals to the fifth year, and to burn them in sacrifice with the first-fruits of their ground [s]. They threw into the fire an incredible quantity of gold, and other rich things, which it was death for any one to touch afterwards. Their brute victims were left, in some measure, to the choice of the offerer, or perhaps rather of the druids, who were the butchers, and always officiated in white garments [t], both in this, and all other parts of their worship: only the horses, which they took in battle, or at least part of them, they burnt, with the bodies of the slain [u]. As the Gauls were addicted to all kind of superſti- *In their auguries, and other superſtitions.* *Offered in all calamitous times.* *How chosen, and put to death.* *Brute victims.*

[q] Petron. Satir. ad fin. Vide et Serv. Comm. in Æn. iii. ver. 58. [r] Strab. lib. iv. [s] Diodor. Sicul. lib. vi. cap. 9. [t] Cæsar. Comment. ubi supra. Vide et Keyzler Antiq. Septentr. p. 395, et 459. Pelloutier. Hist. des Celtes, Relig. des Gaul. et al. [u] Tacit. German.

Superſtitious obſervations and ceremonies.

tion, they uſed to be exceeding watchful of the ſinging and flight of birds, and other ſuch omens. They never undertook any thing of conſequence, without the advice of their aruſpices, who were, for that reaſon, in high requeſt among them. Theſe carefully examined the entrails and blood of their victims: when they offered a human ſacrifice, as they conſtantly did before they held a council, whether of the nation or diſtrict, they ſtabbed him behind, a little above the diaphragm, obſerved the manner of his falling, whether on his right or left ſide, or on his face, how the blood flowed from the wound, and from thence gave their judgment, which was exactly followed, let the caſe be what it would, or the appearances ever ſo unfavourable; inſomuch that they have come to the head of an army, and prevented the battle, which was juſt going to begin, their kings and generals not daring to act contrary to what they preſcribed[w].

Their altars. Relıques of them ſtill extant.

We have already hinted, that their religious groves were diſtinguiſhed by large ſtones, ſuppoſed to be the altars on which they offered up their victims. Some of them are ſtill remaining in ſeveral parts of France, Germany, England, Wales, Ireland, and the iſle of Angleſey, and are of ſuch a ſtupendous ſize, that the carriage and rearing of them was thought, by the ſuperſtitious inhabitants, to have been the work of the demons ſuppoſed to attend on that kind of worſhip.

The antiquaries of each nation have been very curious and diligent in their accounts of thoſe altars, and other piles of huge ſtones which are to be found in almoſt every kingdom and province of Europe, together with ſuch other monuments as deſcribe the ſacrifices that were offered there, and the apparatus and inſtruments that were uſed in them; but they generally deal ſo much in conjectures, and agree ſo little with each other, that it is no wonder this kind of ſtudy has been diſreliſhed by the far greater part of the learned: ſo that it would be loſt time for us to enter farther on this ſubject; all that we think neceſſary to add is, that the Gauls are affirmed by the generality of authors to have conſtantly aſſiſted at theſe ſacrifices completely armed, and to have carried ſome ſmall thing belonging to the victim away with them in their mouths or hands[x], after it had been offered up, or had been led to the altar.

How the Gauls aſſiſted at thoſe ſacrifices.

They had not temples before the arrival of the Romans, nor, in all likelihood, for a long time after Cæſar's conquering them. Maximus Tyrius, who lived long after

[w] Strab. lib. iv. Juſt. lib. xxiv. cap. 4. Diod. Sic. lib. vi. cap. 9. Comment. lib. vi. et al.

[x] Cæſ. ubi ſupra, Diod. Sic. Mel. lib. iii.

him,

him, tells us expreſsly, that they had not any other ſtatue of Jupiter but a tall oak [y]; which could hardly be ſuppoſed to be growing in a temple, any more than thoſe amazing piles of hay, and other combuſtibles, in which [z] they uſed to burn their numerous human victims can be imagined to have been reared in any ſuch cloſe places. Their groves, ſuch as we have deſcribed them, were much fitter for thoſe ceremonies; and this appears to have been one chief difference between the Gauls and the Greeks and Romans [a]. Mars, as we have formerly ſhewn, was only worſhipped under the figure of a naked ſword, which was depoſited upon an altar in one of thoſe groves; but as they had then a cuſtom to offer what ſpoil they took from their enemies, Cæſar tells us, they generally depoſited it in any place where they chanced to be. There they ſacrificed all the cattle they found, and laid up the reſt of the plunder in vaſt heaps in the open country; which were, nevertheleſs, held ſo ſacred by the people, that none dared touch any part, though there were amongſt them great quantities of gold, ſilver, and other rich commodities; for he relates, that thoſe conſecrated heaps were to be found in moſt cities in Gaul [b]. This ſeems likewiſe another material point, in which they differed from other nations, who preſerved thoſe treaſures in their temples, as in places of the greateſt ſafety; whereas the Gauls left them expoſed under the canopy of heaven, and in the open fields, or at moſt in lakes and groves, which were on that very account eſteemed ſacred: even the Britons, who certainly had ſuch kind of temples, if any other Gauls had, becauſe their's was counted the ſtandard of the Gauliſh religion, ſeem to have performed all their religious ceremonies in woods and groves; and yet many learned antiquaries are of opinion, that the celebrated ruins on Saliſbury Plain, known by the name of Stonehenge, could be nothing elſe than a temple of the Druids [c].

Mars, how repreſented and worſhipped.

Britons the ſtandard of the Gauliſh religion.

y Maxim. Tyr. Serm. xxxviii. z Cæſ Comment. Strab. ubi ſupra. a See Voſſ. in Maimon, Aboda Zara, cap. 1. not. 2. Reines. apud Relig. des Gaul. p. 119, & ſeq. b Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 2. c De hoc. vid. Cambden. Brit. Inigo Jones, Stonehenge. Charlton. Choir Gaur. Stukely's Stonehenge.

SECT.

SECT. III.

How and when the Ancient Gauls introduced the Worship of inferior Deities among them.

THOUGH the Romans had gained a conſiderable footing in Gaul before the arrival of Julius Cæſar, yet they had not been able to perſuade this people to imitate them in rearing temples to any deity. If they had, Cæſar would not have failed to mention this circumſtance; he who took ſuch pleaſure in relating how many petty kingdoms and commonwealths he had brought over to the Roman intereſt, and to a fondneſs for ſome of their cuſtoms. Since then there is not the leaſt hint of it in any author, but the contrary plainly appears to have been the practice of this nation, we may ſafely conclude that they had not begun, even in his days, and under his government, to introduce this foreign cuſtom. The Gauls laid it down as a conſtant maxim, to wage open war againſt, to plunder and demoliſh all ſuch ſtructures, from a principle they held in common with the Perſees, that it was offering an indignity to the Supreme Being to confine him within any place.

When temples, altars, and ſtatues, began to be reared in Gaul.

We cannot affirm with the ſame certainty that they did not imitate the Romans in another part of their religion, the worſhip of a plurality of gods and goddeſſes, before their conqueſt. We are told, that they worſhipped Mars under the emblem of a naked ſword; and that Mercury was held in the higheſt veneration among them all over Gaul [d], doubtleſs on account of the benefits and improvements which their trade, commerce, arts, and ſciences, had received from him, and of which we have ſpoken in a former volume. Theſe deities, as well as Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, Apollo, Juno, Venus, and Diana, being all of Celtic extraction, it was much more natural for the Gauls to deify them, as having formerly reigned over that nation, than for the Romans and Greeks to adopt or challenge them from others as their own.

Polytheiſm how introduced.

Their gods of Celtic extraction.

With reſpect to the polytheiſm of the Gauls, perhaps they were rather forced to it by thoſe under whoſe tyranny they afterwards groaned, than out of any vain imitation of their neighbours, or affectation of reſpect for their deceaſed princes and heroes. It is not to be doubted, but to ſuch a brave and warlike nation as the Gauls, the Roman yoke muſt appear intolerable; and that they could not be ex-

Their Roman tyrants.

[d] Cæſ. Comment. ubi ſup. lib. vi.

pected

pected to ſubmit longer than they were compelled by the ſuperior power of their tyrants: and as theſe made it their conſtant practice to introduce their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, wherever they conquered, the druids, tenacious as they were of their own, muſt be extremely averſe to all ſuch changes, and uſe all their power and authority, which was ſtill very great, and almoſt uncontrolable, either to oppoſe them, or to prevail on the people to ſhake off the yoke; ſo that there was a kind of neceſſity for the Romans to deviſe ſome plauſible pretence to ſtrip them of their power, and force them to a blind and abject ſubmiſſion. Accordingly we find, that ſeveral emperors took an effectual method to ſuppreſs the druidiſh power, by iſſuing ſome ſevere edicts againſt the bloody cuſtom of offering human ſacrifices. Auguſtus was the firſt who publiſhed a decree againſt them, and at the ſame time introduced a cenſus among the Gauls; upon which the whole nation was ready to revolt: but by the addreſs and authority of Druſus, who was left in that country, they were not only prevented from riſing, but prevailed upon to aſſiſt at the dedication of Julius Cæſar's temple, and to build an altar to Auguſtus. However, it is plain, that the edict of the latter was not executed there; and the druids, by this time in leſs authority with the people, might buy it off, by rearing the above mentioned altar to him: and this is the reaſon why Claudius renewed it againſt them (M).

Strenuous oppoſition againſt it.

Their power ſuppreſſed by Auguſtus.

His cenſus in Gaul.

Claudius's decree againſt the druids.

It appears very probable that theſe edicts againſt the druids, and their rites, were not ſo much framed to aboliſh their ſect and religion, as to intimidate them, and ſuppreſs their exorbitant power, which, by this time, was grown to ſuch a height, that they over-ruled all courts and councils, raiſed whom they choſe to the higheſt dignities, and even to the crown, and often aſpired to and obtained it for ſome of their own order. They directed in making peace and war, and even after they were conquered by the Romans,

When introduced. The power of the druids

(M) However that be, it doth not appear, that even theſe took any more effect againſt them than that of Auguſtus, ſince we find them ſtill not only in high repute ſome centuries after, but even authorized by the emperors Severus, Aurelian, and Diocleſian. They ſubſiſted even down to the times of Solinus Polyhiſtor, and of Euſebius of Cæſarea (1), and much longer ſtill in their chief abode in the province of Chartrain, where whole towns continued in their ancient paganiſm down to the fifth century (2).

(1) Polyhiſt. cap. 21. Præp. Evang. lib. iv. cap. 17. (2) Vide Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 32.

could

could excite the people to a general revolt; and ſo jealous were they grown of their uſurped authority, that they puniſhed all that diſobeyed or diſputed their commands with excommunication, and even with death. Nothing could therefore be more ſuitable to the Roman policy, than to ſuppreſs and cruſh ſo dangerous a ſet of men; and ſince religion was the common pretext to gain their exorbitant authority, ſo that there was no poſſibility of pulling down the one without aboliſhing the other, it was natural for their conquerors to exert all their power and addreſs to bring about ſuch a total change, and introduce their religion amongſt them. There could not perhaps be a more favourable opportunity than than which this period offered, when the Gauliſh nation, groaning under a double, and a divided tyranny, that of their conquerors, and that of their Druids, would, in all likelihood, think it no ſmall happineſs to be eaſed of one of their yokes, and that perhaps which, at that time, ſeemed the moſt intolerable of the two; for the Romans ſeldom made uſe of force, when they could gain their ends by promiſes, or even bribes and rewards: whereas the druids, if we credit the Roman authors, bore all down with an arbitrary and uncontroled ſway, till being overpowered by their enemies, and forſaken by their own people, they were at length forced to ſubmit to, and exchange their religion and rites for thoſe of their conquerors.

inclines the people to a change of religion.

Gaul at length over run with Roman idolatry.

In the time of Cæſar, who left the Gauls to the free enjoyment of their rites, and even of many of their laws and cuſtoms, there was not any temple built, or any place of worſhip but their oaks and groves. In the very next reign, we find the Lugdunenſes building a ſtately temple to that conqueror, and an altar to Auguſtus, then on the throne, and a profeſſed enemy to the druids and their religion. Under his ſucceſſor Tiberius, their chief deity Eſus was transformed into Jupiter the god of heaven and earth, or rather, as it appears, divided his worſhip with him for a while; both were worſhipped at firſt in groves, and under oaks; and at length the former was entirely ſwallowed up in the latter, and temples, altars, and ſtatues were erected after the Roman manner over all the conquered parts of Gaul. After a few reigns, during which they were ſtill greatly oppreſſed, and made ſeveral vain attempts to regain their liberty, the whole country was filled with Roman temples, all their deities adopted and worſhipped, and ſcarce any traces left of their ancient religion, but their bloody rites of offering human victims to theſe new deities, and perhaps alſo in their auguries. To theſe we may add the great veneration which they ſtill retained for their oaks, notwith-

Jupiter ſubſtituted to Eſus.

notwithſtanding their multiplicity of temples, which continued, according to ſome authors, till the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One of theſe was dedicated to a hundred deities, as appears by the inſcription engraven on a column, which the reader will find in the note (N). However, the ſluice thus broken, an inundation of ſuperſtition and idolatry enſued, which nothing could reſiſt; and the Gauls, having once ſhaken off the yoke of their druids, became ſo enamoured with the pageantry of polytheiſm, that they deified at length lakes, rivers, marſhes, and even fountains, to all which they aſcribed ſome peculiar deity, and extraordinary virtues; upon which account it was regarded as the higheſt ſacrilege to fiſh in them, to draw or drain them, and eſpecially to pervert any treaſures that were committed to their care and protection (O). To all theſe changes the druids found themſelves obliged to ſubmit, to avoid the penalties of thoſe edicts; and ſo compliable did they ſhew themſelves, that from that time, whether to make their court to the Romans, or to take off the odium of their name, they exchanged it for that of Senani, which

Gauls run into all kinds of ſuperſtition.

The power of the druids curtailed.

(N) This oak being afterwards cut down by St. Severus, the inſcription engraven was to preſerve the memory of it; "Arborem divus Severus evertit centum deorum." Our author adds, that in rooting it up, they found a head full of gold and ſilver, which was expended by that ſaint in the building of a church ſince dedicated to him, as appears by the epitaph upon his tomb (1).

(O) Of theſe lakes, and fountains, ſome were dedicated to one deity, ſome to another. The Hermonduri and Catti waged a bloody war againſt each other for the property of one of theſe fountains, which was a ſalt one; and the former at length gained their point againſt the latter, by a vow which they made to ſacrifice their enemies, and all their ſpoil, to Mars and Mercury: which was accordingly done; the Catti were all maſſacred without mercy, together with their horſes, cattle, and all their ſpoil, and flung into the lake.

Abundance of gold, ſilver, rich clothes, and other coſtly articles they flung into them, which it was ſacrilege to touch. We have ſpoken of the famous lake of Thouloufe dedicated to Apollo, whoſe treaſures, eſpecially in gold and ſilver ingots, and maſſy utenſils, amounted to immenſe ſums, and was continually increaſed by freſh offerings (2): but as theſe places became liable to be plundered by foreign nations, as well as by their neighbours, they began to depoſit thoſe ſacred treaſures in their temples, of which they reared ſoon after an aſtoniſhing number.

(1) Jo. de Boſc. Antiq. Vien. p. 4. Tabl. au des Prov. Franc. tom. ii. p. 107. apud eund. (2) Oroſ. lib. v. cap. 15. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. Aul. Gell. lib. iii. cap. 9.

in

in their language ſignified *elder* or *venerable*. From hence we may date their ruin, though they were not quite aboliſhed till ſome ages after; for being once reduced to ſo low an ebb, and become ſuch ſervile creatures to their new and potent maſters, it is not to be ſuppoſed that theſe would ever ſuffer them to recover it again: but if they ſtill permitted them to make a gain of religion, it could be only in the worſhip and rites of thoſe new deities, which they had now obliged them to adopt.

Multiplicity of temples, ſtatues, &c.

This multiplicity of deities, or rather of conſecrated lakes and marſhes, did not prevent them from building a great number of temples, altars, and ſtatues, after the Roman manner, ſeveral of them very ſtately, and in the grand taſte, as is evident from ſome remains of them, and other monuments of that nation. In theſe they commonly ſacrificed to the gods only brute victims, and offered vows and rich donatives; but they ſtill offered human ſacrifices, it ſeems [e], under their oaks, and in their groves: whether they did it for privacy, and to avoid the penalty of the Roman edicts, or ſtill retained their ancient notion of that Supreme Being, to whom they thought them more peculiarly to belong, we will not determine. To give our readers a ſpecimen of theſe buildings, we are told that the ſtatues of theſe gods, ſuch as Pennin, Mercury, and Diana, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, were placed ſometimes on pedeſtals which ſerved likewiſe for altars, ſometimes on columns of a prodigious height [f]. In ſome they were expoſed to the open air, and in others ſheltered by an edifice of poliſhed ſtone, in form of a cupola or cone. Their temples were no leſs rich and magnificent, witneſs that called Vaſſo at Clermont in Auvergne, the walls of which are affirmed to have been thirty feet thick, covered on the outſide with ſculpture, curiouſly wrought and poliſhed, and on the top incruſtated with marble, and compartments of moſaic work. The pavement was likewiſe of marble, and the top covered with lead. A learned French antiquary mentions eight of theſe ſtately fabrics of an octagonal form, whoſe eight faces were adorned with figures of Gauliſh deities, generally eight in number [g] (P). By the multitude of niches that appear

Their temples deſcribed.

[e] See Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 15. [f] Greg. Tur. lib. viii. cap. 15. Sulp. Sever. Dial. lib. iii. cap. 9. & ſeq. Guich. Hiſt. des ſçavant. ap. Relig. des Gaul. ubi ſupra. [g] Supplem. de l'Antiq. tom. ii. See alſo Relig. des Gaul. ubi ſupra, cap. 16, & ſeq.

(P) The moſt remarkable ſtructure of this kind, now remaining, ſtands at Montmorillon, in the province of Poitou, and conſiſts of two temples, one above, and the other under ground.

appear in ſome of them, they ſeem to have had a great number of ſtatues which were moſtly demoliſhed, upon their converſion to Chriſtianity: ſome of them, ſince dug out of their ruins, are ſo broken and mutilated, that it is difficult to gueſs whether they were Gauliſh deities, or ſtatues of any other kind. A great many of theſe edifices have been preſerved here, as they were in other countries, upon the planting of Chriſtianity, by being converted into churches, though a much greater number were demoliſhed. *Multiplicity of ſtatues.*

We now come to ſpeak of the gods that were afterwards adopted and worſhipped by the Gauls. We have already ſeen, how their ancient Eſus came to be changed into Jupiter, at firſt indeed under the ſymbol of an oak, and even of a ſhapeleſs ſtump of a tree; but at length, as they gave wholly into the Roman ſuperſtition, they erected altars and ſtatues to him, and repreſented him after the Roman manner: thus, in ſome ancient ſtatues and bas-reliefs, he is repreſented with a lance in one hand, and a thunderbolt in the other, and with his arms and boſom bare; his head is ſometimes ſurrounded with a radial crown; the name of Jupiter is never found in one of his inſcriptions, but only that of Jou, or Jovis, which being of Celtic extract, was deſignedly retained. He is likewiſe furnamed Taran, which in the ſame tongue ſignifies *thunderer*. We would not, however, pretend to affirm, that this laſt name is the Taramis, or Taranis, of Lucan, or that the Gauls did not beſtow it on any other god but the great Jupiter; but we may be aſſured, that that of Jovis was peculiar to him, and has been preſerved not only by the ancient Gauls and Welſh, but is ſtill retained by the French in many of their compound words (Q). In that part of Gaul nearer the Alps, he was ſtyled Peninus, and thoſe high mountains Peninæ, from the Celtic word *pen*, which ſignifies a *head*, a *height*, a *ſummit*. He was repreſented as a young man naked, on a column reared on the top of Mount St. Bernard the Leſs, by L. Lucilius, and is ſtyled Optimus Maximus; whence it is concluded, that he was the ſame with the Gauliſh Jou, or Jove. What ſeems to confirm this opinion beyond all queſtion is, that the column on which it ſtood is indif- *The Gods worſhipped by the Gauls.* *Jupiter.*

ground. For the particulars of the deſcription, we muſt refer the reader to Keiſler. Antiq. Septentr. apud Relig. des Gauls. lib. i. cap. 15.

(Q) Particularly in thoſe that follow; Joudy or Jeudy, Thurſday, or day of Jove; Joumount, Joubarb, the Mount of Jove, a mountain ſo called by the Romans; and the beard of Jove, an herb ſo called, from its reſemblance to it; and many more of the like nature.

ferently

ferently called the column of Jove, and of Peninus; and the carbuncle that was placed on it, the eye of Jove, and the eye of Peninus [h]: but ſince by the eye of Jupiter was meant the Sun from all antiquity [i], and the carbuncle was a proper emblem of this laſt deity, why may we not as well ſuppoſe this ſtatue, naked and youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to it, rather than to Jupiter? However that be, as this laſt ſucceeded their great Eſus, they paid much the ſame worſhip to him, and in particular offered human victims, as the Romans did to their Jupiter Latialis.

Mars. Their next deity was Mars, whom they eſteemed as the chief protector of the Gauliſh nation. Their invincible warlike temper inſpired them with ſuch a veneration for, and confidence in him, that whenever they went to war, they made him heir of all their poſſeſſions, and about the time of the onſet they dedicated to him all the plunder [k]. If they obtained the victory, they frequently ſacrificed their priſoners, as well as their cattle, to him, and hung the heads of their ſlain enemies about the necks of their horſes, in token of their valour. They even incloſed ſome of the moſt conſiderable in frames of cedar, and upon proper occaſions ſhewed them to ſtrangers, and at no rate could be prevailed upon to part with them [l]. Another barbarous cuſtom they are juſtly branded with, of poiſoning their arrows with a juice, which they extracted from a tree not unlike our fig-tree, but of a deadly quality [m]. In times of ſickneſs, or imminent danger, they immediately ſacrificed human victims to Mars, or vowed to do ſo, as ſoon as they had it in their power; and performed it accordingly. It was even common, in preſſing dangers, to ſacrifice all their enemies to that deity, and to maſſacre them, as we have formerly hinted, without mercy or diſtinction. We have already taken notice, that he was formerly worſhipped under the emblem of a naked ſword, and under the name of Mars, or Mavors, or Mawr-ruiſe, which ſignifies *warlike*, or *powerful*. Since then we find him repreſented in the habit of a Roman warrior, with a ſpear in one hand and a ſhield in the other, and diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of Camulus. We are told, that the Accitani of Spain, or the inhabitants of Cadiz, a Gauliſh colony, repreſented him ſurrounded with rays of light, becauſe, ſays our author [n], the boiling of the blood, and flow of animal ſpirits,

Their cruel vows to him;

and other barbarous cuſtoms.

[h] Guichenon. Hiſt. of Savoy, tom. i. lib. i. cap. 4. Vide Relig. des Gaul. lib. ii. cap. 29. [i] Vide Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap 21. [k] Ulp. Fragm. tit. 21. Comment. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. lib. vi. cap. 9. Athen. lib. iv. [l] Strab. lib. iv. [m] Rhodig. lib. xxiii. cap. 12. [n] Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 19.

which

which are the cauſe of a martial temper, were produced by the heat of the ſun. The variety of inſcriptions, that have been dug up by the curious, proves him to have been in the higheſt eſteem.

Apollo was another of their deities, held in great veneration, on account of his being the god of phyſic. The druids, who were as famous quacks as prieſts, failed not to celebrate him, as the implanter of all the virtues that they attributed to their materia medica, which chiefly conſiſted in herbs, gathered and prepared with a great many ſuperſtitious ceremonies (R). The Aquileians and Tectoſagi choſe him for their patron and protector. The latter, who occupied a vaſt territory about Tholoſa, had a very rich and magnificent temple dedicated to him in that city, which was their metropolis. This is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that is mentioned by Eumenius °, on account of Conſtantine's repairing thither, to return thanks for his late ſucceſs, and the extraordinary preſents he made; upon which occaſion that author ſtyles it the fineſt temple of Apollo that was then in the world. The building was a decagon, containing a great number of niches and ſtatues, and, among the reſt, that of Apollo, repreſented as a beautiful youth; upon which account the panegyriſt compliments that monarch

Apollo worſhipped as the god of phyſic.

His ſtately temple at Tholoſa.

° Eumenius, Panegyr. Conſtant. ſub fin.

(R) They had an herb dedicated to Apollo, or Belenus, which they called, from him, Belinuncia, and the Romans Apollinaris; and is ſuppoſed to have been a kind of henbane. The Spaniards and Hungarians retain ſtill the former of theſe names, the one calling it Veleno, and the others Belend.

Whenever the country laboured under a great drought, the women aſſembled, and choſe from amongſt them a young virgin, to be the leader of the dance. She ſtripped herſelf naked, and went, at the head of the reſt, in ſearch of this herb, which they then called Bæliſa. When ſhe had found it, ſhe plucked it up by the roots, with the little finger of her right hand, and tied it to a ſtring, the other end of which was faſtened to the little toe of her right foot. Her company then cut off each ſome boughs, and carried them in their hands after her, whilſt ſhe dragged the plant with her foot towards the next river, and there plunged it in the water: the reſt dipped likewiſe their boughs, and ſprinkled her with it. When this ceremony was over, they all returned to the place whence they ſet out, but took care to make the young virgin walk backwards all the way (1).

(1) Relig. des Gaul. Burchar. Decret. lib. xix.

with joining to the youthfulneſs of the god the grandeur of an emperor (S).

Mercury the god of trade, learning, &c.

But the deity in greateſt veneration among the Gauls was Mercury. We have already given ſome reaſons for it in the Celtic hiſtory. Other deities had particular cities and provinces, where they were more particularly worſhipped; but, after this deity was adopted the god not only of trade and commerce, of which he was anciently eſteemed the author, and chief promoter, in Gaul, but likewiſe of arts and ſciences, of the highways and travellers, of pregnant women, and even of thieves and robbers, ſtatues, altars, and temples were erected to him in every place throughout this country. He is called, by ſeveral ancient authors, Theutat, and Theutates [p], the ſignification of which name we have given, as well as that of Mercury, in a former volume; and we need not doubt but they both meant the ſame deity, or that he was worſhipped under both by the Gauls, ſince both are of Celtic extract, and expreſſive of the excellent notion they had of him upon both accounts. That of Theutat ſignifying *the father of his people*, they acknowleged him under that name, at firſt as their founder, and afterwards boaſted themſelves to be ſprung from him, in imitation of the Thracian kings, who were another branch of the ancient Celtes. Mercury was eſteemed the god of riches [q]; no man could

His various names, whence.

[p] Lucan. Pharſal. lib. i. Liv. decad. iii. lib. vi. cap. 44. Lactant. & al. [q] Cæſar. Comment. lib. vi.

(S) He was generally repreſented youthful, naked, with a radiant crown, or golden treſſes. In ſome ancient buſtos found of him, as well as in many coins, he is repreſented with a pole, or ring, and a link of a chain faſtened to his ſcull, by which he was ſuſpended to the roof, in imitation of the ſun, whom they fancied to be ſuſpended by a golden chain. One head of his was dug up at the caſtle of Poſignac, which place is ſuppoſed to have been ſo called from Apollo, and is ſtill to be ſeen in that place. It is but ill carved, on a bluiſh ſtone, between four and five feet in height and breadth, ſurrounded with rays, which, when the ſun ſhines upon it, caſt a kind of golden or fiery luſtre, and ſhew that thoſe rays had been formerly gilt. What is remarkable in this antique is, that he is carved with his mouth wide open; from which it is concluded to be here repreſented as delivering his anſwer: and indeed the druids were, by this time, become ſuch zealous mimics of the Greeks and Romans, that we need not doubt but they had ſome one or more of theſe oracles among them, though we could not find any other footſteps of it (z).

(z) Relig. des Gaul. ubi ſupra.

attain

attain them without his help: hence he came to be confounded with Pluto, and to share in his honours and attributes; or, if we may be allowed to guess nearer to the truth, Mercury, being dead, became Pluto, the god of riches, and of the lower regions: and hence both Gauls and Thracians claimed their descent from these two deities, after they had, by length of time, split them into two, in imitation of their neighbours. Some inscriptions shew, that not only Mercury, but even Venus and Mars, were numbered among the infernal gods. As he was worshipped as their progenitor, he is often joined, in those statues and inscriptions erected to him, with the goddess Postverta, to assist women in labour. This goddess has much puzzled all mythologists, and may be only an epithet of Proserpine, whom, Strabo says, they worshipped as their mother [r]; or, perhaps, of Diana, who had the same office. According to all these distinctions, we may reckon three Gaulish Mercuries, or rather the same god worshipped under three different titles, and represented in three different forms (T).

Esteemed the god of riches.

Reckoned among the infernal deities.

How he was worshipped by the Gauls under any of these three denominations, is difficult to determine; only as he

r Lib. iv.

(T) As the god of eloquence, he was represented in the manner described by Lucian, as an old man, with his bow, quiver, club, and lion's skin, holding a willing multitude chained to his tongue by their ears. As the god of merchants and travellers, he was exhibited naked, without sex and beard, and with his winged cap and caduceus. He is under this head, likewise, represented with a purse in one hand, and sometimes with a cornucopiæ in the other, and with wings on his heels, as the messenger of the gods. In some statues, he has a crescent over the wings of his cap, and was often joined with the moon in the Gaulish worship, and that, probably, upon these two accounts: first, as the one was the dispenser of wealth, and the other the giver of fertility to the earth; and, secondly, as both presided over the highways, upon which account the latter was called Trivia; and both protected the roads, travellers, thieves, shepherds, and shepherdesses (3), upon which account these likewise offered sacrifices (4). As an infernal deity, we conjecture him to have been represented with a beard; his winged cap rather resembled a disk, and, instead of a caduceus, he held in one hand an odd kind of sceptre, and in the other a purse. His body was surrounded with an imperial mantle, or paludamentum, tied or fastened by some ornament on one of his shoulders,

(3) Porph. de Abst. lib. ii. Macrob. Somn. Scip. lib. i. Auct. Hymn. in Mer. ver. 15, 290.

(4) Eustat. Odyss. ξ. Iliad. ξ.

was, in imitation of the Romans, deified as the god of traffick and riches, we may ſuppoſe they borrowed ſome of their rites from the worſhip which was paid to him by the Roman merchants. The chief victim, with which they concluded his feaſt, was a ſow with pig. Some other male deities they had likewiſe adopted, ſuch as Mithras, from the Perſians; Neptune, Erebus, and Orcus, ſuppoſed both to be the ſame with Pluto, Bacchus, and ſome others, whom they took from the Greeks and Romans; concerning which we know very little, either of their worſhip, or of the notion which the Gauls had of their power and attributes.

Goddeſſes. The chief of their goddeſſes were Diana or Luna, Juno, Minerva, Venus, Proſerpine, Arduina, whom we ſuppoſe to be the Moon, and Cybele, a ſtatue of which was dug up at Paris, having a head crowned with a kind of hexagonal temple, particularly venerated in the city of Autun, where her prieſts were caſtrated in honour of her, and from thence *Galli, who.* called Galli (U). Before we cloſe this ſection, it will be neceſſary to give our readers ſome account of the Gauliſh druids and bards, and of ſuch of their doctrines and tenets as have not been yet touched upon, at leaſt as far as we can

(U) That Cybele, or the mother of the gods, as ſhe is called, was a deity of Syrian, and not of Gallic extract, is univerſally acknowleged: ſo that if her worſhip was introduced into Gaul, it was either by force, or in imitation of the Greeks and Romans. If we conſider their abhorrence of all mutilations, we can hardly think, that they would willingly adopt ſuch a kind of worſhip as this, which required every prieſt, and encouraged every votary of the goddeſs to become an eunuch. We are, moreover, told, that thoſe Galli were held in ſuch abhorrence, that no other people would converſe with them; and that they were placed upon the level with ſorcerers, gladiators, and executioners (1); ſo that they had no other way of living, but by carrying their goddeſs about, and begging charity for her ſake; all which diſcipline was entirely oppoſite to the genius of the Gallic nation.

Accordingly, St. Jerom has a paſſage, which plainly intimates, that the Romans forced this emaſculated prieſthood upon the Gauls, and called thoſe eunuchs Galli, in order to fix a perpetual ignominy upon that nation, for having taken their metropolis, and beſieged their Capitol. We are told by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, that no Roman took that office upon him, but that they had a Phrygian male and female to perform it. This might be true, in ſome degree; and if what is reported of Heliogabalus, who became one of them, is to be credited, it will only ſhew, that he regarded the laws and cuſtoms of Rome no more in this caſe, than he did in all others.

(1) Tertul. de Reſurrect. cap. 6.

glean

glean from ancient authors; for it cannot be expected, that we should know much concerning a set of men, who made a mystery of their religion and philosophy, and a constant rule never to commit to writing any thing relating to either [s].

Their druids.

We have already observed, that the order of the druids had the sole care of all religious matters, which they so artfully and dextrously introduced into every other concern, both public and private, that nothing could be done without their approbation; and this absolute power of their's lasted till at least some time after their conquest by the Romans. They were called by several names (W), besides that of druid. Their antiquity is considered of the same date with the Brachmans of India, Magi of Persia, the Chaldees of Babylon and Assyria, and, in a word, with the oldest sects of philosophers [t]. Indeed, considering the surprising conformity of their doctrine, notwithstanding their great distance from each other, we cannot otherwise account for it, but by supposing, that they all received it from the same person, namely, Noah, and his immediate descendents, and carried it each to the different places of their dispersion; for they can never be supposed to have communicated it to each other, as there could be no communication or commerce between them in those early times: at least the druids of Britain, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, and from whom the Gauls received all their religion and philosophy, cannot be supposed to have

Conformity of their doctrines with those of the Brachmans, &c.

[s] Cæs. Comment. lib. vi. & alibi pass. [t] Vide int. al. Laert. in Procem. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. Cl. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. Polyhist. apud eund. lib. i. Cels. apud Orig. ubi supra.

(W) One of them was that of Semnothei (2), given, doubtless, on account of their greater veneration for, and knowlege of, the godhead. Diodorus Siculus styles them saronides, on account of their great regard to such old oaks as were decayed, and stripped of their bark; for that is the meaning of the word, according to Hesychius.

The last name we shall mention, was that of Senani, which we hinted above was, probably, assumed by them as more pleasing to the Romans, it properly signifying a *wise* or *venerable man*; as their druidesses were called senoe, and senes (3). This was probably done in imitation of the sect of gymnosophists, who agree with them in many things, particularly, in having their societies composed of males and females, like the Gaulish druids, in studying philosophy, astrology, prying into futurity, and living in celibacy. These were by the Greeks called semnones; the Gauls, among whom the *m* was, and is still, in many provinces, pronounced like *n*, called them sennones, and, in the Latin termination, sennoni and sennani.

(2) Diog. Laert. in Procem. Suid. in Voc. (3) Mela, lib. iii.

had it from any of these foreign sects, to whom they were utterly unknown.

Their excessive power.

Among other instances of the excessive power of the druidish tribe, Cæsar mentions one, by which we may guess at the rest; namely, that they chose the annual magistrates of every city, who had, during that year, the supreme authority, and sometimes the title of king; and yet these could do nothing without their approbation and advice [u]: so that, notwithstanding their great pomp and state, they were but the creatures and slaves of the druids. They exerted the same arbitrary power in their courts of judicature, and all other cases, and were every where esteemed as the chiefs of every Gaulish commonwealth. They had the sole management and instruction of youth in every thing but the military art. In this last respect the druids, and their disciples, were not only exempt from going to war, but from all kind of tribute likewise. Their order was not fixed to any particular families or nation of Gaul; but every man had power to offer himself as a candidate, and, if approved by the society, was admitted into it. Their grand druid was chosen from amongst them by the plurality of votes; and, when any dispute arose, it was often terminated in this, as in other cases, by the sword. We have already observed, that they made it a part of their religion not to commit any thing to writing, but to couch all their mysteries and learning in verse; and these, it seems, were multiplied in time to such a number, that it took some of them twenty years to learn them all by heart.

Exempt from war, &c.

Grand druid how chosen.

Committed nothing to writing.

The three grand articles of their religion.

The three grand fundamentals of their religion consisted, 1. In their worship of the gods. 2. In abstaining from all evil. And, 3. In behaving with intrepidity upon all occasions [v]. In order to inspire them with a contempt of life, they taught the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments.

Their great skill in astronomy, &c.

Practise physic.

They also pretended to great skill in some branches of geography and astronomy; from which they assumed a knowlege of the divine will; pretended to pry into futurity, and to foretel strange events. Pliny adds, that they studied natural philosophy, and practised physic [x]. This last consisted chiefly in the knowlege and use of simples; but they soon found out a way to render it more intricate and mysterious, by intermingling it with astrology, and other superstitious rites.

Their druidesses, or female druids.

Before we leave this subject, we must not omit saying something of their famed druidesses, and the great esteem

[u] Cæs. Comment. lib. vii. Vide & Dio. Chrysost. Orat. xlix.
[v] Diog. Laert. lib. i. [x] Vide Nat. Hist. lib. xxiv. & seq.

they

they were in among the Gauls, as well as the Germans y. Anciently the Gauliſh women bore a great ſway in this country, of which the druids, in time, ſtripped them; but it is likely, that the druideſſes held ſtill great part of their own power, eſpecially on account of their being thought endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy; for we cannot find, that they were famed for any thing elſe; and ſome of them were among the loweſt rank of people.

There were three claſſes of druideſſes in Gaul, the chief of which was thoſe who lived in perpetual virginity; for theſe were thought to poſſeſs the ſpirit of prophecy. The next was thoſe who, though married, were yet obliged to abſtain from the matrimonial intercourſe, except one ſingle time in the whole year, when they were allowed to converſe with their huſbands; after this communication, they returned to their office, which was, to aſſiſt the druids at their religious functions. The laſt were a kind of ſervants or attendants, on the others; and this circumſtance we learn rather from old monuments and inſcriptions, than from ancient authors, who have ſaid little more of them, than that they were propheteſſes. The druids and druideſſes pretended to a great knowlege in aſtrology, calculated nativities, erected figures, and foretold ſtrange things, both by that art, and by their inhuman auguries (L). But thoſe, who were ſtyled propheteſſes, were thought to have a gift ſuperior to the reſt, which was revered as ſupernatural: theſe were called by ſome ſuperior title, ſuch as that of dame was heretofore among us, and were in the higheſt requeſt, not only among their own people, but likewiſe among foreign nations.

Three orders of them.

Their office.

y Tacit. lib. iv. cap. 54. & ſeq. de Mor. Germ. Dio, in Fragm. xlix. Plin. & al.

(L) The druideſſes were, on theſe occaſions, like the druids, clothed in white tunics, faſtened with hooks, and girt with a braſs girdle, and without ſhoes. As ſoon as the Cimbrians had taken any captives, theſe women flew upon them with drawn ſwords in their hands, and threw them down; thence they dragged them to a capacious labrum, or ciſtern, by the ſide of which was a kind of foot-ſtool, on which the druideſs then officiating, ſtood, who plunged a long knife into the breaſt of each of theſe unfortunate wretches, one after another, as faſt as they were brought; and from the flowing of their blood ſhe formed her predictions. The other druideſſes, who aſſiſted, took up the breathleſs bodies, opened and examined their intrails, and from thence likewiſe foretold events, which were immediately communicated to the whole army or council, and as readily believed.

Witcheries. The others were much leſs regarded; and their night-aſſemblies about ponds and marſhes, to worſhip and conſult the moon, and ſome other ſorceries they pretended to uſe, cauſed them to be conſidered as downright witches, canibals, lamiæ, pythoniſſæ, ſtriæ, and every thing that is deteſtable and horrid, by Chriſtian authors, from the ſixth century to the preſent time [z].

The bards, their office. The next order among them, in great eſteem, was that of the bards. Some authors have, indeed, confounded them with the druids, and aſſerted the former to be only a more modern name given to them; but there is a paſſage in Strabo, which entirely explodes that notion, where he

Different from the druids. ſays [a], that the druids were in the higheſt power, and gave laws to the vates, eubages, and bards, who were everywhere to allow precedence when they pleaſed to demand it, and were not allowed to do any thing without their conſent and approbation. Beſides, we are told by a number of other authors, that theſe bards were ſo called from their office, which was, to ſing the praiſes of their heroes [b], and to accompany their ſongs with muſical inſtruments; and that their compoſitions were held in the higheſt eſteem, as the moſt effectual means of eternizing the memory of thoſe who had the merit or good fortune to be celebrated in them. One of the authors laſt quoted adds, that they could at any time reſtrain a whole army's engaging, by their interpoſition: ſo great a power had Wiſdom and the Muſes over

Their office in the army. thoſe Barbarians. It was their buſineſs to accompany the Gauliſh armies with their ſongs, which were generally calculated to inſpire them with valour and intrepidity, with the love of liberty, and contempt of death [c]. During the attack, they uſed likewiſe to raiſe loud ſhouts, ſometimes as of victory, at other times to intimate their danger, in caſe they did not fight valiantly, or were ready to give way; ſo that, though they did not really fight themſelves, they were ſo intermingled with the army, that they ran, in a great meaſure, the ſame riſk with thoſe that did. By theſe means, they were eye-witneſſes of the combatants, and either celebrated their praiſes in their ſongs, or cenſured thoſe who had not done their duty; and as theſe might in time degenerate, and be often bribed to extol thoſe who had been faulty, or in praiſing either too much or too little, for favour or intereſt, it is thought they acquired the name of

Vates and euvates. paraſites [d]. To theſe two orders we may add thoſe of the vates and euvates, or eubates, which were ſtill inferior to

[z] Gruter. p. 62. Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 27. [a] Strab. lib. iv.
[b] Diod. Sic. lib. vi. cap. 9. Lucan. lib. i. ver. 447. Ammian. Marcel. lib. xv. [c] Pauſan. in Phoc. [d] Poſidon. ap. Athen. lib. vi.

that

that of the bards; but whether they were ſo to each other, or the ſame under two names, is not eaſy to aſcertain, with that glimmering light we have from ancient authors. All that can be conjectured upon the whole is, that the druids preſided over all religious matters, and bore a great ſway in thoſe of a civil nature. The bards were the recorders of all tranſactions, and preſerved in their poetic compoſitions the knowlege of things and perſons, and communicated as much of it to the laity, by their ſongs, as the druids thought proper. The vates and euvates were ſingers of theſe bardiſh compoſitions, and retained in the families of the great, to celebrate their praiſes and heroic acts; but the druids being more known to ſtrangers than the reſt, their name was given to all indifferently by ancient hiſtorians. *Their ſuppoſed office.*

We ſhall cloſe this account of the Gauliſh religion with obſerving, that, in ſpite of all the ſevere edicts of the Roman and Chriſtian monarchs, there were ſtill very viſible traces of it, and of the very worſt part of the druidiſh rites, practiſed not only long after the ſettling of Chriſtianity in Gaul, but even to the middle of the ſixth century, as appears by a remarkable inſtance, which we ſhall give in the note (O).

SECT. IV.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Learning, Arts, Sciences, Commerce, and Cuſtoms, of the ancient Gauls.

WE have already ſpoken at large of the origin and antiquity of the Gauls, in the hiſtory of the Celtes their anceſtors; of their migrations and ſettlement in Europe and of their ancient monarchical government. How and *Their government.*

(O) This fact is taken from Procopius, who was himſelf an eye-witneſs of it, and is as follows: Theodebert I. having penetrated into Italy at the head of a conſiderable army, and taken poſſeſſion of the bridge of Pavia, his men offered in ſacrifice the wives and children of the Goths, whom they had ſurpriſed, and caſt their bodies into the river, as the firſt-fruits of that war. "For," ſays he, "the Franks, though Chriſtians, ſtill obſerve a great many of their ancient ſuperſtitions. They offer up human victims, and uſe many execrable rites in their auguries." And another author, who lived till the latter end of the ſeventh century, gives a long catalogue of ſuch ſuperſtitions, againſt which, as he was a biſhop, and ſince ſainted for his piety, he forewarns his Chriſtian flock. The reader may ſee the paſſage at large in the authors quoted below (*t*).

(1) Vide Father Coint. tom. i. & iii. Fleury's Eccleſ. Hiſt. tom. viii. Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 7.

when

when it came afterwards to decline, and ſplit itſelf into that variety of forms in which the Romans found them afterwards, were in vain to enquire, conſidering that they had neither hiſtory nor records, except what was couched in the ſongs or ballads of their bards and druids, who kept them, as much as poſſible, from public knowlege, and only ſung or repeated them on certain times, or upon particular occaſions, rather to ſtimulate the people to imitate their heroes, than to preſerve any regular ſeries of their tranſactions. All therefore that can be offered concerning this change, is as follows:

Various forms of it. The Gauls were by this time (though ſtill under the ſame name, uſing the ſame language and cuſtoms, and governed by the ſame general laws) ſubject to different governments, ſome of which were monarchical, others ariſtocratical, others partly ſo, and partly democratical; and theſe were, by way of diſtinction called free[e]. Tacitus reckons no leſs than ſixty-four of theſe cities, or, as Cæſar more preciſely explains it[f], regions, or diſtricts, who were under this kind of government. Theſe commonwealths were chiefly governed by the advice of the nobles, but anciently every year they choſe a magiſtrate for civil, and a general for military affairs[g]; yet theſe, as well as thoſe that were under a kingly government, obſerved one conſtant law, to call every year, at a certain time, a general council of the whole nation; in which, whatever related to the common intereſt of the community, was debated and ſettled. The free commonwealths had, beſides, a law common to them all, importing, that whoever heard any report, or rumour, among their borderers, which concerned the common intereſt, they were obliged to acquaint their magiſtrates with it, and to conceal it from the people. The magiſtrates were to conceal what they thought proper, and acquaint the people with the reſt; for it was not lawful for any perſon to talk of matters that related to the whole community, but in the council[h]. This grand council was the dernier reſort of the Gauls, wherein every thing relating not only to peace and war, but to property, boundaries, territories, and diſtribution of plunder, between diſtrict and diſtrict, was finally determined. Thoſe ſmall commonwealths ſeem to have had ſuch an averſion to kingly government, that one of them, the nation of the Ædui, ordered the great Certillus, the father of Vercingetorix, a man in great power and credit,

Grand council of the nation. Thoſe of the free republics.

Grand council the dernier reſort.

Inteſtine diviſions.

[e] Cæſar. Comment. lib. i. cap. 1. lib. vi. cap. 4. [f] Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. [g] Strab. lib. v. [h] Comment. lib. vi. cap. 4.

and

and esteemed the first man in Gaul, to be put to death, for having aspired to the kingdom[1]. At the same time they were so extremely jealous of each other's strength, that they were obliged to enter into combinations, and the little republics to put themselves under the protection of the greater. Cæsar sometimes calls the former tributary and subject to the latter, but most commonly confederate with them. Upon his first entrance into Gaul he found it divided into two factions: the Ædui were at the head of one, and the Arverni conducted the other; and both, he relates, had for many years contended for the superiority, whilst the Bituriges, a people in the province of Berri, and neighbours of the Arverni, were still in subjection to the Ædui; and the Sequani, who lived in Upper Burgundy, now Franch Comté, and neighbours to the Ædui, were under the protection of the Arverni.

Improved by J. Cæsar.

Such were the unhappy divisions between the Gallish commonwealths, which gave so great an advantage to the Romans against them, and which these last failed not to improve. Cæsar, finding the Arverni averse to his measures, entered into an alliance with the Ædui, who were by this time become greatly inferior to that party, complimenting them with the title of friends and brothers to the Roman people. Their example was soon followed by others; so that by cajoling some, and sowing jealousies and discords among others, he facilitated the conquest of that warlike nation.

His policy and address.

Their petty kings.

But, notwithstanding this great multitude and variety of commonwealths, it is evident that Gaul, Germany, and Spain, still abounded with petty kingdoms, that is, with districts governed by kings, whom the Romans styled reguli, but the Gauls called kings, however circumscribed their dominions. These differed from the magistrates of commonwealths, as they enjoyed their dignity during life; and from common monarchs, it not being hereditary, but sometimes conferred by the people upon such as were in the greatest esteem for justice, wisdom, and bravery. Sometimes they were forced by one nation upon another, as the Bituriges placed a king over the Celtæ, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus[k]; sometimes a brave and powerful man forced himself upon the throne: and even those who came to the crown by succession, were far from being arbitrary, or having an unlimited power, but were as much accountable to the people as those that were chosen by them. This is, at least, what Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, acknow-

How chosen.

Their power limited.

[1] Vide & Comment. lib. vi. cap. 11. [k] Livy, lib. v.

leges,

leges, with relation to himſelf: "The conſtitution of our government, ſays he, is ſuch, that the people have no leſs power and authority over me, than I have over them[l]."

Careſſed and corrupted by J. Cæſar.

It is not eaſy to determine how many of theſe kingdoms and commonwealths there were in Gaul; but both were equally courted by the Romans, and for the ſame reaſon; namely, to withdraw from, and weaken the force of thoſe that oppoſed their conqueſts. Theſe petty kings, eſpecially, were often corrupted by gifts, promiſes, or flattering titles, ſuch as that of Friends and Confederates of Rome, to embroil the Gauliſh affairs, and foment diſſenſions among their little kingdoms and republics: even the pooreſt and moſt inconſiderable amongſt them were thought worth the trouble of bringing over; and if their corrupters found them buſy and active in their intereſt, they rewarded them in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to draw others into the ſame treacherous practices. Among thoſe whom Cæſar mentions among the friends and allies of Rome, was Catamantales, king of the Sequani, the grandfather of Piſo, who reigned in Aquitain, and [m] whoſe name the conqueror has not thought fit to record; and Olevico, king of the Nitiobriges, or people of Agenois, who had that title beſtowed upon him by the Roman ſenate. He that made the nobleſt reſiſtance againſt the Romans, was Divitiacus, king of the Sueſſones, a brave people of Gallia Belgica, who was one of the moſt potent princes of Gallia. His territories were large and fruitful: he poſſeſſed twelve conſiderable cities, one of which, Noviodunum, now Noyons, Cæſar afterwards reduced, and with it that whole nation, notwithſtanding they had brought five hundred thouſand fighting men againſt him. This prince's dominions is ſaid to have extended even to Little Brittany. He was ſucceeded by Galba, at the time when Cæſar invaded them [n]. Thus much for the Gauliſh government, which we ſhall cloſe with a ſevere reflection which that conqueror makes upon it, and which will ſhew how much their inteſtine feuds contributed to his conqueſt. "Among the Gauls (ſays he) [o], not only all their cities, cantons, and diſtricts, but even almoſt all families, are divided and torn by factions. Theſe are generally cauſed and fomented by their princes and demagogues, who exerciſe a kind of arbitrary power and authority over their inferiors and dependents, and manage all public matters with an uncontroulable authority." Tacitus makes nearly the ſame obſervation [p]; ſo that, in ſpite

Several of them ſtrenuouſly oppoſe him.

The cauſe of their quick and eaſy conqueſts.

[l] Cæſ. Comment. lib. v. cap. 8.
[m] Idem ibid. lib. iv. cap. 5.
[n] Idem ibid. lib. ii. cap. 1, & ſeq.
[o] Idem ibid. lib. vi. cap. 11.
[p] Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 11.

of

of all their bravery, their ruin was inevitable, when ſo torn and diſmembered from within, and invaded by ſuch powerful and politic enemies from without.

Whether theſe diſaſters were occaſioned through the want of a wiſe body of laws, or through the neglect and violation of them, is not eaſy to determine. We have, indeed, obſerved, in a former volume, that Mercury is ſaid to have civilized the Celtic nation, in many reſpects, and, amongſt other things, that he formed a code of laws. Another author gives the reputation of this to Samothes, a man of profound learning and wiſdom among them, and ſaid to have been the founder of the Celtic monarchy [q]. But the nature of thoſe laws (if any ſuch there were), we cannot pretend to explain. If we may, however, gueſs from ſome inſtances of their hiſtory, they held one general maxim, that the longeſt ſword had the beſt title; that it was the deſign of the Supreme Being, that the ſtrongeſt ſhould ſtrip the weakeſt; and that he who had not power enough to defend his right, ought to yield it to him that was capable of taking it from him by ſuperior ſtrength or valour.

Their laws unknown to us.

A ſtrange maxim of the Gauls. They founded their right on their ſwords.

This maxim of their's was not confined to foreign conqueſts, but extended to the deciſion of private right among themſelves; for when any debates aroſe about their poſſeſſions, about any injury or affront given or received, eſpecially among thoſe of rank, in caſe the council or public magiſtrate did not give ſentence to the ſatisfaction of both parties, they generally decided the point by ſingle combat. Neither could their magiſtrates deny them that liberty, when inſiſted upon by either party; nor could the oppoſite decline the challenge, without giving up his cauſe, and being branded with ignominy. Anciently, indeed, whilſt the whole Gauliſh nation were under a government chiefly compoſed of druids and bards, ſuch diſputes may have been, and, it is moſt likely, were actually decided by their courts and councils; but after the nation came to be ſeparated into many different governments, they conſidered ſuch ſubjection as a kind of outrage to their freedom and honour, and to ſubſtitute this way of ſingle combat, not only as the ſhorteſt, but as the more honourable, and more agreeable to that received maxim of their's, that Providence was engaged to protect the right party; and that ſucceſs was a ſure token that the conqueror had the beſt title to the matter in diſpute. And as the party who judged himſelf injured had a right to appeal to this kind of duel, to juſtify his diſſatiſ-

Decided their law-ſuits, &c. by ſingle combat.

Appealed to that from any court ſentence;

[q] Lewis's Hiſt. Brit. and the authors quoted by him, book i. chap. 2.

faction,

faction, even though the king himſelf had given ſentence againſt him, and his opponent was obliged to ſubmit to it; ſo if the caſe of the two contenders was ſo intricate, that the judges could not readily determine it, they adjudged them to terminate the conteſt by this method. Even the witneſſes, if their depoſitions chanced to contradict each other, were obliged to clear themſelves by fighting. In a word, whatever was decided by ſingle combat, was eſteemed of greater weight and authority than any ſentence that was paſſed either by king, or court of judicature.

and in all dubious caſes.

Strange fondneſs for duels.

To ſuch a degree of fondneſs for theſe ſingle combats were they grown, that the candidates for places of honour or truſt, when their pretenſions or merit were eſteemed nearly equal, had recourſe to it; and, even among the druids themſelves, the choice of a chief, when the old one died, was often decided by it, whenever any diſpute aroſe about the number or validity of the votes of the electors[1]. And, what was ſtill more ſurpriſing, theſe challenges were often ſent for mere punctilios and trifling differences, eſpecially at their feaſts and drunken revels; many times out of mere oſtentation, and to make parade of their ſtrength and bravery (K).

Exceſſive love of liberty.

The Gauls had ſuch a ſingular contempt of life, that either upon the appearance of ſervitude, or incapacity of action through old age, wounds, or chronic diſeaſes, they either put an end to their days, or elſe prevailed upon their friends to kill them, eſteeming this laſt ſtate as much a kind of

[1] Comment. lib. vi. cap. 13. Tacit. Ann. lib. xxiii. cap. 57. N. Damaſcen. Veget. de Re milit. & al.

(K) Livy, ſpeaking of the funeral obſequies which Scipio Africanus celebrated to the memory of his father and uncle, who both died in the Spaniſh wars, tells us, that there came great crouds of perſons of diſtinction to Carthagena, a city in Spain, ſaid to have been built by Aſdrubal, to honour that ceremony by ſingle combats. "Theſe (ſays he), did not fight like common gladiators, either by force, or for money, but of their own accord, and free will." Some were ſent thither by their princes, to diſplay their bravery, for the credit of their nation; others declared they came to do honour to their general. Some came to fight out of oſtentation; and others, becauſe they could not refuſe the challenge that was ſent them. Amongſt them were ſome, who, having lawſuits, or ſome controverſies with others, agreed to put off the deciſion of them to this time and place, and with this condition, that the eſtate or thing in diſpute ſhould fall to the conqueror (1).

(1) Livy, lib. xxviii. cap. 21.

ſlavery,

ſlavery, as falling into the hands of their enemies. In cities, when once they found themſelves ſo cloſely beſieged by their enemies, that they could reſiſt no longer, inſtead of thinking how to make the moſt honourable terms of capitulation, their chief care in general was to put their wives and children to death, and then to kill one another, to avoid being led into ſlavery. In the field, when they were forced to make ſuch a haſty retreat that they could not procure carriages for thoſe who were not able to follow them on foot, as the ſick and wounded, they made no ſcruple to diſpatch them. And this was ſo far from being reckoned cruel and inhuman, that thoſe who were diſabled, begged, with the moſt earneſt importunity, to be thus delivered from the power of their enemies (M). *Their deſperate behaviour.*

Perſonal courage, or contempt of danger and death, was every way as conſpicuous in the women as in the other ſex. It was a principle they ſeemed to ſuck in at the breaſt; at leaſt it was inculcated in them during their moſt tender years. The Gauliſh women exerted themſelves in a very extraordinary manner, to prevent their men from giving ground to the enemy; and even when they turned their backs, they fell with incredible fury upon the fugitives as well as upon their purſuers. *The bravery of the Gauliſh women.*

The Ambrones, ſays Plutarch [s], (a Gauliſh people, who lived near the foot of the Alps, between Switzerland and Provence), having been defeated by Marius near Aix in Provence, were purſued by the Romans quite to their carriages: there they found the women armed with ſwords and hatchets, who mingling with the victors and the vanquiſhed, did with one hand endeavour to wrench their bucklers from them, and with the other to diſpatch them, never quitting their hold but with their lives. This effort *Some remarkable inſtances of it.*

[s] Plut. in Vita Marii. Vide & Oroſ. lib. vi. cap. 16. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 3. Hieron. Epiſt. ad Geront.

(M) Brennus being dangerouſly wounded in that unfortunate expedition which he undertook againſt Greece, and ſeeing his army deſtroyed, partly by the enemy, and partly by hunger, cold, and other accidents, aſſembled the broken remnant of his troops, and adviſed them to chooſe Cichorius for their leader, who ſhould firſt diſpatch him and all the ſick and wounded, and afterwards lead them back into their own country. His advice was followed, and twenty thouſand of that unhappy people were butchered. Brennus only choſe to die by his own hands (1).

(1) Excerpt. ex Diod. Sic. lib. xxii. ap. legal. Hœſchel. p. 152. Vide Pelloutier. Hiſt Celt. lib. ii. cap. 14.

might

might be imputed to their fury and deſpair; but when they found themſelves loſt beyond recovery, they demanded of the conqueror, that they might not be condemned to ſlavery: that their chaſtity might be preſerved inviolate; and that they might be employed in the ſervice of the veſtals. Theſe conditions having been rejected by Marius, they were all found next day either hanging on trees, or weltering in their blood, with their children butchered by their own hands. We have given, in a former volume, another, and even more dreadful inſtance of this love of liberty, in the Cimbrian women; the circumſtances of which are ſo horrible, that we hope we may ſave ourſelves the trouble of repeating them. The ſame deſperate reſiſtance Julius Cæſar is reported to have experienced from the Helvetian women, when, having defeated their huſbands, he came to take poſſeſſion of their camp and baggage; for both the women and their young ſons defended themſelves to the laſt extremity, chooſing rather to be cut in pieces than to be carried into ſlavery[t]. The Dalmatian women are likewiſe reported to have ſet fire to their baggage, and to have thrown themſelves and their children into it; whilſt others precipitated themſelves and their offſpring into the next river[u].

Conditions propoſed to Marius to ſurrender.

Deſpair on rejecting them.

Their martial diſcipline.

What their military diſcipline was is difficult to aſcertain: by what we have hitherto ſeen, it ſeems to have been very imperfect; and their falling, in ſuch vaſt multitudes, upon the enemy, with more fury than diſcretion, without either taking the advantage of the ground, or dividing their numerous hoſts as occaſion required, but truſting altogether to their numbers and valour, ſufficiently proves them to have been greatly deficient in this reſpect: and this is the true reaſon why they had ſuch ill ſucceſs whenever they engaged with other nations, eſpecially the Romans. Their chief talent conſiſted principally in invading, rather than defending, in pouring in their numberleſs troops with incredible fury and ſpeed, and ſpreading terror wherever they came; in ſurmounting all the difficulties, and enduring all the hardſhips that fell in their way, and attacking their enemies with dreadful ſhouts and deſperate eagerneſs, maintaining the combat with an intrepidity almoſt peculiar to them; when all theſe efforts failed, as often happened when they were engaged with troops that were better diſciplined, and trained up in all the refined arts and ſtratagems of war, their laſt reſource was to ſignalize their valour and love of liberty, by ſuch deſperate methods as thoſe we have lately

Rude manner of engaging, fighting, &c.

[t] Plutarch. in Vit. Cæſar.

[u] Dio Caſſ. in Excerpt. Valeſ. lib. lvi. & lxxvii.

hinted,

hinted. Much of their ſucceſs was owing to their horſe and armed chariots, in both which reſpects they diſplayed ſuch a wonderful dexterity as, joined to their bravery, ſeldom failed of doing conſiderable execution. When they came to be rent into ſmall kingdoms and commonwealths, their method was to divide their armies, in time of action, in the ſame manner, that the merit and proweſs, as well as the faults and miſbehaviour of every nation and tribe might be better known, and that every man might be thereby excited to advance the honour of that to which he belonged: but this diſpoſition, though excellently well deſigned at firſt, was attended with great inconveniences, and often threw things into confuſion, either for want of general diſcipline, or through the jealouſy and miſunderſtanding between their commanders, and eſpecially from the time the Romans undertook the conqueſt of Gaul, through the treachery of thoſe who had been corrupted by them.

Dexterity of horſe and armed chariots. An excellent method among them.

One particular more we muſt not omit, concerning their military diſcipline, which is their extreme ſuperſtition, in which they ſeemed to exceed all other nations; they were very careful in obſerving the moon in particular, and avoided, as much as poſſible, engaging the enemy before it was paſt the full. An eclipſe was looked upon as ſuch a bad omen, that no apparent advantage, how great ſoever, or indeed any thing but abſolute neceſſity, could induce them to fight, and then they engaged more like deſperadoes than regular troops. They gave particular attention to their druids and aruſpices, who, in their auguries are branded with uſing ſome very inhuman ceremonies, which we have hinted in ſpeaking of their religion. If the augury promiſed ſucceſs, thoſe diviners uſed to march before with ſongs and dances, and muſical inſtruments, until the onſet began; but if it proved otherwiſe, they forbore fighting, if poſſible, till they met with a more favourable omen; but dreadful was their caſe whenever they were forced to engage after a ſiniſter omen, or threatening augury; for then ſuch horror and deſpair reigned through their hoſts, that they rather ſtrove to avoid ſlavery by a ſpeedy death, than by a brave defence to annoy the enemy.

Superſtitious obſervations before they engaged.

With reſpect to their arms, whether through a parade of bravery, or a contempt of thoſe which were more peculiar to other nations, we do not find they had any others, in their wars with the Romans, than their bows and arrows, the ſword and lance, which laſt was either longer or ſhorter, according to their fancy, and the ſhield; and yet it was with theſe weapons that they performed ſuch aſtoniſhing feats as made them a long time a terror to their enemies.

Their armour, weapons, &c.

Contempt of defenſive arms, warlike engines, &c.

They deſpiſed the helmet, curiaſs, and other defenſive armour, and rather choſe to fight half naked. They were utter ſtrangers to thoſe machines which other nations uſed in ſieges; they had, indeed, learned the method of undermining, but they rather depended on a briſk and deſperate attack, which they began with throwing clouds of ſtones into the place, to clear the walls of their defendants; after which they ſcaled them with the utmoſt fiereeneſs and rapidity. This ferocity often proved fatal to them, eſpecially when they chanced to meet with a repulſe, as they frequently did from the Romans; for in all ſuch caſes they loſt their courage and preſence of mind, and ſuffered themſelves to be butchered, without offering to make any defence (N). Let us now take a view of them in their pacific excellencies, in their arts and ſciences, trade and navigation.

Their language anciently the old Gomerian or Welſh.

Their language is univerſally allowed to have been the old Celtic or Gomerian, of which we have already given an account; we ſhall, therefore, have the leſs to ſay of it here, except it be to relate the changes it underwent after it divided itſelf into as many dialects as the whole nation was parcelled out into little ſtates. There is ſcarcely any doubt that the old Celtic was the common language ſpoken all over Europe. A modern author has not only given undeniable proofs of it, which barely to abſtract would carry us too far, and be thought, perhaps, too dry a ſubject for the greateſt part of our readers; but he has farther confirmed what we had formerly advanced as a probable conjecture, that the German language was originally a dialect of the old Celtic [w]. It was that tongue which is ſtill preſerved in ſeveral parts of Europe, particularly in Biſcay, Brittany, Cornwal, Wales, Ireland, the Hebrides, and Highlands of Scotland, but no where more purely than in North Wales.

Latin, Greek, &c. derived from it.

We formerly obſerved, that not only moſt of the modern European languages were manifeſtly dialects, more or leſs diſtant, of this old Celtic or Gomerian, but that even the Greek and Latin, and other ancient tongues, had ſuch a ſurpriſing affinity with it, that many of them plainly ap-

[w] Pelloutier. Hiſt. Celt. lib. i. cap. 15.

(N) Thoſe who choſe rather to ſurrender, laid down their arms and preſented their left ſhoulder bare to the enemy, and the women their naked boſoms, in token of ſubmiſſion; after which they ſcattered ſome of their money, plate, and fine cloaths amongſt them to bribe their conquerors. Theſe inſtances, however, of ſubmiſſion were but ſcarce and rare amongſt them, in compariſon of thoſe in which they preferred death to ſlavery.

peared

peared to be of Celtic extract. We may add what Quintilian obſerves of the ancient Latin, that till about the middle of the conſular government it was very barbarous and rude in its expreſſions, having in it a multitude of words and idioms of other languages, moſt of them Gauliſh; ſo that if thoſe which have been ſince loſt, or changed, were to be added to thoſe which ſtill remain, the conformity would appear yet greater: and if thoſe Gauls who were afterwards conquered by the Romans, had not, partly out of neceſſity, partly out of mere complaiſance, adopted a great number of words and idioms from their conquerors, we might ſtill behold a much greater ſimilarity between the Low Briton, Biſcayaneer, north Iriſh, and the pure North Welſh: ſo that the only reaſon why theſe laſt have retained in ſuch purity, muſt be attributed to their never having been conquered, and thereby keeping themſelves from intermixture with other nations. Thus we find the Iſraelites, during their long abode in Egypt, preſerving their original Hebrew, which they ſuffered to be greatly corrupted, and almoſt loſt in a ſeventy years captivity. As it is univerſally allowed, that moſt of the Aſiatic tongues, ſuch as the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, &c. borrowed moſt of their radical or primitive words from the Hebrew, ſo this old Celtic, or Gomerian, which was the language of Gomer, and his deſcendents, who firſt inhabited Europe, was the mother of moſt of the European languages, at leaſt as far as Scythia and Sarmatia, which were peopled by Gog and Magog, two other branches of Japhet's offspring: and as there is ſuch a great affinity between thoſe two mother-tongues, we mean the Hebrew and Gomerian [x], or ancient Celtic, it is not to be wondered if we find the ſame reſemblance diffuſing itſelf through all their derivatives; ſuch as the High and Low Dutch, the Latin and Greek, the Arabic, Perſian, &c. and particularly between the Greek, Roman, and old Celtic.

The notion of their ſpeaking Greek exploded.

We have been the more particular on this ſubject, becauſe ſeveral learned men have maintained, that the Gauls commonly uſed the Greek tongue [y]. Nothing can be more contrary to all that we find in ancient authors concerning the Gauliſh language, than ſuch an aſſertion, which may be eaſily overthrown by one or two expreſs paſſages in Julius Cæſar. One is, that in a conference which he had with Divitiacus, an Æduan or Gauliſh lord, he was obliged to make uſe of an interpreter; and yet Cæſar was a perfect

x Vide Edward's Specimen. Lluyd's Grammar. Pezron. Antiq. Nat. Celt. Hickes's Theſaur. Mona Antiqua, p. 278, & ſeq.
y Vide Hottoman. Franco-Gallia, cap. 2.

master of the Greek. The other, which is ſtill more expreſs, is, that when that conqueror found himſelf under a neceſſity to write to Quintus Cicero, who was then beſieged in his camp, he uſed the Greek tongue, leſt his letter ſhould fall into the hands of ſome of the Gauls, and diſcover his deſigns; a precaution which would have been quite ridiculous, if that had been the common language of their nation. Strabo indeed tells us, that the Maſſilians cultivated all ſorts of polite literature, and particularly the Greek, to ſuch a degree, that the reſt of the Gauls were, by their example, become great admirers of that tongue, inſomuch that they began to write their contracts and bargains in it [z]: but then it is plain, firſt, that he only ſpeaks of thoſe Gauls who were neighbours to Marſeilles, many of whom, not only private men, but whole cities, invited ſeveral learned men from that famous city to inſtruct their youth, or ſent their children to be educated there; ſecondly, if the reſt of the Gauls afterwards followed their example, it is plain they had originally another language of their own; and, thirdly, that this cuſtom of learning and uſing the Greek tongue did not begin till Strabo's time.

The genius of their ſtyle, and language.

Before we diſmiſs this article on the Gauliſh language, it will not be improper to make a remark on its pretended rudeneſs and harſhneſs, againſt which both Greek and Roman authors have raiſed ſuch an univerſal outcry. According to them, it was ſufficient to hear a Celte or Gaul ſpeak, to make one judge of their natural ferocity; and the greateſt part of their words, eſpecially of their proper names, of men, women, towns, and rivers, were ſo very harſh, that they could not be pronounced by ſtrangers, or written in other languages without great difficulty; neither could they be inſerted in a poem, without injuring the verſe [a]. The emperor Julian ſays, that it reſembled the croaking of a raven, or the growling of ſome wild beaſt. There muſt be great exaggerations in theſe expreſſions, conſidering how uncouth and barbarous any language appears to thoſe who are unaccuſtomed to, or ignorant of it. It is not to be queſtioned but even the French and Italian, emaſculated as they have been of late, appear ſo at firſt hearing: it ſhould, however, be acknowleged, that with reſpect to the German there is leſs of the hyperbole; and perhaps the ancient Gauliſh might originally have a great deal of that kind of harſhneſs, which guttural and ſome other hard conſonants will naturally cauſe, unleſs ſoftened by the interpoſition of vowels. We do not, therefore, pretend wholly

[z] Lib. iv. [a] Plin. Jun. lib. vii. epiſt. 4.

to

to refute this cenſure; but would rather obſerve, that there is a vaſt difference between thoſe two languages in this reſpect; and that the true Celtic, or North Welſh, though ſeemingly crowded with a number of conſonants, has yet a peculiar ſweetneſs, and is much more adapted for muſic and poetry, than we are ready generally to allow.

Their writing and characters.

The Gauls had originally no characters of their own, but adopted, in proceſs of time, the Greek letters; yet, as we have already hinted, they did not adopt them till very late, and till their commerce with other nations obliged them to this expedient; their contempt of foreign learning was a great obſtacle to it, and their druids or bards, whoſe intereſt it was to keep their own from the people, did all they could to improve this prejudice againſt committing any thing of conſequence to writing [b]: and even after they began to introduce the uſe of letters, in their contracts and other civil concerns, the druids never ſuffered them to commit any thing relating to their hiſtory, laws, and much leſs to their religion, to writing [c]. Hence Origen might well tell his antagoniſt, that he never heard of any of their writings; and hence that ſcarcity of materials we experience in relation to their hiſtory, ſince they had no records but thoſe ſongs and verſes, which they carefully kept from ſtrangers; and periſhed, in all likelihood, with their liberty, or at leaſt with their old heatheniſh religion. It were to be wiſhed, that the Chriſtian prieſts and monks had not imitated ſo cloſely this druidical policy, of confining all learning to their own order and monaſteries, eſpecially in Gaul and Germany; for they ſeem ſo effectually to have cultivated this prejudice againſt it, among the laity, that they were forced to have recourſe to them whenever any will, grant, or public act was to be executed; and then both the perſons concerned in it, and the witneſſes, ſet their own marks, and the ſcrivener their names to the inſtrument: but with reſpect to the mercantile part, among whom there was a kind of abſolute neceſſity to make uſe of writing, the Greek character appears to have been that which was in uſe among them, according to Cæſar, Strabo, and Pliny; and was brought into practice from Marſeilles, which was a colony of the Greeks, or Gallo-Greeks.

Merchants, &c. uſed the Greek character.

The probable origin of their poetry.

Since their poetry is altogether loſt, we can ſay little of it: yet it will not be amiſs to mention an ingenious conjecture of a modern hiſtorian [d], who thinks that the want of learning and characters, or, as he expreſſes it, the prevailing

[b] Cæſar. Comm. lib. vi. cap. 14. [c] Strab. lib. iv. [d] Pelloutier. Hiſt. Celt. lib. ii. cap. 10.

ignorance, and contempt of letters, gave birth to thoſe poetical compoſitions in Europe. This was, indeed, the moſt effectual method to preſerve the memory of ſuch momentous truths and facts as they either could not, or cared not to commit to writing, and which, by theſe means, were not only eaſily learned and remembered, but, likewiſe, concealed from other nations. And ſuch attachment did both Gauls and Germans conceive for this kind of performances, eſpecially as they were ſet to proper tunes, they reliſhed nothing elſe, and ſhewed a natural contempt for thoſe of the proſaic ſort. And this humour ſtill prevailed ſo ſtrongly, even as low as the ninth century, that when Lewis the Debonnaire undertook to have the Saxons inſtructed in the holy Scriptures, he was obliged to employ one of their poets to put them into verſe [e]. The ſame method was followed by Ottofridus, with reſpect to the four goſpels, which he cauſed to be tranſlated into German verſe: for as they could neither read, nor cared to learn, they conſented to learn them by heart, provided they were put into verſe, and ſet to muſic for them, that they might ſing them on proper occaſions. Some ſuch compoſitions Charles the Great is ſaid to have found among them, which were very ancient and rude, and contained the wars and exploits of their ancient kings, which he cauſed, likewiſe, to be tranſcribed, for the ſame purpoſe [f].

Their extreme fondneſs for it.

Eloquence much eſteemed in Gaul.

As for arts, next to the military, which, though their great favourite, was but indifferently cultivated among them, eloquence was that wherein they prided themſelves moſt, and which, indeed, was moſt natural to them. They received, from their infancy, moſt of their inſtructions from thoſe poems which were compoſed by the bards and druids; they heard them, upon all public occaſions, either recited, or ſung; and as the greateſt part were of the heroic kind, they accuſtomed them to a pompous and inflated ſtyle. We have ſeen, that they repreſented Mercury, the god of eloquence, with the ſymbols of Hercules, to ſhew what great power that art had over them, above all others. Cato the cenſor relates, that the Gauls made this eloquence, and exerciſe of arms, their chief ſtudy.

Commerce.

We have already remarked, from the great regard they paid to the god Mercury, as he was the god of traffick, that they drove as great a commerce as any other nation. This is likewiſe proved, from a great number of ancient inſcriptions, and, particularly, a famous monument erected by

[e] Vide Du Cheſne Rer. Francar. tom. ii. ap. Relloutier. ubi ſupra.
[f] Eginhard. in Vit. Carol. Magn. cap. 29.

the

the Pariſian merchants, and dedicated to Jupiter the Good. The reader will ſee it in the note (A).

The whole country was divided into three eſtates; 1. The druids, with their dependents the bards; 2. The nobles; and, 3. The mercantile part, which was, by far, the moſt conſiderable. The two former derived their revenue partly from the latter, and partly from their own lands, and the ſpoils of war; and were ſo opulent, that riches ſeemed to flow upon them on all ſides; ſo that their chief buſineſs, eſpecially in time of peace, was to encourage arts and ſciences, as the beſt means to preſerve, if not to encreaſe, their opulence. What appears moſt ſurpriſing, if what an ancient author writes may be depended upon, is, that ſome of the Gauliſh nations interdicted the uſe of gold and ſilver, which was all dedicated to Mars, and ſo rendered ſacred and inviolable; and allowed of no coin but that which was made of copper and braſs [g]; but it is too likely, that this contempt of theſe valuable metals vaniſhed, upon their becoming more acquainted with other nations, eſpecially upon their being ſubject to the Romans; who made no ſcruple to rifle thoſe treaſures [h], which, before that time, lay expoſed to the public eye untouched, and, perhaps, to corrupt them into ſlavery with it, as Herodian reports them, and eſpecially Severus, to have done by the German nation.

Hunting, and other exerciſes.

The Gauls, as well as all the other northern people, were much addicted to hunting; and, indeed, conſidering the extenſive foreſts with which the country abounded, and which bred great multitudes of wild beaſts, ſuch as bears, wolves, boars, and foxes (B), if they had not made it their buſineſs

g Athæneus, lib. vi. cap. 5.

h Sueton. in Cæſar.

(A) The inſcription runs thus: TIB. CAESARE AVG. IOVI OPTVM. MAXVM M. NAVTAE PARISIACI POSVERVNT.

(B) Cæſar (2), Pliny, and other authors (3), mention ſeveral other wild beaſts which uſed to be hunted by the Gauls, of which we know nothing now but the names; and ſome of them, by the deſcription there given, ſeem to have been of a very ſtrange kind, if there ever were any ſuch in being; ſuch are the alces, the bonaſſus, the wild aſs, &c. The alces, according to Cæſar, had no joints, in his legs, and was forced to ſleep leaning againſt a tree. The ſame animal is mentioned by Pliny and Solinus, without that particularity. The bonaſſus, according to ſome authors (4), had an horſe's face, and the reſt reſembled a bull, its horns bending ſo far back, that there was no riding upon it.

Much the ſame wonders they relate of ſome of their birds, one ſort of which diffuſed ſuch

(2) Comm. lib. vi. (3) Nat. Hiſt. lib. viii. Pauſan. in Bœot. (4) Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. ix. cap. 45. Plin. ubi ſupra.

Various kinds of game.

buſineſs to hunt and deſtroy, they muſt, in time, have been over-run with them: but, beſides theſe, they hunted the elk, the deer, hare, and other harmleſs animals: they made, likewiſe, fowling a diverſion, and were ſo dextrous at it, that they killed birds flying, with a dart [i] thrown by hand; though they are likewiſe ſaid to have uſed the ſling, and the bow and arrow, and had a way of poiſoning their darts and arrows with the juice of a plant which they called, in their language, lineum, or limeum [k], which ſome have taken for hellebore [l], and others for nightſhade. Strabo ſays, it was a kind of wild fig-tree, whoſe fruit, he had ſomewhere read, reſembled the Corinthian chapiter. The wound never failed to kill the creature, and make its fleſh more ſweet and tender; but they took care to cut off that piece, and throw it away. The profeſſed huntſmen held a feaſt every year to Diana, and, among other offerings, each preſented her with a purſe, in which was a certain ſum for every beaſt they had taken during that year; ſuch as a farthing for every hare, a drachm for every fox, and ſo proportionally for the reſt. Their devotions being ended, they adjourned to a ſumptuous entertainment [m].

Hunting feaſt to Diana.

[i] Strabo, lib. iv. [k] Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. xvii. cap. 25. Plin. ubi ſupra, lib. xxv. cap. 5. Geogr. lib. iv. [l] Arrian. de Venat. [m] Ephor. ap. Strabo, lib. iv. Damaſcen. ap. Stob. ſerm. xxxvii.

a vivid light from their feathers (5), that travellers uſed them to explore their way in the darkeſt nights: but enough of theſe fictitious animals.

The real ones, not mentioned above, were, the wild bull, called urus, and which, Cæſar ſays (6), was a little leſs than the elephant, though it was not much bigger than a common bull; the elk, which was generally caught in traps, and, being tamed, could be taught to draw a chariot, or ſledge (7); the wild goat, of which there were then great quantities, and divers kinds; beſides badgers, otters, and others, not worth mentioning.

For hunting all theſe kind of creatures they had a breed of proper hounds, which they trained up to the ſport, and generally hunted on horſeback, unleſs it were ſome of thoſe creatures, which chiefly lived among the rocks, and which they were forced to chace on foot. So fond were they of their hounds, that the ancient Burgundian laws obliged a man, publicly convicted of ſtealing one of them, to pay five ſhillings, one half to the owner, and the other to the public treaſury; and, if inſolvent, he was obliged to kiſs the dog's poſteriors (8).

(5) Solin. Polyhiſt. cap. 32. Vide & Strabo, lib. iv. (6) Strab. lib. iv. cap. 28. (7) Martial. Epigr. lib. i. Paul. Diacon. Hiſt. Longobard. (8) Vide Pelloutier, ubi ſupra, lib. ii. cap. 12.

They

They were likewiſe addicted to other exerciſes, of the manly kind. We have often obſerved, what excellent horſemen and charioteers they are ſaid to have been, above all other nations in Europe, which ſkill could not be attained but by dint of practice. Accordingly we find they had their hippodromes, horſe and chariot-races, tilts and tournaments; at all which the bards aſſiſted, and, with their poems and ſongs, in which they celebrated the praiſes of thoſe who had formerly won the prize, inſpired the new candidates with a noble ardour to ſignalize themſelves. All their exerciſes in general tended to render them lighter, ſtronger, hardier, and long-winded; and we are told, that the youth were obliged to keep their bellies within the compaſs of a girdle of a certain ſize, either by faſting, running, riding, ſwimming, or any other laborious diverſion: for if they grew fat enough to exceed the bounds of it, it was not only a diſgrace, but they were likewiſe fined for their corpulency [n]. Swimming was alſo an excellent expedient, not only to ſtrengthen their bodies, but to fit them for paſſing the wideſt and rapideſt rivers; in which they were ſo very expert, that they could croſs the Rhine, Danube, and Rhone, without breaking their ranks [o]. *Warlike and other exerciſes.*

Theſe may be eſteemed as ſome of the laudable and beneficial diverſions; but they had a predominant pleaſure, which can ſcarcely be ranked in that claſs, and yet ſeemed generally to accompany all the other public ſports, or, rather, the others ſerved only to introduce this; we mean their feaſtings, in which they were generally very profuſe, though very negligent in order and decorum [p]. All their public aſſemblies and exerciſes, their feaſts, birth-days, weddings, burials, and anniverſaries, were always accompanied with ſuch ſumptuous banquets, in which they intermixed with their good chear both vocal and inſtrumental muſic. The nobles eſpecially were moſt attached to them, becauſe their greatneſs and intereſt conſiſting chiefly in the number of their clients, vaſſals, and ſolduri, there was not a more effectual way, either to ſecure the old, or procure new adherents, than ſuch kind of entertainments; for the Gauls, as well as the Germans, and other northern nations, were ſuch exceſſive lovers of good eating and drinking, that nothing won their hearts more than theſe kind of *Feaſtings, frequent and ſumptuous.*

[n] Cæſar, ubi ſupra. Mela de Sit. Orb. lib. iii. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxv. & al. [o] Tacit. Germ. cap. 14, & ſeq. [p] Vide Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. vii. Athen. ubi ſupra. Plut. Sympoſ. vii. cap. 9. Varro, & al.

feaſts.

feaſts (C). To theſe feaſts, thoſe who were moſt celebrated for valour and wiſdom were always reckoned the chief gueſts, becauſe their example bore the greateſt ſway in all ſuch elections. The reader may not be diſpleaſed, perhaps, to ſee a ſhort deſcription of theſe feaſts of the ancient Gauls, out of Poſidonius, who had himſelf been in that country: we ſhall give it in the note (D). It was likewiſe cuſtomary to drink freely at theſe feaſts. The coryphee, or head-gueſt, always began firſt to put the cup, or rather pitcher, about to his next neighbour, till it had gone round: for, it

A deſcription of them.

Accompanied with hard drinking;

(C) We read of the famed Luernius king of the Auvernians, and father of Bituitus, who was afterwards defeated by Fabius Maximus, that he made an incloſure of twelve furlongs ſquare, in which he entertained all comers, during ſeveral days, with all manner of exquiſite meats and liquors (1): and of Ariamnes, who cauſed lodges to be erected upon the high roads, each of which could entertain four hundred perſons, and treated them in the ſame ſumptuous manner a whole year (2). Neither ſuffered they any ſtrangers, who happened to be at the place at the times of theſe feaſts, or were travelling that way, to paſs without being invited, or even compelled to come, and take ſhare of them; and, if their time could not permit them to ſtay, they at leaſt obliged them to drink.

(D) According to him, their tables were very low; they eat but little bread, which was baked flat and hard, and eaſy to break into pieces; but devoured a great deal of fleſh, boiled, roaſted, and broiled; which they did in a very ſlovenly manner, holding the piece in their hands, and tearing it with their teeth. What they could not part by this way, they cut off with a little knife, which they carried in their girdle. When the company was numerous, the coryphee, or chief of the feaſt, who was either one of the richeſt, or nobleſt, or braveſt, ſat in the middle, with the maſter of the houſe on his ſide: the reſt took their places next, each according to his rank, having their ſervants behind them, holding their ſhields. The guards had their table oppoſite them; and, after their maſters had done, the ſervants were likewiſe regaled. He adds, that no one was allowed to eat of a diſh, till the coryphee had taſted of it.

Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the Gauls uſed to eat ſitting upon the ground, which was covered with ſkins of wolves and dogs; and the diſhes were brought by the children of the family, or by other boys and girls. He adds, that near every table there was a ſtove, or fire-place, which abounded with ſpits, pots, pans, and other kitchen furniture (3).

(1) Tacit. ubi ſupra, cap. 21. (2) Poſidon. ap. Athen. lib. iv. cap. 12. (3) Idem ibid. cap 13. Diod. Sicul. lib. v.

ſeems,

ſeems, they all drank out of the ſame veſſel, and no man could drink till it came to his turn, nor refuſe when it did. The misfortune was, that at theſe feaſts they uſed to begin to talk of public affairs as ſoon as the cups went round; and as they generally ſat at them till next morning, they ſo heated themſelves with liquor and wrangling, that they ſeldom ended without duels. If the feaſt proved peaceable, it was generally accompanied not only with muſic and ſongs, but with dances likewiſe, in which the dancers were completely armed, and beat meaſure with their ſwords upon their ſhields. On certain feſtivals, likewiſe, ſuch as that of Mithras, they dreſſed themſelves in the ſkins of ſuch beaſts as were dedicated to him, and accompanied the proceſſions that were made on that day: others aſſumed maſquerade-habits, ſome of them very indecent, and played antic and immodeſt tricks; and this cuſtom was retained ſo long among them, even after their converſion to Chriſtianity, that ſome of their councils and biſhops not only cenſured and condemned them, but appointed faſts, and proper prayers, to be uſed on thoſe days [q], to divert them from that heatheniſh cuſtom.

ſometimes with fighting, muſic, dancing, &c.

Maſquerades.

Their chief liquors were beer and wine, the former the more common of the two; for they did not begin to cultivate the latter till very late. Strabo obſerves, of the Luſitanians, that one ſuch feaſt as thoſe we have deſcribed, uſed to exhauſt all the vintage of that year [r]; but, by degrees, they came to like it better, and left the beer to the Germans, and northern nations, and made wine their chief liquor. Their martial temper inſpired them originally with ſuch contempt for agriculture, that they committed the care of it, at firſt, to their wives, old men, and ſlaves. The Germans and Gauls are juſtly blamed for it by the Romans, and a great inſtance of pride and folly it was, to chooſe purchaſing the conveniencies of life at the expence of blood and wounds, rather than by their own induſtry [s] (E).

Strong liquors.

Contempt of agriculture, &c.

We

[q] Relig. des Gaul. lib. ii. cap. 34, & ſeq. [r] Strab. lib. iii. [s] Tacit. German. cap. 14. & 23.

(E) The ſame may, indeed, be ſaid of all handicraft trades, which they looked upon as below the care of a warlike nation; but it may be obſerved, in general, that when the Romans came to pour their conquering armies upon them, they forced them, by degrees, to procure thoſe things by their labour, which they were formerly uſed to get, either by the ſword, or by commerce: neceſſity ſoon made them feel the advantage of encouraging agriculture, and all kinds of manufactures; and by degrees, likewiſe, of the liberal arts and ſciences; in both which

Their vices.

We ſhall conclude this ſection with a ſhort review of the other vices and virtues by which the ancient Gauls were diſtinguiſhed. Their vices are reducible to theſe three, which are attributed to them by the generality of ancient writers; namely, drunkenneſs, lazineſs, and ferocity. As for drunkenneſs, we cannot ſee why that vice ſhould be reckoned more peculiar to them than to their neighbours the Germans. Beſides theſe, Plato has preſerved a liſt of other people who were equally guilty of it; the Lydians, Perſians, Carthaginians, Thracians, Scythians, and Spaniards [t] (F). However, though this abuſe has been in ſome degree exaggerated, yet we own that there muſt have been ſome foundation for it, ſince Charles the Great was forced to make ſome ſevere laws againſt it; one of which obliged the

Drunkenneſs.

[t] Alat. de Leg. lib. i. Vide & Athen. lib. x. Clem. Alex. Pæd. lib. ii.

which branches they became, in time, as expert as any other nation. So that we may ſafely look upon their conqueſt by the Romans to have given riſe to their improvements in the arts of ſocial life.

(F) The truth is, the Gauls were more envied for their bravery, both by the Greeks and Romans, and were therefore oftner made the ſubject of their reflections. Accordingly Livy and Plutarch (1) pretend to have it from ancient authors, that thoſe Gauls who lived near the Alps, having once taſted the Italian wine, became ſo enamoured with it, that they immediately reſolved to conquer that country. And Diodorus Siculus tells us, that they were ſo fond of that liquor, that they would give a man, that is, one of their ſlaves, for a gallon of wine (2); which made the merchants very ready to furniſh ſuch cuſtomers with that beloved commodity, both from Greece and Italy. It is likewiſe pretended, that they were more than ordinarily greedy of it, becauſe it made them fight more courageouſly, or rather furiouſly, and more apt to deſpiſe all manner of dangers and fatigues; and yet nothing is plainer than that, if thoſe authors have not exaggerated their accounts, the Gauls could not encounter a worſe enemy than wine proved to them upon all occaſions, ſince, according to them, it ſeldom failed throwing whole armies into diſorder and confuſion; and, which is ſtill worſe, by tempting them with large quantities of that liquor, it ſo overcame them, that they were expoſed, naked and defenceleſs, to their enemies, by which means they have been all cut in pieces; or, as it often happened, they quarrelled with each other, and became an eaſier prey to their enemies (3).

(1) Hiſt lib. v. Plut. in Camil. Juſtin. ex Trog. lib. xxiv. cap. 7. & ſeq. Liv. ubi ſupra, & al.

(2) Lib. v. Appian. Celt.

(3) Vide Plutarch.

judges

judges on the bench, and the pleaders, to continue fasting; another imported, that no man should be forced to drink more than he chose; a third forbade the soldiers, whilst in the field, to invite any man whatever to drink, under pain of excommunication, and being condemned to drink water till they had been sufficiently punished for their fault[u]. This vice, it seems, was so universal, that even the Mysians, a kind of monkish tribe among the Scythians, who were obliged to abstain from flesh, wine, and strong liquors, and the [w] Scythians and Thracians, who were destitute of them, had yet a method of intoxicating themselves by the smoke of some odoriferous weeds, something, perhaps, of the nature of our tobacco, which made them chearful and merry, though without being attended with the ill effects which are commonly caused by excess of wine [x].

Idleness.

The laziness imputed likewise to them, appears to have been rather owing to their pride than to any dislike they had to labour, under an honourable title: for it is evident that in their exercises, as well as their wars, they accustomed themselves to hardships and fatigues of any kind; so that if they neglected agriculture and handicraft trades, it was rather because they considered them as a kind of slavery unbecoming their martial genius. It was upon this account that they so readily rushed upon desperate death, to avoid being taken prisoners, especially by the Romans, who they knew were wont to make slaves of them, and condemn them to the hardest and meanest employments.

Ferocity.

As to their last vice, their ferocity and cruelty, there will be the less occasion to wonder at it, if we consider that they were brought up with a peculiar contempt of death; for how can it be expected that they should be tender of other peoples lives, who were so careless, and even lavish of their own? And if slavery appeared so terrible to them that they preferred any death to it, might they not deem it a mercy to massacre their prisoners of war, or sacrifice them to their gods, rather than to make slaves of them? But we observed before, that this excessive love of liberty had made them look long ago upon other nations, especially upon the Romans, not only with a jealous eye, but with an invincible hatred, as they observed them so diligent and successful in enslaving all they could subdue. And this consideration might not add a little to their native fierceness, and to that cruelty with which they thought they ought to treat such

[u] Vide addit. Carol. Mag. ad Leg. Salic. an. 803. & Pelloutier. ubi supra, lib. ii. cap. ult [w] Herodot. lib. i. Mela, lib. ii. Plut. de Fluv. Max. Tyr. lib. xl. Solin. cap. 15. [x] Posidon. ap. Strab. lib. vii. Vide & Casaubon. in loc. & Pelloutier, ubi supra.

open

open invaders of public liberty, as well as thoſe who baſely aſſiſted them in it. This will appear ſtill more probable if we examine ſome of thoſe ſocial virtues for which they were remarkable, even by the confeſſion of their enemies, ſuch as their hoſpitality, frugality, juſtice, and fidelity.

Their virtues and hoſpitality;

It will doubtleſs be thought ſtrange, that a nation, ſo cruel to their enemies, and ſo fierce among themſelves as to have recourſe to ſingle combat upon every trifling affront, ſhould yet be ſo celebrated for their hoſpitality and humanity, not only to ſtrangers, but to ſuch as took refuge among them; and yet they are highly commended for this admirable virtue both by Greek and Roman authors. It was a conſtant cuſtom among them to invite ſtrangers to all their feaſts, and after the entertainment was over, to enquire who they were, and wherein they might be ſerved [y]. The ſame humanity was practiſed by the Celtiberians, who were regarded as ſome of the cruelleſt among the Gauls, inſomuch that they came in crouds to invite a traveller to their houſes, and happy was he thought whom he choſe for his hoſt: if he pitched upon one whoſe circumſtances would not permit him to afford a ſumptuous entertainment, he always took care to introduce him to another more wealthy. If any Gaul was convicted of having refuſed this courteſy to a ſtranger, he was not only beheld with abhorrence by all his acquaintance, but fined by the magiſtrate; witneſs that law enacted among the Burgundians, which laid a fine of three crowns on all ſuch inhoſpitable delinquents; and one of double that ſum on any Burgundian that ſhould direct a ſtranger to the houſe of a Roman. In ſome other places they added a corporal puniſhment to the fine; and Tacitus does that juſtice even to the German nation, as to give ſeveral inſtances of their tender regard to ſtrangers [z]. Cæſar adds, that they eſteemed all ſuch perſons as ſacred and inviolable, to whom every houſe was to be opened, and every table free [a]. They even conducted them from one territory to another, and puniſhed upon the ſpot thoſe from whom they had received any damage or ill treatment [b] (G).

and ſumptuous way of entertaining ſtrangers.

Laws againſt the inhoſpitable.

We

[y] Diod. Sic. lib. v. [z] German. cap. 21. [a] Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi. [b] Ariſtot. de Mir. And. N. Damaſc. ap. Stob. Serm. clxv.

(G) They even puniſhed the murder of a ſtranger more ſeverely than that of one of their own nation; namely, the former by death, and the latter by baniſhment. As for thoſe who took refuge amongſt the Gauls, they were ſure to be protected and maintained, according to their rank. Hence the great number of diſtreſſed kings, princes, and others, who fled thither

We have no leſs convincing proofs of their juſtice and fidelity; witneſs the confidence which the emperors, princes, and commonwealths placed in them, not only in courting their alliance and friendſhip, and in hiring great numbers of them as auxiliaries, but likewiſe in chooſing them for their life-guards. And if they could be thus faithful to ſuch of the Roman emperors, as Auguſtus, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Claudius, we need not doubt of their being ſo to other nations, to whoſe ſervice they had not ſuch a natural reluctance; though it muſt be owned that the Germans gained, in time, a greater degree of confidence in thoſe monarchs than the Gauls had done, and perhaps on this very account, that they did not ſhew ſuch a natural averſion to the Roman yoke as the Gauls did, who took all opportunities that offered to ſhake it off; but before the time of Auguſtus we find the Gauls and Spaniards in great credit and truſt with Juba, king of Mauritania [c], with Herod king of Judæa [d], with Cleopatra, and with moſt princes in every different part of the known world. At the ſame time it muſt be allowed, if any credit is to be given to the moſt reſpectable authors of antiquity, the Gauls were notorious for inſincerity and the violation of treaties. *Fidelity and juſtice.*

Their clothing was a kind of veſt and breeches, light and neat; they wore their hair long, had collars about their necks, and bracelets about their wriſts, and above their el- *Dreſs.*

[c] Cæſ. Comm. lib. ii. cap. 40. [d] Joſeph. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 21.

thither preferably to any other country, for refuge and defence.

Toriſin, king of the Gepidæ, had a noble refugee at his court, named Ildiſgus, who had a lawful right to the crown of Lombardy, but had been excluded after the death of king Vaces, by Aduin, who ſeized upon it. This laſt cauſed Ildiſgus to be demanded of the Gepidæ, and procured his demand to be ſupported by the emperor Juſtinian's ambaſſadors. Toriſin, who had juſt concluded a peace with the Romans and Lombards, called a council of all his nobles, and acquainted them with Aduin's requeſt, and the danger he was in if he refuſed. Upon this the aſſembly unanimouſly agreed, that it were better that their whole nation, men, women, and children ſhould periſh, than to give way to ſuch a ſacrilegious demand (1).

Even among the ruder Sclavonians, who lived on the other ſide the Elbe, it was permitted to ſet any man's houſe on fire, who refuſed ſanctuary to a ſtranger; and in ſuch caſes every one ſtrove to puniſh the violation of hoſpitality (2).

(1) Procop. Hiſt. Goth. lib. iii. cap. xxxv. lib. iv. cap. 27.
(2) Helmond. Chron. Slavon. cap. 82, Pelloutier. lib. ii. cap. 16.

bows.

bows. Thoſe who were raiſed to dignities, had them of gold, the reſt of braſs. The druids were always clothed in white when they officiated, and the freemen, on all pub-

Marriages. lic occaſions, appeared with their arms [e]. We know little of their marriages, except that they did not allow polygamy, and that they had power of life and death over their wives.

Funerals, &c. That they burned the dead bodies, is evident from thoſe urns which contained their bones and aſhes, with ſome trinkets which they encloſed with them, of more or leſs value, according to the condition of the deceaſed; but that they likewiſe buried without burning, may be alſo gathered from thoſe entire bodies which have been found in many places in Gaul, Germany, and eſpecially in the mounds of Saliſbury Plain, of which we ſhall give a fuller account in a ſubſequent chapter: for as the Gauls received their religious laws and cuſtoms from the Britiſh druids, we make no doubt they exactly agreed in theſe inſtitutions in both countries.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of the ancient Gauls, from the Roman Invaſion, and their Conqueſt by Julius Cæſar, to the Irruption of the Franks.

WE ſhall have the leſs room to enlarge upon this ſubject, firſt, becauſe we have little or no account of this nation before they were viſited by the Romans; and, ſecondly, becauſe what happened from that time to the irruption of the Franks, has been fully diſcuſſed in the Roman

A ſummary of the Gauliſh hiſtory. hiſtory. However, that we may not leave this part too imperfect and ſhort, for the ſake of avoiding repetitions, and that we may ſave our readers the trouble of collecting particulars out of our former volumes, by having recourſe to the index, we ſhall here preſent them with a ſummary in

Their frequent ſending of colonies abroad. one view, in a chronological order. The Gauls, being a ſtrong and hardy people, and increaſing ſo faſt, that their country could not contain them, were obliged to make excurſions into other countries in ſuch vaſt multitudes, that they ſpread terror wherever they moved. It often happened, likewiſe, that theſe colonies, thus ſettled in a foreign land, were ſo moleſted by their neighbours, that, to prevent their being diſpoſſeſſed, they ſent into their native country for freſh aſſiſtance, and eaſily obtained it, the Gauls being always ready to pour out their numerous ſwarms upon all oc-

[e] Strabo, lib. iv. Pliny, lib. xvi. cap. 24. De Diis Germ. & al.

caſions.

caſions. Hence their vaſt multitudes, their known valour, natural fierceneſs, and cruelty to thoſe who fell into their hands, joined to an unavoidable neceſſity, upon all ſuch expeditions, either to conquer or ſtarve, added not a little to the terror of their name. We ſhall paſs by thoſe migrations which they anciently made out of Europe into ſeveral parts of Aſia, where they ſettled themſelves in ſeveral fertile countries, and under different names, for which we ſhall refer our readers to the Celtic hiſtory in a former volume.

The earlieſt and moſt conſiderable irruption we have recorded, is that which they made into Italy, under their famous leader Belloveſus (H), who, croſſing the Rhone and the Alps, till then unattempted, defeated the Hetrurians, and other oppoſers, near the Teſino, ſettled, and ſpread themſelves over that part of Italy called Piedmont and Lombardy, then inhabited by the Hetrurians, about the year of Rome 160. Yr. of Fl. 1726. Ante Chr. 624.

Gauls under Belloveſus ſettle in Nether Italy.

The Cœnomani, who dwelt between the rivers Seine and Loire, made the ſecond grand expedition, under their general Elitonis, and ſettled in the Breſciano, Cremoneſe, Mantuan, Carniola, and Venetian. The time of this expedition and the next is uncertain.

The third was made by the Læves and Ananes, the former of whom ſettled in Novara, on one ſide of the Po; and the latter in Piacentia, on the oppoſite bank.

In a fourth, the Boii and Lingones, having paſſed the Pennine Alps, ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the Po, between Ravenna and Bologna.

In the fifth, which happened about two hundred years after that of Belloveſus, the Senones, ſeated between Paris and Meaux, were invited into Italy by an Hetrurian lord, and fixed themſelves in Umbria. Brennus, who was their

(H) Ambigatus, then king of Celtogallia, finding his kingdom overſtocked, ſent his two nephews, Belloveſus and Segoveſus, each at the head of a numerous army, to ſeek ſome new ſettlements. The firſt croſſed the Alps, and the latter the Rhine and Hercynian foreſt, and ſettled in that part of Germany ſince called Boiemia, and Bohemia, from the Boii, who accompanied him in that expedition. Hence, however, it plainly appears, that it was their great increaſe that obliged the Gauls to ſend ſuch numerous colonies abroad; and not, as Livy (1), Pliny (2), Plutarch (3), and other writers, have miſrepreſented it, their thirſt after the Italian wine, that invited them to croſs the Alps.

(1) Lib. v. cap. 33. (2) Lib. xii. cap. 1. (3) De Vir. Illuſtr. tom. ii. p. 114.

king, had laid ſiege to Cluſium. We have ſeen, in a late volume, that the treachery of the Fabii, in entering and defending that city, and the conduct of the Romans, in countenancing inſtead of puniſhing this outrage, ſo exaſperated the Gauliſh general, that, raiſing the ſiege of the place, he immediately turned all his force againſt the latter, and, having defeated them, marched directly to Rome, whoſe inhabitants were ſtruck with ſuch terror at his approach, that they abandoned the city to his mercy. When Brennus entered the place, which appeared to him like a deſert, he ſecured all the avenues round the Capitol, and then gave up that metropolis to be plundered by his army, who preſently after reduced it to aſhes, and turned all its ſtately temples and palaces into a heap of rubbiſh. We ſhall not repeat the particulars of this expedition; but refer our reader to the account which we have given in the Roman hiſtory, where he will find at length the whole Gauliſh army cut off by the brave Camillus.

Brennus enters and plunders Rome.

An unfortunate expedition.

The next expedition was ſtill more unfortunate; for the Gauls, who had ſettled themſelves in thoſe parts of Italy we have lately mentioned, led but an uneaſy life there, being continually haraſſed by the Romans. They ſent into Gaul for freſh reinforcements; but theſe arrived in ſuch prodigious numbers to their aſſiſtance, that they became more dreadful than the Romans: ſo that they made no ſcruple to turn their arms againſt them, and having killed their two leaders, eaſily put the whole army to flight. The Romans, however, were in great dread of them, when they found how active they were in Italy, and what great armies they could draw out of Gaul; and it was to diſſipate that fear, that they perpetrated that horrid piece of ſuperſtition at Rome, which we formerly cenſured, of burying a Greek and a Gauliſh man and woman alive in the ox-market: but they did not truſt to this ſacrifice ſo far as not to make preparations, when they heard that the Gæſatæ, another brave Gauliſh nation, were invited, by their Italian countrymen, to their aſſiſtance. Theſe were of a fiercer nature than any of the reſt; they ſcorned all kind of defenſive armour as mean and cowardly, and generally fought naked. Had their martial ſkill been as great as their courage, it is likely they might, at that juncture, have diſabled the Romans from ever conquering any more nations; for their approach had ſpread ſuch terror throughout the Roman territories, that they raiſed one of the moſt numerous armies that ever had been known amongſt them. If we may believe Polybius [f], it conſiſted of eight hundred thouſand men, horſe

The Romans raiſe a prodigious army.

[f] Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 22.

and

and foot. The Gauls, however, though they had but fifty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, forced their way through them, and entered their territories; but being as inferior to them in military diſcipline as they were in number, they ſuffered a total defeat; forty thouſand were killed on the ſpot, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, and amongſt them Concolitanus, one of their kings; whilſt the other, named Aneroeſtus, and by far the moſt experienced commander, only eſcaped to a neighbouring village, and there diſpatched himſelf, as did moſt of the officers who followed him, according to the Gauliſh maxim, of preferring death to ſlavery. *The Gaſatæ defeated.*

Notwithſtanding theſe ſucceſſes, the Romans dreaded that the Gauls would at length be made ſenſible, by their frequent defeats, of their own want of martial diſcipline and policy, and by their example, and that of other nations, become in time as diſciplined ſoldiers as they (I); in which caſe they could not fail to become a very formidable enemy to their nation, conſidering their hatred to it, their hardineſs, intrepidity, and readineſs to join every foe againſt them. The aſſiſtance they gave Hannibal, as he was croſſing their country, and over the Alps, of which we have given an account elſewhere; and after him to Mago, and the Carthaginians; their being ſo frequently hired as auxiliaries, by other ſtates and kingdoms, moſt of them at war with Rome, and among which they were ſure to perfect themſelves ſtill more in the martial trade, whilſt they themſelves could not venture to take them into their pay without manifeſt danger; theſe conſiderations obliged them at laſt to retaliate upon them, and invade their country upon the firſt favourable opportunity, and before they were become too expert in the art of war: but before we ſpeak of this invaſion, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of their expeditions and exploits in Aſia, Macedonia, and other countries. *The Romans in great fear of the Gauls.*

(I) We are told (1), that their weapons, eſpecially their ſwords, were ſo wretchedly tempered, that upon the very firſt onſet, in which they conſtantly charged with incredible fury, they uſed either to break, bend, or be ſo blunted againſt the Roman javelins, as to become uſeleſs; ſo that, before they could have time to ſharpen or ſtraiten them, the enemy cloſed in upon them, and throwing by the javelin, and ſhortening their ſwords, ſtabbed them, like ſo many ſheep.

(1) Polyb. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Marcell. Oroſ. & al.

Yr. of Fl. 2069. Ante Chr. 279.

The firſt of this kind happened in the year after Pyrrhus paſſed into Italy [s], when the Gauls, finding themſelves again overſtocked at home, ſent out three vaſt colonies to ſeek new habitations. Brennus (perhaps a deſcendent of him who had about two centuries before made that dreadful irruption into Italy) was the chief adviſer of this expedition, and headed one of the Gauliſh armies; Cerethrius commanded the ſecond, and marched into Thrace; and the third, under the command of Belgius, marched into Illyricum and Macedonia: Brennus entered Pannonia, or Hungary, a poor country in compariſon to thoſe which Belgius had invaded, and wherein he had enriched himſelf with immenſe plunder; ſo that envying his ſucceſs, he reſolved to join him, and ſhare it with him. Belgius having ſoon after ſuffered ſuch a terrible defeat, that we hear no more of him, or his men, he haſtened thither, under pretence of revenging and aſſiſting him; and it is not improbable that the remainder of Belgius's army liſted themſelves under his banner. The army with which he entered thoſe two provinces, conſiſted of one hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe; but a revolt happened, in which Leonorius and Lutarius, the two chief leaders, carried off twenty thouſand men, and marched into Thrace, and joining themſelves to Cerethrius, ſeized on Byzantium, and the weſtern coaſts of Propontis, where they ſettled, and made the adjacent parts tributary to them.

A threefold excurſion of the Gauls.

Brennus enters Hungary.

Brennus's ill ſucceſs.

Sends for freſh forces from Gaul.

Succeſs in Macedonia.

To retrieve this loſs, Brennus ſent for freſh ſupplies from Gallia, inliſted ſome Illyrians, and with a new army of one hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and above ſixty thouſand horſe, entered Macedonia, defeated Softhenes, and ravaged the whole country. He next marched towards the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, with an intent to invade Greece; but was ſtopped by the forces which were ſent to defend that paſs. This check obliged him to procure ſome guides to conduct him over thoſe mountains, which Xerxes had paſſed before; upon which the guards retired, to avoid being ſurrounded. He then ordered Acichorius to follow him at a diſtance with part of the army, and with the bulk of it marched towards Delphi, with a deſign to plunder that rich city and temple; but ſuffered a terrible repulſe, from a violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which deſtroyed a great number of his men; and from a dreadful earthquake, which overwhelmed another part of his army: ſo that the remainder, being ſeized with a furious panic,

Marches towards Delphi.

[s] Polyb. lib. i. cap. 6. Vide Pauſ. Phoc. Juſtin. lib. xxiv. & ſeq.

fell

fell upon, and maſſacred each other during the whole night. Next morning they found their miſtake; they ſaw one half of their army deſtroyed, the Greek forces pouring in upon them from all parts, and in ſuch numbers, that though Acichorius joined him in due time, yet were they not able to oppoſe the Greeks, but were defeated, with horrible ſlaughter. Brennus himſelf was deſperately wounded, and ſo diſpirited at his miſcarriage, that he aſſembled all his chiefs, and having adviſed them to ſlay all that were wounded and diſabled, and to make as good a retreat as they could, he put an end to his own life. Acichorius endeavoured to retreat with the remainder of the ſhattered army; but their long marches through enemies countries, the toils and hardſhips they endured, and the grievous calamities which accompanied them, it ſeems ſo entirely exhauſted them, that not one returned from that expedition [h] (K). Whilſt

Their dreadful defeat, and end.

Brennus's laſt advice, and death.

The whole army periſh.

[h] Idem. ibid. Vide & Memnon. Excerpt. ap. Phoc. cap. 19, &c. Eclog. Diod. Sic. lib. xxii. Liv. lib. xxxviii. Callimach. Hymn. in Delum. Suid. in Voc. Γαλάται.

(K) Cicero brings a virulent charge againſt the Gauls, and their religion, founded chiefly on their plundering the Delphic temple, and their beſieging the Capitol, and as he adds (to aggravate it the more), the great Jupiter in it; from which he infers, that their religion conſiſted in a diametrical oppoſition to all others, and in waging war againſt the gods of other nations, &c. and that the Gauls were a moſt irreligious, wicked, and dangerous people.

Now, if it be true, that the Gauls, before their conqueſt, did worſhip the one Supreme Being, and, like the Perſes, Brachmans, and other ancient nations and philoſophers, thought it an indignity to confine him in temples, or repreſent him by idols of any kind, then will their deſtroying thoſe temples and idols, or even plundering them of their treaſures, if they had really done ſo by this of Delphi, be juſtified, and rather deſerve commendation, than ſuch a cenſure. The plunder of ſuch ſuperſtitious treaſures, to men of theſe principles, and for the ſupport of a numerous army, will be juſtly deemed applying them to a better uſe.

It plainly appears, from the majority of the authors quoted, that they did not plunder the Delphic oracle; but that they were deterred from it by a ſtorm and earthquake, which threw them into ſuch a panic, as made them be eaſily overcome by thoſe Greek forces which came, with great fury, to defend their country and oracle againſt them; upon this it is ſuppoſed, that all theſe diſaſters befel them as a juſt judgment for their ſacrilegious deſign againſt that temple and treaſure: this laſt is at beſt but a ſurmize, founded on a wrong, though common notion, that ſuch diſaſters

Another colony invade the Helleſpont.

Whilſt theſe events happened in Greece, the colonies under Leonorius, parting from the others who were ſettled in the Propontis, marched into the Helleſpont, and ſubdued Lyſimachia, and the Thracian Cherſoneſus. Here ſome great miſunderſtanding happening between thoſe two chiefs, they divided their forces; the former returned to Byzantium, and the latter remained where he was. However, they rejoined their forces ſome time after, and paſſed into Aſia, invited thither by Nicomedes, whom they aſſiſted againſt his brother, and fixed him in all his father's dominions; in acknowlegement of which ſervice, he aſſigned them that part of Leſſer Aſia which we deſcribed at the beginning of this chapter, and which was, from them, called Gallo-Græcia, and Galatia. Thither alſo repaired a great number of thoſe other Gauls who had ſettled in Thrace, and who were driven from thence by Antigonus Gonatus, who had ſeized the kingdom of Macedon upon the death of Soſthenes. A greater number diſperſed themſelves in other countries, and either periſhed, or ſo intermingled themſelves, as not to be diſtinguiſhed any more; ſo that of this formidable Gauliſh army, none remained but thoſe who ſettled in Galatia. Theſe, likewiſe, in time, increaſing in number, and being confined in their territories, endeavoured, according to cuſtom, to enlarge them where they could, and to ſend colonies and auxiliary armies abroad (L), which greatly

Some ſettled in Galatia.

aſters always argued ſome atrocious crimes in the ſufferers; all which is here pretended, by authors who were profeſſed enemies to the Gauliſh nation, and have, doubtleſs, exaggerated both at their pleaſure, though without any real foundation.

Juſtin, and after him Cicero, indeed, accuſe them of having plundered the Delphic treaſure; and the laſt adds, that they alſo carried it home; but, being grievouſly plagued for their ſacrilege, they were adviſed to throw their plunder into the lake of Thouloufe. This, though plainly oppoſite to all thoſe authors, who have written of that expedition, ſeems to us only an invidious improvement on the account they have given of it, in order to bring a ſcandal on that great treaſure which was conſecrated and depoſited in that lake, and which Strabo and Athenæus, on the authority of Poſidonius, tell us, was (ſo far from being fetched from Delphi) dug out of ſome rich mines in that neighbourhood. If any thing, therefore, could be objected, with juſtice, againſt the Gauls, it was their ſending ſuch powerful colonies to invade other nations; but neither Greeks nor Romans could have any pretence to object to what was their own practice, as well as that of all other nations.

(L) Juſtin tells us, that all Aſia ſwarmed with them; and that there was hardly an eaſtern prince

greatly annoyed and alarmed all their neighbours; but they were at length ſuppreſſed by the proconſul of Aſia, Corn. Manlius Vulſo, which gave them ſeveral defeats, and obliged them to live peaceably, and keep within their old limits [i].

They are, however, affirmed by ſome authors to have been vanquiſhed about fifty-three years before, by Attalus king of Pergamos [k]: if ſo, they muſt have found out ſome means of recovering their liberty, to have been ſo powerful in Manlius's time; unleſs we ſuppoſe theſe authors to have confounded the Gauls with the Galatians. However that be, theſe laſt were ſtill, above 130 years after, governed by their own tetrarchs, one of whom, named Deiotarus, was, for his ſervices to Pompey the Great, created king (M), and had the Leſſer Armenia, and ſome other territories, added to his own [l]. So much for the Gauliſh expeditions abroad. It is now time to return to thoſe at home, and to give an account of their conqueſt by the Romans. Yr. of Fl. 2160. Ante Chr. 188.

We hinted a little higher, that the Romans were grown ſo fearful of the Gauls, that they thought it politic, in order to humble them, to lead armies into their country. *Marcius ſubdues part of Gaul.*

[i] Livy, lib. xxxvii. [k] Strab. lib. xiii. Suid. Polyæn. &c.
[l] Eutrop. lib. vi.

prince at war, that did not hire them as mercenaries (1). This was, in particular, the caſe of Antiochus Hierax, in his war againſt Seleucus, whom he defeated at Ancyra (2) by the help of the Gauliſh auxiliaries. But his victory had like to have coſt him dear: for theſe, having heard a rumour, that Seleucus had been ſlain, formed, it ſeems, a project to murder him, and ſeize upon his kingdom; ſo that he found no better way of ſaving himſelf, than by giving them all the treaſure he poſſeſſed (3).

The ſcene of war between the two contending brothers being at length removed into Meſopotamia, it is not improbable, that the battle of Babylonia happened between the Babyloniſh Jews and the Gauls, in which eight thouſand of the former defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thouſand of the latter (4): for Babylon was then a province of Meſopotamia, and Antiochus then in confederacy with the numerous Gauls.

(M) This is the ſame Deiotarus that ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed the other three tetrarchs, and ſeized upon all Galatia. For this he was ſummoned before Julius Cæſar, upon which occaſion Cicero made a ſpeech in his behalf, which is ſtill extant, under the name of Oratio pro rege Deiotaro.

(1) Lib. xxv. cap. 2. (2) Idem ibid. (3) Idem, lib. xxvii. cap. 2. (4) 2 Maccab. viii. 20. Vide & Juſtin, ubi ſupra. Polyæn. lib. iv. cap. 19.

After many attempts, not worth recording, the perſon that opened the moſt effectual way into Gaul was the great conſul Q. Marcius, ſurnamed Rex, to whoſe lot this province was fallen, as well as the ſupreme power, by the death of his colleague in Numidia. Marcius, the better to carry on his deſign, opened a way between the Alps and the Pyrenees, a work of immenſe labour, in which he was firmly oppoſed by the Gauls, eſpecially the Stæni, who lived at the foot of the Alps [m]; and who, finding themſelves overpowered, ſet fire to their houſes, killed their wives and children, and threw them and themſelves into the flames. Marcius, having accompliſhed his work, planted a colony, for greater ſecurity, in the country of the Volcæ Tectoſagi, between the Pyrenees and the city of Thouloufe; and built a city called Narbo Marcius, ſince Narbonne, which became the capital of that province. The reduction of ſuch a conſiderable part of Gaul, and the opening and ſecuring a way between the Alps and Pyrenees, as laid the foundation for the conqueſt of the whole country, was thought ſo important a ſervice to Rome, that the ſenate ordered him a triumph [n]. His ſucceſſor, Scaurus, not only conquered ſome other nations of the Gauls, as the Gentiſci and Carni (N); but, to facilitate the marching of troops from Italy thither, made ſome excellent roads between them, which before were almoſt impaſſable, and was likewiſe honoured with a triumph.

The dreadful end of the brave Stæni.

Narbonne built by Marcius.

Scaurus's ſucceſs in Gaul.

Yr. of Fl. 2247. Ante Chr. 101.

In the mean time, the Cimbri and Teutones, alarmed at theſe ſucceſſes, took up arms, and gave them ſeveral conſiderable defeats; in one of which the Tigurini (O), having ſurpriſed them, made them, and their general Popilius, paſs under the yoke. The Cimbri, in particular, had retaken ſome parts of Gaul from the Romans, and, eſpecially, the famed city of Thouloufe; upon which Cæpio marching his army to retake it, the inhabitants opened its gates to him; nevertheleſs, he not only gave it up to be plundered, but carried off all that immenſe treaſure which had been conſecrated there by the Gauls, to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds weight of gold, and the ſame of ſilver, according to the moſt moderate accounts of it; and, in ſpite of his treachery, avarice, and ſacrilege, was continued pro-

The ſacred treaſure of Thouloufe plundered.

[m] Steph. de Urb. [n] Faſt. Capit. Cic. pro Fonteio.

(N) Theſe inhabited part of Noricum; and the name of the latter is ſtill retained in the province of Carniola.

(O) The two former are only different names for the Germans, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter. The Tigurini inhabited that part of Switzerland called Zurich.

conſul

conſul of the Narbonneſe Gaul. This vile inſtance of rapacity ſo exaſperated the Gauls, that they joined with the Cimbri, and, taking the advantage of a miſunderſtanding between the general and his colleague Manlius, they attacked them ſo furiouſly, that they gave them ſuch an overthrow as they had ſcarcely ever ſuſtained, killed eighty thouſand men, beſides forty thouſand ſervants and ſutlers, in one day: only ten men of their whole army eſcaped with the two generals, and among the former the brave Seſtorius, who ſaved himſelf by ſwimming over the Rhine. The Gauls, who, according to cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, had devoted the ſpoil, threw all the ſilver and gold into the Rhine, drowned all the horſes, and murdered all the priſoners they had taken. What conſternation this loſs threw the city of Rome into, and what puniſhment was inflicted on the ſacrilegious Cæpio, we have ſpecified in the Roman hiſtory. The victorious allies held a general council, whether to march immediately into Italy, or reduce thoſe provinces which the Romans held in Gaul: they agreed, however, to conſult the brave Æmilius Scaurus, whom they had taken priſoner in a former action, and who, to favour his country, ſtrove to deter them from invading the territories of that republic; but was, for his bold ſpeech, ſtabbed to death by Boiorix king of the Cimbri.

The Gauls revenge againſt the Romans.

The Roman ſenate, expecting a freſh irruption of the Gauls and Cimbri, recalled Marius from his ſucceſsful expedition againſt Jugurtha; and, having honoured him with a triumph, appointed him general againſt the enemy, and Sylla to ſerve under him. They both departed accordingly, and Sylla gained ſeveral advantages againſt the Tectoſagi, and took Copillus, one of their kings, priſoner, whilſt Marius reſolved not to engage ſuch a numerous army as appeared againſt him, till he had received ſufficient reinforcements. In the mean time the Marſi, another people of Germany, had joined the Cimbri, with a deſign to enter Italy, and Sylla was ſent to oppoſe them; but he, inſtead of engaging, found means to gain the former over to the Roman intereſt. The Cimbri, enraged at this defection, ceaſed not to harraſs the Roman general till they forced him to remove to Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix in Provence. In his march he was briſkly attacked by the brave Ambrones, now the canton of Bern, to whoſe valour had been chiefly owing the dreadful blow they gave Cæpio and his colleague. They fought with the utmoſt fury and intrepidity, but were deficient in diſcipline; ſo that, not being able to withſtand the ſhock of ſuch regular troops as they engaged, ſo dreadful a ſlaughter was made, that the next river ran ſtained with

Romans in a freſh conſternation.

Marſi join the Cimbri; but are gained by Sylla.

Ambronians defeated.

Valour of their women.

with their blood. Here the Ambronian women, likewiſe ſignalized themſelves, ran with their axes againſt the purſuing Romans, and made a vigorous oppoſition; but being at length overpowered, and offering to ſurrender upon honourable conditions, which were denied by the enemy (P), they murdered all their children, and themſelves; ſo that not one of them was found alive.

After this defeat, the Gauls ſeem to have been quiet for ſome time, whether exhauſted and diſpirited by repeated defeats, or that they left it to the Germans to haraſs them, as they in fact did, and gave the council much trouble, though to very little effect, they being conſtantly overcome, as often as they engaged him; but he met, ſoon after, with a more dreadful enemy in Sylla; while Rome was ſo rent, and in ſuch conſternation, on account of thoſe two factions, which we have deſcribed in the Roman hiſtory, that they rather ſought the friendſhip of the Gauls than their reduction: but Sylla found means by his addreſs, to gain them to his party. Hence it is probable, that he ſuffered them to live in peace during the whole time of his dictatorſhip; for we hear nothing relating to them during that period, nor for ſome ſpace after his death, though the ſcene of war was now removed into Spain and Portugal by Sertorius, where he had very great ſucceſs againſt Pompey, who was ſent againſt him. This war was no ſooner terminated, than a new one began in the heart of Italy under Spartacus, who was at the head of an army conſiſting chiefly of Gauliſh ſlaves, whom he deſigned, after vanquiſhing the two conſuls, to have led back over the Alps into their own country: but they were ſoon totally defeated by Craſſus, and Spartacus himſelf ſlain, after having fought with incredible bravery. Forty thouſand Gauls were killed on the ſpot; the reſt fled into Luſitania, where they were ſoon after cut off by Pompey. Whether the Tranſalpine Gauls had any ſhare in this rebellion, does not appear. In

Sylla gains the Gauls, and ſuffers them to live in peace.

Scene of war removed into Spain.

Spartacus and forty thouſand Gauls ſlain.

(P) Theſe conditions were, that their honour ſhould be preſerved; that they ſhould not be ſold into ſlavery; and that they ſhould be employed in the ſervice of the Veſtals. Theſe conditions being denied, they would have contented themſelves with the firſt; but, that being inhumanly refuſed, their love of chaſtity made them prefer ſuch an honourable death, as could not but caſt a more ſhameful brand on thoſe who ſtyled them Barbarians, and yet uſed ſuch brave matrons in ſo inhuman a manner (1).

(1) Vide Plut. in Mario. Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 1. Frontin. Stratag. lib. iv. & v.

that

that famed conſpiracy of Cataline they were indeed invited into it by ſome of his partiſans, in hopes of drawing ſome conſiderable helps from thence; but the ambaſſadors of the Allobroges (Q), then at Rome, who had been alſo tampered with, made ſuch an ample diſcovery of the whole deſign to their protector Q. Fab. Sanga, and he to the conſuls, that it was happily prevented and diſconcerted.

Cæſar's ſwift entrance into Gaul.

From hence it appears that the Gauls had lived this long time in peace and friendſhip with Rome, whatever feuds prevailed among them in the heart of their country: the Helvetii were the people who kindled that war which brought Cæſar over the Alps, and ended in the conqueſt of that brave and warlike nation. Orgetorix was the firſt cauſe of it, who, whether through want of room, or a deſire to exchange his inclement country for a milder, or for ſome other cauſe not mentioned by any writer, had engaged a great number of their countrymen to burn their towns and villages, and to go in ſearch of new conqueſts. Julius Cæſar, to whoſe lot the whole country of Gaul had fallen, made ſuch haſte to ſuppreſs them, that he reached the Rhone in eight days, broke down the bridge of Geneva, and, in a few days more, finiſhed the famed wall between that city and Mount Jura, now St. Claude, which extended ſeventeen miles in length, was ſixteen feet high, fortified with towers and redoubts at proper diſtances, and a ditch that ran the whole length of it (R). Whilſt he was thus employed, and waited for the neceſſary reinforcements, he amuſed the Helvetii, who had ſent to demand a paſſage through the country of the Allobroges, till being prepared for action, he rejected their demand; a dreadful battle enſued, in which they loſt one hundred and thirty thouſand men, in ſpite of all their valour, beſides a number of priſoners, among whom were the wife and daughter of Orgetorix, the leader of this unfortunate expedition. The reſt ſubmitted, and begged they might be permitted to ſettle among the Ædui, from whom they originally ſprung; and,

Orgetorix the cauſe of it.

Cæſar's ſwift march, and works.

and ſucceſs againſt the Helvetii.

(Q) Theſe inhabited the regions at the foot of the Alps, known now by the names of Savoy, Dauphiné, and Piedmont.

(R) If his own account of it may be relied upon (2), he did not ſet out till the beginning of April; and yet this ſtupendous work was finiſhed by the ides or 13th of the month: ſo that, ſubtracting the eight days he was on his march, it muſt have been all done in about five days: a prodigious work! conſidering he had but one legion there, or even though the whole country had aſſiſted him in raiſing it.

(2) Comment. lib. i. cap. 1, & ſeq.

at

The Gauls begin to court his friendſhip.

at the requeſt of theſe laſt, they obtained permiſſion to go thither (S). This action and victory, joined to the policy and incredible diſpatch with which Cæſar had conducted the enterprize, gained him ſuch reputation, and, at the ſame time, ſtruck the Gauls with ſuch a panic, that they ſtrove who ſhould pay him the firſt homage and congratulations, and procure his friendſhip.

His addreſs among them.

We formerly remarked the ſad divided ſtate in which he found them at his firſt coming among them, their great variety of governments, their jealouſy of each other, the overgrown power of ſome, and the reduction of others to a ſtate of dependence next to ſlavery: Cæſar, who knew beſt how to take advantage of theſe inteſtine broils, ſoon became the protector of the oppreſſed, a terror to the oppreſſor, and the umpire of all their contentions. Among thoſe who applied to him for aſſiſtance, were his allies the Ædui, againſt whom Arioviſtus, king of the Germans, joined with the Arverni (T) in their late wars, had taken the country of the Sequani from them, and obliged them to ſend hoſtages to him. Cæſar demanded the reſtitution of both, and in an interview with that haughty and treacherous prince, was near falling a ſacrifice to his perfidy; upon which he immediately turned his whole power againſt him, forced

(S) The Ædui were ſituate between the rivers Seine, Loire, and Saone, and were the only allies Cæſar then had. Their's being a fruitful country, they had promiſed to ſupply him with corn; but made ſo many delays, that he began to ſuſpect their fidelity, and to find himſelf in great diſtreſs for want of proviſion. Divitiacus, one of the lords of this country, was then in his army, with Liſcus, one of their magiſtrates: Cæſar examined them both about it ſeparately, and the latter told him, that Dunmorix, the younger brother of Divitiacus, deſigning to ſeize upon the ſupreme power, had allied himſelf with the Helvetii, and ſent that corn to them which ſhould have been conveyed to him. Divitiacus confirmed what Liſcus had aſſerted, but without naming his brother; and, when Cæſar would have puniſhed him for his perfidy, generouſly interceded for him, and obtained his pardon (3).

(T) The Arverni were ſeated on the Loire, and were ſo called from their metropolis Arvernum, now Clermont, the capital of the Guiennois. They were once the moſt powerful people of the Gauls; their territories are ſaid to have reached from the ocean to the Rhine on one ſide, and the Pyrenees on the other (4).

The Sequani were neighbours to the Ædui, and inhabited that part of Gallia Belgica called Upper Burgundy, now Franche Comté.

(3) Ibid. (4) Strabo, lib. iv.

him

him (U) out of his ſtrong entrenchments, and gave him a total overthrow. Arioviſtus eſcaped, with difficulty, over the Rhine; but his two wives, and a daughter, with a great number of Germans of diſtinction, fell into the conqueror's hand. Cæſar, after this ſignal victory, put his army into winter-quarters; and went in perſon to the other ſide of the Alps, to make the neceſſary preparations for the next campaign °. By this time the Belgæ in general were ſo terrified at his ſucceſs, that they entered into a confederacy againſt the Romans as their common enemy, of which he no ſooner received intelligence, than he left Rome, and proceeded ſo rapidly, that he arrived upon their confines in about fifteen days. Upon his arrival the Rhemi ſubmitted; but the reſt, appointing Galba, king of the Sueſſones, general of all their forces, which amounted to a hundred and fifty thouſand men, marched directly againſt him. Cæſar, who had ſeized on the bridge of the Axona, now Aiſne, led his light horſe and infantry over it, and whilſt the Gauls were encumbered in croſſing that river, made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter, that the river was filled with the dead, inſomuch that their bodies ſerved for a bridge to thoſe who eſcaped. This new victory ſtruck ſuch terror into the reſt, that they diſperſed themſelves, and the Sueſſones, Bellovaci, Ambiones, with ſome others, ſubmitted. The Nervii, indeed, joined with the Atrebates and Veromandui, againſt him; and, having firſt ſecured their wives and children, made a ſtrenuous reſiſtance for ſome time, but were at length defeated, and the greateſt part of them ſlain. The reſt, with their wives and old men, ſurrendered themſelves, and were allowed to live in their own cities and towns as formerly. The Aduatici were next ſubdued, and, for their treachery to the conqueror (W), ſold for ſlaves, to the number of

Arioviſtus defeated.

Belgæ confederate againſt the Romans.

A terrible ſlaughter made of them by Cæſar.

The Nervii, &c. ſubdued.

° Comment. lib. i. cap. 1, & ſeq.

(U) Cæſar, who loſt no advantage he could get of an enemy, had intelligence, that ſome German propheteſſes (and ſuch were in high eſteem among them) had foretold that they could not be victorious till after the new moon; or rather, he knew that was a ſuperſtitious notion common among them and all the Gauls; and this it was made him ſo eager, and Arioviſtus ſo averſe, to come to action before that time.

(W) Theſe were the remains of thoſe Cimbri whom Marius had defeated in Italy, and had been left on the banks of the Rhine to guard the baggage. They made a pretended ſubmiſſion to Cæſar, and ſurrendered their arms to him; but had concealed a third part of them, with which they fell on the

Craſſus's ſucceſs in Belgium, &c.

of fifty thouſand. Young Craſſus, the ſon of the triumvir, ſubdued likewiſe ſeven other nations, and took poſſeſſion of their cities; exploits which not only completed the conqueſt of the Belgæ, but induced ſeveral nations from beyond the Rhine to ſubmit to the conqueror. The Veneti, or ancient inhabitants of Vannes in Brittany, who had been likewiſe obliged to ſend hoſtages to the conqueror, were, in the mean time, making great preparations by ſea and land to recover their liberty. Cæſar, then in Illyricum, was forced to equip a fleet on the Loire, and having given the command to Brutus, defeated them by land, as Brutus did by ſea; and having put their chief men to death, ſold the reſt for ſlaves. The Unelli, with Veridorix, their chief, together with the Lexovii and Aulerci, were, about the ſame time, ſubdued by Sabinus, and the Aquitani by Craſſus, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men. There remained nothing of Gaul but the countries of the Morini and Menapii (X) to be conquered. Cæſar marched againſt them, but found them ſo ſtrongly entrenched in their inacceſſible fortreſſes, that he contented himſelf with burning and ravaging their country; and having put his troops into winter-quarters, paſſed again over the Alps, to keep a more watchful eye on ſome of his rivals; but he was ſoon after obliged to defend his Gauliſh conqueſts againſt ſome German nations, who were in motion to ſettle there, to the number of four hundred thouſand. Theſe he totally defeated, and then reſolved to carry his conquering arms into Germany.

Veneti ſubdued.

The Morini and Menapii ravaged by Cæſar, who carries his arms into Germany.

A famine and revolt in Gaul.

Upon his return into Gaul he found it labouring under a great famine, which had cauſed an univerſal revolt. Cotta and Sabinus, who were left in the country of the Eburones, now Liege, were betrayed into an ambuſh by Ambiorix, one of their chiefs, and moſt of their men were cut off. The Aduatici had fallen upon Q. Cicero, who was encamped with one legion, and had reduced him to great diſtreſs: at the ſame time Labienus, with his legion, was attacked by Indutiomarus, at the Rheni and Senones; but by

the Romans in the night: upon which he broke down the gates of their city, put many of them to the ſword, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves (2).

(X) Theſe are the territories now called Ferouennes, Cleves, Gelders, and Juliers. Thoſe of the Aulerci and Lexovii are now the Eureux and Liſieux. As to the Unelli, their abode is differently gueſſed at, but without any certainty.

(2) Comm. lib. ii. cap. 1, & ſeq.

one

one bold ſally he put them to flight, and killed their general. Cæſar acquired no ſmall credit by quelling all theſe revolts; but each victory coſt him ſo many lives, that he was forced to have recourſe to Pompey for a freſh ſupply, who readily granted him two of his legions to ſecure his Gauliſh conqueſts.

Cæſar forced to ſue to Pompey for freſh troops,

But it was not long before theſe people, ever reſtleſs under a foreign yoke, revolted again, and obliged him to return. He ſoon reduced the Nervii, Aduatici, Menapii, and Treviri, the laſt of which had excited the revolt, under the command of Ambiorix; but in a little time he found the flame ſpread much farther, even to the greateſt part of the Gauls, who had choſen the brave Vercingetorix for their generaliſſimo. Cæſar was forced to leave Inſubria, whither he had retired to watch the motions of Pompey, and, in the midſt of froſt and ſnow, repaſs the Alps, into the province of Narbonne, where he aſſembled his ſcattered troops with all poſſible ſpeed; and, notwithſtanding the cold weather, beſieged and took Noviodunum, now Noyons, defeating Vercingetorix, who was come to the relief of that place. He next took the city of Avaricum, now Bourges, one of the ſtrongeſt in Gaul, which had a garriſon of forty thouſand men, of whom he made ſuch dreadful ſlaughter, that hardly eight hundred eſcaped. Whilſt he was beſieging Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni, he was informed that the Nitiobriges, or Agenois, were in arms; and that the Ædui were ſending a reinforcement of ten thouſand men to Vercingetorix. Upon this intelligence he left Fabius to carry on the ſiege, and marched againſt the Ædui. Theſe, upon his approach, ſubmitted, in appearance, and were pardoned; but ſoon after that whole nation roſe up in arms, and murdered all the Italian troops in their capital. Cæſar, in this emergency, reſolved to raiſe the ſiege of Gergovia, and at once attack the enemy's camp, which he executed with ſome ſucceſs; but when he thought to have marched to Noviodunum, or Noyons, where his baggage and military cheſt were left, he heard that the Ædui had carried it off, and burnt the place. Labienus, juſtly thinking that Cæſar would want his aſſiſtance, marched to join him, and in his route defeated a Gauliſh general, named Camulogena, who came to oppoſe his march; but this event did not hinder the revolt from ſpreading all over Celtic Gaul, whither Vercingetorix had ſent for freſh ſupplies, and in the mean time attacked Cæſar, but was defeated, and forced to retire to Aleſia, a ſtrong place, now Aliſe in Burgundy, as is ſuppoſed. Hither Cæſar haſtened, and having drawn a double circumvallation

and to repaſs into Gaul in the depth of winter.

Makes a dreadful ſlaughter at Avaricum.

Ædui pretend a ſubmiſſion to him.

Carry off his military cheſt, &c.

Vercingetorix defeated.

tion round the place, with a deſign to ſtarve him in it, refuſed all offers of capitulation. At length the long-expected reinforcement arrived, conſiſting of one hundred and ſixty thouſand men, under four generals: theſe made ſeveral fruitleſs attacks on Cæſar's trenches, but were defeated in three ſeveral battles, which at length obliged Vercingetorix to ſurrender at diſcretion. Cæſar uſed all his priſoners with great ſeverity, except the Ædui and Arverni, by whoſe means he hoped to gain over their nations, which were the two moſt potent of Celtic Gaul, as he actually accompliſhed, for both of them ſubmitted to him, and the former received him into their capital, where he paſſed the winter, after he had put his army into winter-quarters. This campaign, as it proved one of the moſt fatiguing he had ever made, ſo he gained more glory by it than any Roman general had done before: yet could not all this ſucceſs procure him from the ſervile ſenate, now wholly devoted to his rival, a prolongation of his proconſulſhip.

and ſurrenders at diſcretion.

Cæſar's reſolution againſt the ſenate.

The Gauls now reſolving to have as many ſeparate armies as provinces, in order to embarraſs him the more, Cæſar, and his generals Labienus and Fabius, were forced to fight them one after another; which they did, however, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, they ſubdued the Bituriges, Carnuti, Rhemi, and Bellovaci, with their general Correus; by which means they at once reduced all the Belgic provinces bordering on Celtic Gaul. The next who ſubmitted were the Treviri, the Eburones, and the Andes, under their general Dunmarus. The laſt place which held out againſt him was Uxellodunum, which was defended by the two laſt acting generals of the Gauls, Drapes the Sennonian, and Luterius the Cadurcean. The place being ſtrong, and well garriſoned, Cæſar was obliged to march thither from the fartheſt part of Belgic Gaul; and ſoon after reduced it, for want of water. Here, again, he cauſed the right-hands of all that were fit to bear arms to be cut off, to deter the reſt from revolting again. Thus was the conqueſt of Gaul finiſhed from the Alps and Pyrenees to the Rhine, all which vaſt tract was now reduced to a Roman province, under the government of a prætor. The ſum of all the provinces, cities, and priſoners taken, if not exaggerated by that conqueror and Plutarch, the reader may ſee in the Roman hiſtory.

His two generals ſubdue ſeveral Gauliſh nations.

Cæſar's cruelty to the Uxellodians.

Completes the conqueſt of Gaul.

Thus ended, in a great meaſure, the liberty of that once famed and warlike nation. Some cities, or commonwealths, however, were permitted to remain free, ſuch as the Nervii, Ulbaneſes, Sueſſones, and Leuci; others retained the title of confederates to Rome, ſuch as the Ædui, Lingones, Rhemi,

Rhemi, and Carnutes: and the reſt were reduced into the form of a Roman province. To underſtand preciſely the difference of theſe three conditions, it muſt be obſerved that the firſt had a number of ſoldiers quartered upon them, to keep them in awe (Y); the confederates were laid under tribute, and compelled to ſupport a vaſt number of tax-gatherers, which, like ſo many leeches, ſucked out the very vitals of the country (Z). But when the country was converted into a province, the inhabitants were deprived of the privilege of being governed by their own laws and magiſtrates, and ſaddled with governors from Rome, having full power and authority (cum imperio & ſecuribus) over their lives and eſtates. It was on account of this threefold tyranny that they ſo often revolted; for, as Tacitus himſelf obſerves, in the reign of Tiberius, the continuance of thoſe taxes, the extortions of uſurers, and inſolence of the ſoldiers, were become ſo intolerable, that it drove the Gauliſh cities into a freſh rebellion.

Gaul was ſoon after divided into ſixteen provinces, the names of which the reader will find in the note (A); each of which groaned, more or leſs, under the Roman tyranny, according as they were more or leſs favoured by the emperors, or by the prætors appointed to rule them. How-

Yr. of Fl. 2326. Ante Chr. 22.

Gallia divided into ſixteen provinces.

(Y) In which caſe, if theſe provinces continued quiet and peaceable, they had, it ſeems, no great armies quartered in them; ſince Joſephus tells us (1), that, in Titus's time, they had no more than twelve hundred ſoldiers in garriſon in all Gaul; although, adds he, they had fought for their liberty againſt the Romans above eight hundred years, and had near as many cities as the Romans had then ſoldiers there.

(Z) We are told that, after Julius Cæſar had finiſhed the conqueſt of Gaul, he laid it under a tax, or tribute, of HS. quadrigenties (2), that is, about a million of Engliſh crowns. How much heavier they were taxed in ſubſequent reigns, may be eaſily gueſſed by their frequent revolts, and continual complaints againſt thoſe extortions and oppreſſions.

(A) Viennenſis, Narbonenſis prima, Narbonenſis ſecunda, Aquilania prima & ſecunda, Novempopulana, Alpes maritimæ, Belgica prima & ſecunda, Germania prima & ſecunda, Lugdunenſis prima, ſecunda, & tertia, Maxima Sequanorum, & Alpes Græcæ.

This diviſion, however, was not made by Julius Cæſar, ſince we find it ſtill under the three diſtinctions in which he left them, when Auguſtus cauſed the firſt cenſus to be made in it; but was begun towards the latter end of this emperor's reign, and finiſhed by ſome of his ſucceſſors.

(1) Antiq. lib. ii.

(2) Eutrop. lib. vi.

ever, neither under Cæſar, whilſt he lived, nor even under his ſucceſſor Auguſtus, do we read of any conſiderable revolt; on the contrary, though the latter did, in a manner, begin his reign with making them undergo a cenſus, which is the firſt we find made out of Italy, they ſubmitted to it patiently. Some years after, indeed, when Druſus was ſent thither to ſtop the incurſions which the Germans were frequently making upon them (B), and had begun a ſecond, and perhaps a more ſevere impoſition; they began to expreſs a univerſal inclination to take up arms, and regain their liberties. We have elſewhere obſerved how that politic general diverted them from it, by inviting all the Gauliſh chiefs to aſſiſt at the conſecration of the temple which the Lugdunenſes had built in honour of Julius Cæſar; and, upon their coming, behaved with ſuch addreſs and condeſcenſion, that they not only dropped their intended revolt, but agreed to build an altar to Auguſtus, and to pay him divine honours, even during his life. Sixty Gauliſh nations, it ſeems, contributed to the rearing and adorning

(B) It is hardly to be doubted, but the Gauls, who were ſo much oppreſſed by the plundering and inſolences of the Romans, and found themſelves too weak now to make head againſt them, by ſome private means, either invited the Germans as friends, or hired them as auxiliaries to their aſſiſtance; and this ſeems to have been the beginning of the colonies of the Franks; for thoſe Germans, whether defeated by the Romans, or, which is more likely, bought off by them, began, by little and little, to ſettle on the borders of Gallia. We are told, that Auguſtus tranſplanted the Suevi and Sicambri, who ſubmitted to him, into Gallia, and aſſigned them lands along the Rhine (3). And of Tiberius we read, that he brought forty thouſand of thoſe that ſurrendered themſelves in the German war, over into Gallia, and ſettled them on the banks of the Rhine (4).

To this we may add, what another author tells us of the emperor Probus, in whoſe reign above ſixty cities had revolted from the Romans, and made a bold puſh to regain their liberty. This prince, ſays he (5), marched with a great army into Gaul; which, after Poſthumius's death, was all in commotion; and, when Aurelian was killed, was, in a manner, poſſeſſed by the Germans. There he gained ſo many victories, that he recovered from the Barbarians ſixty of the moſt noble cities of Gallia; and whereas they had overſpread all Gaul without controul, he ſlew near four hundred thouſand of thoſe who had ſeated themſelves within the Roman territories, and tranſplanted the remainder of them beyond the rivers Neckar and Elbe.

(3) Sueton. in Vit. Aug. (4) Idem in Tiber. (5) Vopiſc. in Vit. Prob. Hottoman. Franco-Gall. cap. 3.

of

of this magnificent altar, which was conſecrated on the firſt of Auguſt; and games were, at the ſame time, inſtituted, in honour of this new kind of deity [p].

Notwithſtanding this fulſome adulation, which might probably be owing to the preſence of Druſus, they did not long ſuſpend their favourite deſign of regaining their liberty, whenever fortune ſhould preſent a proper opportunity. The druids, on the contrary, ſeem to have exerted themſelves to cheriſh that noble ſpirit, and to prevent any farther defection from their ancient religion; and hence, in all probability, aroſe thoſe frequent revolts, as well as rigorous edicts, that were publiſhed againſt them in the ſucceeding reigns. However that be, the violent extortions, and horrid butcheries, which they underwent under Caligula, were of themſelves ſufficient to have ſpirited up a leſs warlike nation; though that reign was not long enough to ripen their deſign, and under the next they either enjoyed more indulgence, or, which is as likely, were more ſtrictly obſerved: but in that of Nero, under whom they were more cruelly treated than ever, the brave Julius Vindex (C), at that time governor of Celtic Gaul, declared his reſolution to free his country from ſlavery, and the empire from that bloody tyrant. As ſoon as his deſign was known, the Gauls, haraſſed and reduced to beggary by intolerable impoſts, flocked to him from all parts; ſo that, though he had no Romans under his command, yet he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of one hundred thouſand armed men. When Nero heard the news of this revolt, he expreſſed uncommon ſatisfaction, as it would afford him occaſion for freſh extortions and cruelties. What he ſeemed moſt affected with was, that Vindex, in ſome of his edicts, had ſtigmatized him as an unſkilful harper; a reproach which ſtung him ſo ſeverely, that, inſtead of making ſuitable preparations to op-

Encouraged by the druids.

Caligula's extortions.

Vindex's revolt in Gaul.

Nero's ſtrange behaviour.

[p] Vide Strab. lib. iv. Sueton. in Auguſt. Liv. &c.

(C) He was deſcended from the ancient kings of Aquitain, and had a natural averſion to all tyrants. Upon his firſt reſolution of revolting, he ſent to perſuade Galba, then in Spain, to do the ſame; who neither followed his advice, nor betrayed his deſign; though ſome other governors, to whom he wrote on the ſame ſubject, ſent his letters to Nero: but Galba, upon receiving a ſecond letter from him, actually raiſed a revolt there (1).

(1) Plut. in Galb. Dio, lib. lxiii. Sueton. in Ner. Tacit. lib. i. cap. 16.

poſe the rebel by force of arms, he affected to perform in public as a muſician, and appeal to the judgement of the people for the falſhood of this malignant imputation. But when he was certainly informed of the progreſs Vindex had made in Gaul, and of Galba's revolt in Spain, he left Naples in deſpair, and repaired to Rome: however, a frivolous, but fortunate omen, as he imagined, having diſpelled his fears, he returned again to his muſical amuſements, without taking one ſtep to ſuppreſs either revolt. We need not repeat the unworthy behaviour, and dreadful end, of that emperor, of which a full account has been given in a former volume: all that needs be recapitulated concerning the ill ſucceſs of our Gauliſh general is, that his army having been ſurpriſed by that of Rufus Virginius, who had marched againſt him, the Gauls were defeated, with the loſs of twenty-two thouſand men killed on the ſpot; upon which Vindex, in a fit of rage and deſpair, laid violent hands upon himſelf, and the reſt diſperſed for want of a leader. Galba experienced better ſucceſs, and was ſoon after raiſed to the empire; but the Gauls were ſo heavily oppreſſed, and ſo loaded with taxes by him, that they dared not undertake any thing againſt his authority. In the great ſtruggle between his two ſucceſſors, Otho and Vitellius, though they heartily hated both, yet they were forced to declare for the latter, by Fabius Valens, who, in his march through their territories towards Italy, whither he was leading a powerful army, committed the greateſt plunders and extortions. This rapacity threw the nation into ſuch a terror, that every province and city ſent ambaſſadors to meet him, and bribe him with large preſents, to prevent their towns from being either plundered or burnt (D).

Vindex's ill ſucceſs, and death.

Galba's ſucceſs, and tyranny.

Valens applied to by the Gauls.

Make peace with Veſpaſian.

They recovered themſelves, however, ſo far, notwithſtanding all theſe oppreſſions, as to make ſeveral bold puſhes for liberty, eſpecially in the reign of Veſpaſian. We have given an account of it in a former volume, as well as of the peace that emperor thought fit to grant them, rather than exaſperate them to turn their arms againſt him at that juncture. In Adrian's time, this province was viſited by that emperor, in his progreſs through the empire, and as it had

(D) Amongſt thoſe that ſuffered the effects of his fury and avarice, was the city of Vienne, againſt which that of Lyons had inſtigated him, as having aided the late noble Vindex in his revolt. They were therefore forced to buy their pardon from him by an immenſe ſum, beſides a large donative, the ſurrender of all their arms, and furniſhing his army with proviſions.

been

been greatly oppreſſed and impoveriſhed during the former reigns, he left, wherever he paſſed, ſome tokens of his pity and munificence, and built ſeveral ſtately edifices, eſpecially a ſumptuous palace, in honour of Plotina, Trajan's widow. He did not omit, at the ſame time, to repair all the Roman towns and fortreſſes in that country, to keep them in ſubjection. No conſiderable revolt happened during his and ſome of the ſucceeding reigns. All this while they ſeem to have made a remarkable figure, and borne a great ſway; ſince, in that famous conteſt between Severus and his competitors, the Gauls having firſt ſaluted him emperor, their example was followed by almoſt all the provinces in Europe, and he was univerſally acknowleged and received with the loudeſt acclamations. He proved, however, very ungrateful to them, at leaſt to the Chriſtians in this country, having raiſed a furious perſecution againſt them, inſtigated by his favourite Plautianus, who took occaſion, from a ſoldier's refuſing to wear a crown as a donative, to ſeize on the eſtates of all the Chriſtians of rank and quality, and to put a great number to death, and amongſt them Irenæus, the worthy biſhop of Lyons. Gaul was again made the ſcene of war, in the remarkable conteſt between Gallienus and Poſthumius, the latter of whom had delivered this province from the dominion of the Germans, under which it had groaned for ſome time, and for which he had been acknowleged emperor, both there and in Spain and Britain. Poſthumius having been murdered by his ſoldiers, Lollianus was proclaimed emperor of that part of Gaul which borders upon the Rhine; whilſt Victorinus, whom Poſthumius had taken for his colleague, governed over the reſt. Both theſe being ſoon after murdered, and the ſon of the latter, then an infant, being named his ſucceſſor, the Gauls butchered him likewiſe, and ſet up in his room M. Aurelius Marius, formerly an armourer, but a man of extraordinary courage and ſtrength: he being likewiſe aſſaſſinated by a ſoldier, who had been formerly his journeyman, P. Piveſus, or Peſuvius Tetricus, a man of ſenatorial and conſular dignity, was proclaimed throughout this province, and ſoon after acknowleged in Spain and Britain. Tetricus did not long enjoy his dignity, before the conſtant diſſenſions and mutinies which happened in his army, as well as the approach of the emperor Aurelian, who had reſtored peace in all other parts of the empire, made him wiſh to be fairly rid of it. There is even ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that he invited Aurelian into Gaul; and though he made a faint oppoſition againſt him at the battle of Chalons, yet, upon the firſt onſet,

Chriſtians in Gaul perſecuted.

Gaul again made the ſcene of war.

Proclaim A. Marius emperor.

Aurelian comes into Gaul, and reduces it.

ſet, he yielded himſelf to that emperor; ſo that the Gauliſh troops, for want of a leader, were entirely cut off, and this province was reduced to its former obedience. In the reign of Conſtantine, who is ſuppoſed to have been the perſon who firſt divided the whole empire into four parts, each containing a number of provinces, or, as they were then called, dioceſes. Gaul was made one of thoſe dioceſes, governed by a prefectus prætorio, whoſe government included Gaul, Britain, and Spain. Gaul contained ſeventeen provinces, ſix of which were ſtyled conſular, and the reſt under certain preſidents, who reſided in the capitals of each; all of which are as follow:

A new diviſion of Gaul under Conſtantine.

A. D. 330.

Provinces.	*Conſul or governor reſided at*
1. Narbonenſis Prima,	Narbonne, in Languedoc.
2. ——— Secunda,	Aix, in Provence.
3. Viennenſis,	Vienne, in Dauphiné.
4. Alpes Graiæ & Penninæ,	Moneſtriers, in Savoy.
5. Alpes Maritimæ,	Ebrodunum, now Embrun, in Dauphiné.
6. Lugdunenſis Prima,	Lugdunum, now Lyons.
7. ——— Secunda,	Roan, in Normandy.
8. ——— Tertia,	Cæſarodunum, now Tours, in Touraine.
9. ——— Quarta,	Sens, in Champaigne.
10. Sequania,	Bezançon, in Franche Comté.
11. Aquitania Prima,	Bourges, in Berry.
12. ——— Secunda,	Bourdeaux, in Guienne.
13. Novempopulania,	Auſcorum, now Aux, capital of Gaſcony.
14. Germanica Prima,	Moguntia, now Mentz.
15. ——— Secunda,	Colonia, now Cologn.
16. Belgica Prima,	Civitas Trevirorum, now Triers.
17. ——— Secunda,	—Durocortorum, now Rheims.

Beſides the governors of the above provinces, the ſame emperor appointed comites, or counts, in the cities, and duces in the frontier towns, to adminiſter juſtice according to the Roman laws. This was the ſtate and government of Gaul, when the Goths gained a footing in the ſouthern part, which was then called Narbonenſis; it having been granted to them by the emperor Honorius, upon their quitting Italy. Some ſervices they did afterwards to the empire, obtained for them a freſh ſettlement in Aquitania. After them came the Burgundi, a great and warlike people, ſeated on the other ſide of the Rhine (they had been called in by

by Stilicho, to defend the Gauliſh borders from the Franks, who were on their march to invade it on that ſide), and ſeized on all the ſouth-eaſt part of it, which was from them called Upper and Lower Burgundy. This ſettlement did not, however, hinder the Franks, a fierce and warlike nation of Germany, from invading and occupying that part of Gaul which lies between the Rhine and the Weſer, and extending themſelves from the river Mayne, on the ſouth, quite to the German ocean, on the north. Theſe were a compound of various nations, ſuch as Sicambri, Bructeri, Salici, Cheruſci, and ſome others of leſs note. We ſhall have occaſion to dwell more on their origin, names, character, conqueſts, and hiſtory, in a ſubſequent chapter. A. D. 412. All that we ſhall add here, is, that they aſſiſted ſome of the maritime Gauliſh provinces, eſpecially thoſe of Brittany, Normandy, Flanders, and Picardy, to ſhake off the Roman yoke; by which means they poſſeſſed themſelves alſo of the Germania Prima and Secunda, and of the two Belgiæ above mentioned. In the ſequel, they choſe Pharamond for their king, who was the founder of the French monarchy, and in whoſe reign the Romans drove the Franks out of Gaul. His ſucceſſor Clodion endeavoured to regain it, but was defeated in the attempt; and it was under Meroveus, who cauſed himſelf to be choſen king in his ſtead, that the Hunns poured in their numerous hoſts into Gaul; of which expedition we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. As for the reigns of Pharamond, and his ſucceſſors, they fall within the province of Modern Hiſtory.

The maritime provinces ſhake off the Roman yoke.

END OF THE SIXTEENTH VOLUME.